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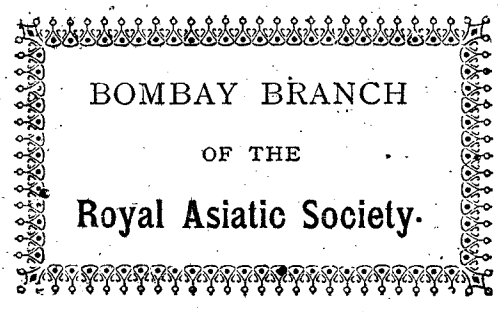

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THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611),

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

EDITED

BY F. C. COOK, M.A., CANON OF EXETER.

67807

VOL. III.

II KINGS—ESTHER.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1873.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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THE SECOND BOOK OF THE

KINGS,

COMMONLY CALLED, THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

1 Moab rebelleth. 2 Ahaziah, sending to Baal-zebub, hath his judgment by Elijah. 5 Elijah twice bringeth fire from heaven upon them whom Ahaziah sent to apprehend him. 13 He pitieth the third captain, and, encouraged by an angel, telleth the king of his death. 17 Jehoram succeedeth Ahaziah.

Ch. 3 5. THEN Moab rebelled against Israel [a] after the death of Ahab.
2 And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that *was* in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease.
3 But the angel of the LORD said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, *Is it* not because *there is* not a God in Israel,

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CHAP. I. 1. *Then Moab rebelled.*] The Moabites, who had once lorded it over Israel (Jud. iii. 12-14), were reduced to subjection by David, and treated with extreme severity (2 S. viii. 2). Nothing is related of them in Scripture from the date of this subjection to the time of Ahab, when they are found to be dependent on the kingdom of Israel, to which it has therefore been generally supposed that they fell at the separation of Israel from Judah. The Moabite monument, discovered in 1869, has now given reason to believe that, at the separation of the kingdoms, they recovered their independence, but were again reduced by Omri, who, with his son Ahab, is said (in round numbers) to have "oppressed" them for "forty years." The enormous tribute exacted by Ahab (infra, ch. iii. 4) implies a grievous oppression.

after the death of Ahab.] In the loose and ill-cemented monarchies of ancient Asia the death of a sovereign was very generally seized upon as an occasion for revolt by the more powerful of the subject nations. Through the whole history of Assyria we find that at the commencement of each reign half the subject countries revolt, refuse their tribute, and try to make themselves independent. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 527.) Thus Moab rebelled as soon as Ahab was dead, and (perhaps owing to Ahaziah's sickness) easily regained her independence. It is this war of liberation which is the principal subject of the Moabite monument above mentioned, a monument which was set up by Mesha (ch. iii. 4) to commemorate his successes. (See De Rougé, 'Revue archéologique' June, 1870.)

2. *Ahaziah fell down through a lattice.*] More properly "**the lattice**," as the word has the article. The "upper chamber" had probably a single latticed window, through which Ahaziah fell. Windows in the East are to this day generally closed by lattices of interlaced wood, which open outwards; so that, if the fastening is not properly secured, one who leans against them may easily fall out.

Baal-zebub.] Literally, "Lord of flies." If the Βεελζεβούλ (Beelzebul) of Matt. xii. 24, were the true form of the name, the meaning would be "Lord of the (heavenly) dwelling"—since *zebul* is "dwelling" in Hebrew. (Compare Beelsamen, "Lord of Heaven," a common title of the supreme God with the Phœnicians.) But Baal-zebub is probably the true form, and this must mean "Lord of flies," or "Lord (averter) of flies." Flies in the East constitute one of the most terrible of plagues (see Ps. cv. 31; Ex. viii. 24); and Orientals would be as likely to have a "god of flies" as a god of storm and thunder. The Greeks are known to have worshipped a *Zeus apomuios* or "fly-averting Jove;" and the Romans acknowledged a similar god, whom they called Myagrus or Myiagrus. (Pausan. v. 14, § 2; Plin. x. 40; xxix. 24; Solin. 'Polyhist.' 2, &c.)

the god of Ekron.] Ekron was the most northern of the Philistine cities, and so the nearest to Samaria. (For its site, see note on Josh. xiii. 3.)

3. *The angel of the Lord.*] Literally, "*an* angel of Jehovah."

Is it not because there is not a God in Israel.]

that ye go to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?

4 Now therefore thus saith the LORD, †Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. And Elijah departed.

† Heb. *The bed, whither thou art gone up, thou shalt not come down from it.*

•5 ¶ And when the messengers turned back unto him, he said unto them, Why are ye now turned back?

6 And they said unto him, There came a man up to meet us, and said unto us, Go, turn again unto the king that sent you, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, *Is it* not because *there is* not a God in Israel, *that* thou sendest to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? therefore thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.

7 And he said unto them, †What manner of man *was he* which came up to meet you, and told you these words?

† Heb. *What was the manner of the man?*

8 And they answered him, *He was* an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said, It *is* Elijah the Tishbite.

9 Then the king sent unto him a captain of fifty with his fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold, he sat on the top of an hill. And he spake unto him, Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down.

10 And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, If I *be* a man

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To inquire of Baal-zebub was practically to deny Jehovah. It was to apostatize more completely than even Ahab had done. Ahab had consulted prophets who at least professed to be prophets of Jehovah (1 K. xxii. 6-12), and spoke in his name. But Ahaziah casts aside the last remnant of respect for the old religion, and consults a foreign oracle, as if the voice of God were wholly silent in his own country.

5. *When the messengers turned back unto him.*] *I.e.*, to Ahaziah, who, knowing that the messengers cannot have been to Ekron and returned, meets them with the inquiry, "Why are ye now turned *back?*" Why, *i.e.*, have ye not completed your errand?

6. *There came a man.*] "A man"—the messengers either failed to recognise Elijah, or thought it best not to tell the king who it was that had sent the warning. The king himself assumes that they do not know. (See the next verse.)

8. *An hairy man.*] Literally, a "lord of hair." Most commentators understand this as an allusion to the shaggy cloak of untanned skin (μηλωτή LXX.) which Elijah wore, a kind of garment which afterwards became the recognised prophetic dress (Zech. xiii. 4). But some regard the expression as descriptive of the prophet's person, of his long flowing locks, abundant beard, and general profusion of hair. On the whole, this latter interpretation is perhaps the more natural.

girt with a girdle of leather about his loins.] The costume of a thorough ascetic. Generally the Jews wore girdles of linen or cotton stuff, soft and comfortable. Under the girdle they wore one or two long linen gowns or shirts, and over these they had sometimes a large shawl or *abba*. Elijah had only his leathern girdle and his sheepskin cape or "mantle."

•9. *Then the king sent unto him.*] As Ahab had sought to arrest Elijah when he prophesied the long drought (1 K. xviii. 10), and as he had imprisoned Micaiah when he foretold his coming death (ib. xxii. 27), so Ahaziah was anxious to seize and punish his threatener.

he sat on the top of an hill.] Rather, "on the top of the hill"—"*the* hill" where he had previously met the messengers is probably meant.

thou man of God.] On the phrase, "man of God," see note on 1 K. xiii. 1. There is no need to suppose, with some, that the captain spake these words ironically. Both he and his master seem to have feared Elijah. Ahaziah's fear is shown by his sending a body of fifty soldiers to take a single unarmed man; the captain's, by his respectful address, and his request to the prophet to surrender himself.

10. *Let fire come down from heaven and consume.*] Some propose to translate, "fire shall come down from heaven and consume;" which is the rendering of the Septuagint. But the rendering of the Authorised Version is preferred by the best Hebraists; and clearly the apostles James and John understood Elijah to have "*commanded* fire to come down from heaven" (Luke ix. 54). The charge of cruelty made against him on this account has just that amount of founda-

of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.

11 Again also he sent unto him another captain of fifty with his fifty. And he answered and said unto him, O man of God, thus hath the king said, Come down quickly.

12 And Elijah answered and said unto them, If I *be* a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And the fire of God came down from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.

13 ¶ And he sent again a captain of the third fifty with his fifty. And the third captain of fifty went up, and came and †fell on his knees before Elijah, and besought him, and said unto him, O man of God, I pray thee, let my life, and the life of these fifty thy servants, be precious in thy sight. † Heb. *bowed.*

14 Behold, there came fire down from heaven, and burnt up the two captains of the former fifties with their fifties: therefore let my life now be precious in thy sight.

15 And the angel of the LORD said unto Elijah, Go down with him: be not afraid of him. And he arose, and went down with him unto the king.

16 And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou hast sent messengers to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, *is it* not because *there is* no God in Israel

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tion which makes it needful to consider the point at some length. First, then, what was Elijah's motive? Not, certainly, to gratify hatred or cause pain—not even to save himself from suffering, for he quite readily exposes himself to the chance of it shortly after (verse 15)—but simply to make a signal example, to vindicate God's honour in a striking way. Ahaziah had, as it were, challenged Jehovah to a trial of strength by sending a band of fifty to arrest one man. He must have thought that, though Elijah, because of his miraculous gifts, could not be taken by a few men, a band of fifty could overpower him. Consequently, God was challenged to show His might. Under such circumstances, was Elijah to yield tamely? Or was he to vindicate Jehovah? Incarnate Wisdom, under similar circumstances, found a way to reconcile mercy with truth, the vindication of God's honour with the utmost tenderness for erring men, and when persons came to arrest Him in "a band, with swords and staves," merely by the awe of his presence so struck them that they "went back and fell to the ground" (John xviii. 6). Elijah, living under the earlier covenant, was naturally less tender. But this, it must be admitted, is not all. In Elijah the spirit of the law was embodied in its full severity. Over some prophets the coming second covenant seems in some sort to project its shadow. It is otherwise with Elijah. His zeal is fierce; he is not shocked by blood; he has no softness and no relenting. If the warning at Horeb had the meaning which we have supposed (see note on 1 K. xix. 12), he did not permanently profit by it. He continued the uncompromising avenger of sin, the wielder of the terrors of the Lord, such exactly as he had shown himself at Carmel. He is, consequently, no pattern for Christian men (see Luke ix. 55); but his character is the perfection of the purely legal type. No true Christian after Pentecost would have done what he did now. But what he did, when he did it, was not sinful. It was but executing strict, stern justice.

there came down fire from heaven.] Elijah could only ask that fire should fall—God made it fall; and, by so doing, both vindicated His own honour, and justified the prayer of His prophet.

13. *And he sent again.*] Ahaziah's pertinacity is very remarkable. Perhaps we may trace in his conduct not so much natural stubbornness as the petulance and perverseness of an invalid—bedridden, and hopeless of a cure.

fell on his knees.] Not as a worshipper, but as a suppliant.

let my life be precious.] This is a rare phrase. It seems to occur only here (verses 13, 14), and in 1 S. xxvi. 21. The phrase is exactly the converse of our common expression "to hold life *cheap*."

15. *And the angel of the Lord said unto Elijah.*] Rather, "*an* angel," as in verse 3.

16. *Is it not because there is no God in Israel?*] *I.e.* "Was it not done in order to show that there is no God in Israel?" Was not this intended, or at least necessarily implied, in the message? (See note on verse 3.)

therefore.] As a punishment for this insult to Jehovah.

to enquire of his word? therefore thou shalt not come down off that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.

17 ¶ So he died according to the word of the LORD which Elijah had spoken. And Jehoram reigned in his stead in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah; because he had no son.

18 Now the rest of the acts of Ahaziah which he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

CHAPTER II.

1 *Elijah, taking his leave of Elisha, with his mantle divideth Jordan, 9 and, granting Elisha his request, is taken up by a fiery chariot into heaven.* 12 *Elisha, dividing Jordan with Elijah's mantle, is acknowledged his successor.* 16 *The young prophets, hardly obtaining leave to seek Elijah, could not find him.* 19 *Elisha with salt healeth the unwholesome waters.* 23 *Bears destroy the children that mocked Elisha.*

AND it came to pass, when the LORD would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal.

2 And Elijah said unto Elisha,

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17. *And Jehoram reigned.*] It is probable that a word meaning "his brother" has fallen out here between "Jehoram" and "reigned," by the carelessness of a copyist. Otherwise the clause, "because he had no son," is unintelligible.

in the second year of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat.] The similarity of names in the two royal houses of Israel and Judah at this time, and at no other, seems to be the consequence of the close ties which for once united the two reigning families, and is well noted among the "undesigned coincidences" of the Old Testament. (See Blunt, 'Und. Coinc.,' ii. § 19, p. 199.) The accession of the Israelite Jehoram in the second year of the Jewish king of the same name involves some difficulty. In ch. iii. 1 we are told that he ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat; and this agrees with previous statements as to the accession of Jehoshaphat and the length of his reign. Perhaps Jehoram of Judah received the royal title from his father as early as his father's sixteenth year, when he was about to join Ahab against the Syrians; the same year might then be called either the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat or the second of Jehoram.

CHAP. II. 1. *And it came to pass when the Lord would take up Elijah.*] There are reasons for believing that the events of this chapter are related out of their chronological order. Elijah's translation did not take place till after the accession of Jehoram in Judah (2 Chr. xxi. 12), which was not till the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel (2 K. viii. 16). It would seem that the writer of Kings, having concluded his notices of the ministry of Elijah in ch. i., and being about to pass in ch. iii. to the ministry of Elisha, thought it best to insert at this point the final scene of Elijah's life, though it did not occur till several years later.

Elijah went with Elisha.] From the time of his call Elisha was ordinarily—though not, it would seem, constantly—in attendance on Elijah. He "ministered to him" (1 K. xix. 21) and "poured water on his hands" (2 K. iii. 11); *i. e.*, he performed for him all those offices of kindness which a son might have performed for an aged father.

from Gilgal.] The Gilgal here mentioned, from which the two prophets "went *down*" to Bethel, cannot possibly be the place in the Jordan valley, between the river and Jericho, where Joshua set up the twelve stones (Josh. iv. 20), for from this the ascent to Bethel would have been very considerable. It must be sought in the hill country of Ephraim, and at a higher elevation than Bethel itself, which is in the mountain region. Such a position belongs to the modern *Jiljilieh*, on the highland between Nablous and Beitin (Bethel), about eight and a half miles from the latter; and this place is therefore now commonly supposed to be the Gilgal here mentioned. Some regard it as the ordinary residence of Elisha. (See below, ch. iv. 38.)

2. *Elijah said unto Elisha, Tarry here.*] Elijah's motive in making this request is not clear. It would seem that he knew by special revelation what was going to happen to him. (See verses 9 and 10.) Perhaps he thought that so awful and sacred a scene as that which he was led to expect, should be kept as secret as possible.

the Lord hath sent me to Bethel.] Elijah may have been directed to Bethel, because of the "School of the Prophets" there, that the sight of him—if not his words—might console and encourage them before they lost him for ever.

as the Lord liveth and as thy soul liveth.] This double oath, which Elisha three times repeats (see verses 4 and 6), is very remarkable. The two clauses of it are sepa-

Tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Beth-el. And Elisha said *unto him*, *As* the LORD liveth, and *as* thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they went down to Beth-el.

3 And the sons of the prophets that *were* at Beth-el came forth to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to day? And he said, Yea, I know *it*; hold ye your peace.

4 And Elijah said unto him, Elisha, tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Jericho. And he said, *As* the LORD liveth, and *as* thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they came to Jericho.

5 And the sons of the prophets that *were* at Jericho came to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to day? And he answered, Yea, I know *it*; hold ye your peace.

6 And Elijah said unto him, Tarry, I pray thee, here; for the LORD hath sent me to Jordan. And he said, *As* the LORD liveth, and *as* thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And they two went on.

7 And fifty men of the sons of the prophets went, and stood †to view afar off: and they two stood by Jordan.

† Heb. *in sight*, or, *over against.*

8 And Elijah took his mantle, and wrapped *it* together, and smote the waters, and they were divided hither

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rately used with some frequency (see Jud. viii. 19; Ruth iii. 13; 1 S. i. 26; xiv. 39; xvii. 55; xix. 6; xx. 21; 2 S. iv. 9; xi. 11; &c.), but it is comparatively seldom that they are united. (See 1 S. xx. 3; xxv. 26; 2 K. iv. 30.)

went down.] See note on verse 1.

3. *The sons of the prophets.*] See note on 1 K. xx. 35.

came forth to Elisha.] It does not appear that any interchange of speech took place between "the sons of the prophets," and Elijah. We may suppose that Elijah was too much occupied with heavenly thoughts, too deeply wrapt in communion with his God, to address any exhortation to the scholars. Perhaps he scarcely noticed their presence.

the Lord will take away thy master.] Clearly, independent revelations had been made to the two "schools" at Bethel and Jericho, and also to Elisha, with respect to Elijah's coming removal, which they knew was to take place that day. But it is not clear that even Elisha knew his master was to be "translated."

from thy head.] *I.e.* from his position as teacher and master. The teacher sat on an elevated seat, so that his feet were level with the heads of his pupils. (Compare Acts xxii. 3.)

hold ye your peace.] That is, "Say nothing—disturb us not. The matter is too sacred for words. I know, as well as you, that I am to lose my master to-day."

4. *The Lord hath sent me to Jericho.*] From Bethel Elijah is sent to another place where there was a "school of the prophets"—Jericho, in the valley of the Jordan, about 12½ miles from Bethel. Here the school was not only to be edified by the sight of the great prophet, but was actually from a distance to witness his ascension. (See below, verse 7.)

6. *The Lord hath sent me to Jordan.*] Rather "to *the* Jordan." As usual, the word has the article.

7. *Fifty men of the sons of the prophets.*] We see by this how large were the prophetical schools. It is implied that the "fifty" were only a *portion* of the school of Jericho.

stood to view.] It is a reasonable conjecture that the sons of the prophets ascended the abrupt heights behind the town, whence they would command a view of the whole course of the river and of the opposite bank for many miles.

they two stood by Jordan.] By the time that the "fifty men" arrived at the place where they intended to station themselves, Elijah and Elisha had reached the Jordan. The nearest bend of the river is about five miles, or rather more, from the site of Jericho.

8. *Elijah took his mantle and wrapped it together.*] Rather "**rolled it up**," so as to make it in some sort resemble a rod.

smote the waters.] Smote them, as Moses "*smote*" the river Nile (Ex. vii. 20), Aaron the dust (ib. viii. 17), and Moses the rock (Num. xx. 11)—strongly, as one smites an enemy.

they were divided hither and thither.] It is obvious to compare the "division" of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 21) by Moses, and the "cutting off" of the waters of Jordan at, or near, this

and thither, so that they two went over on dry ground.

9 ¶ And it came to pass, when they were gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.

† Heb. *Thou hast done hard in asking.*

10 And he said, †Thou hast asked a hard thing: *nevertheless*, if thou see me *when I am* taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be *so*.

11 And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, *there appeared* a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and [a]Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.

[a] Ecclus. 48. 9. 1 Mac. 2. 58.

12 ¶ And Elisha saw *it*, and he cried, [b]My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. And he saw him no more:

[b] ch. 13. 14.

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same place, under Joshua (Josh. iii. 13). The attestation to the divine mission of Elijah furnished by this miracle would tend to place him upon a par in the thoughts of men with those two great leaders of the nation.

9. *Ask what I shall do for thee.*] Now, apparently for the first time, Elijah ceases to be wrapt in thought. On the point of departure, almost at the last moment, he bethinks himself of the strong attachment of his follower, never more manifest than on this day, when resisting every suggestion, proof against even his master's seeming coldness, he has again and again refused to leave him. Elijah wishes to make his follower some return—at least to show him he is grateful.

and Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.] Like Solomon, Elisha asks for no worldly advantage, but for spiritual power to discharge his office aright. The "double portion" has been generally understood to mean double the power of Elijah: and the words of the next verse—"Thou hast asked a hard thing"—are favourable to this interpretation. But the phrase used in the Hebrew is that which in Deut. xxi. 17 denotes the proportion of a father's property which was the right of an eldest son; and consequently the later commentators are almost unanimous that Elisha only asked for twice as much of Elijah's spirit as should be inherited by any other of the "sons of the prophets." He simply claimed, *i. e.*, to be acknowledged as Elijah's *firstborn* spiritual son, in right perhaps of that adoption which had been signified by the casting of the mantle at Abel-meholah (1 K. xix. 19). Pool observes that, as a reward for his modesty, he received more than he asked; and some of the old commentators endeavour to prove that he actually possessed twice the miraculous power of Elijah. But, as Keil remarks, "it is only a quite external and superficial view of the career of Elisha that can see in it a proof that double the spirit of Elijah rested upon him." The figure of Elisha is in truth quite secondary and subordinate, even in the Books of Kings, to that of Elijah. And in the remainder of Scripture his inferiority is still more marked. While Elijah is mentioned in Chronicles, in Malachi, in every Gospel repeatedly, in the Epistle to the Romans, and in the Epistle of James, Elisha's name occurs—out of Kings—but once in the whole of the rest of Scripture (Luk. iv. 27).

10. *If thou see me when I am taken from thee.*] It would be better to omit the words "when I am," which are not in the original. The sign was to be Elisha's seeing the actual translation.

11. *A chariot of fire and horses of fire.*] This was the appearance which now presented itself to the eyes of Elisha (see verse 12). Similarly, Elisha's servant afterwards saw the mountain "full of horses and *chariots of fire*," when at the prayer of his master his eyes were opened (2 K. vi. 17).

Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.] Literally, "Elijah went up in a storm into the sky." There is no mention of a whirlwind, but only of a storm; and the word translated "heaven" is properly the visible firmament or sky. No honest exegesis can explain this passage in any other sense than as teaching the translation of Elijah, who was taken from the earth, like Enoch (Gen. v. 24), without dying. (Compare Ecclus. xlviii. 9.)

12. *Elisha saw it.*] Thus the condition was fulfilled to which Elijah had attached the accomplishment of his follower's request for a double portion of his spirit. (See verse 10).

And he cried, my father.] See above 1 K. xix. 19, and note ad loc.

the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.] These words are probably in apposition with the preceding, and are thus said of Elijah, whom Elisha addresses as "the true defence of Israel, better than either chariots or horsemen." Probably the sight of the chariot and horses of fire causes Elisha to use this particular imagery.

and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces.

13 He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went
† Heb. *lip.* back, and stood by the †bank of Jordan;

14 And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and said, Where *is* the LORD God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither: and Elisha went over.

15 And when the sons of the
[c] ver. 7. prophets which *were* [c]to view at Jericho saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.

16 ¶ And they said unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty †strong men; let them go, † Heb. *sons of strength.* we pray thee, and seek thy master: lest peradventure the Spirit of the LORD hath taken him up, and cast him upon †some mountain, or into † Heb. *one of the mountains.* some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send.

17 And when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send. They sent therefore fifty men; and they sought three days, but found him not.

18 And when they came again to him, (for he tarried at Jericho,) he said unto them, Did I not say unto you, Go not?

19 ¶ And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the

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he took hold of his own clothes and rent them.] Compare Num. xiv. 6; 2 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 27; Ezr. ix. 3; Job i. 20; ii. 12; &c.

14. *He . . . smote the waters, and said, Where, &c.*] On the true construction of this passage, see additional note at the end of the chapter. Elisha's smiting of the waters seems to have been tentative. He was not sure of its result. Hence the form of his invocation —"Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" Is He here—*i. e.*—with me, or is He not? Answered by the event, he appears never subsequently to have doubted.

and when he also had smitten the waters.] From the double mention of Elisha's smiting the waters, it has been concluded that he smote them twice; the first time without effect silently, and the second with an invocation effectively (Vulgate, Theodoret, Houbigant, Maurer, &c.). But the writer merely repeats the clause because the invocation has broken the thread of his narrative. Only one smiting of the waters is meant.

15. *The sons of the prophets, which were to view at Jericho.*] Literally, "which were at Jericho opposite." Compare verse 7.

16. *Lest peradventure the spirit of the Lord hath taken him.*] Compare 1 K. xviii. 12; Ezek. viii. 3; Acts viii. 39.

and cast him upon some mountain.] Keil supposes that they expected to find the dead body of Elijah, which, having been taken up into the air, might have fallen to the earth somewhere, and that they desired to inter it with due honour. But the words rather imply that they expected to find the prophet alive.

17. *They urged him till he was ashamed.*] Literally, "till shame"—which some expound of the prophets (Gesenius, Winer, Keil)—"till *they were* ashamed or embarrassed, at his refusal"—but others, more correctly, with our translators, of Elisha himself—"till he was ashamed to refuse them any longer." (So among others, Thenius.)

19. *The situation of this city is pleasant.*] Situated on a broad plain traversed by an abundant river, shaded by groves of palm-trees (Deut. xxxiv. 3) and fig-mulberries (Luke xix. 4), the air scented with aromatic shrubs, opobalsam, myrobalanum, and the like, facing the orient, and shaded by the Quarantana mountains from the setting sun, Jericho may well have been regarded by its inhabitants, even at this time, as a "pleasant" place. When, however, instead of the two perennial springs of bright sweet water, which rising at the base of the Quarantana range, send their streams across the plain to the Jordan, "scattering, even at the hottest season, the richest and most grateful vegetation over what would otherwise be a bare tract of sandy soil," (Grove) nothing but a bitter and brackish rivulet flowed by the town, the advantages of its site would have been considerably less than at present. Good water would have been obtainable only from the Jordan, which is distant from the site of Jericho more than five miles.

situation of this city *is* pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water *is* naught, and the ground †barren.

† Heb. *causing to miscarry.*

20 And he said, Bring me a new cruse, and put salt therein. And they brought *it* to him.

21 And he went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast the salt in there, and said, Thus saith the LORD, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren *land.*

22 So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the saying of Elisha which he spake.

23 ¶ And he went up from thence unto Beth-el: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head.

24 And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the LORD. And there came

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the water is naught.] *I.e.* "bad."

and the ground barren.] The marginal rendering, "causing to miscarry," is better, but not quite exact. Translate, "**and the land apt to miscarry.**" (Compare the Septuagint ἀτεκνουμένη, and see below, verse 21.) The stream was thought to be the cause of untimely births, abortions, and the like, among the cattle, perhaps also among the people, that drank of it.

20. *Bring me a new cruse, and put salt therein.*] The "new cruse" and the "salt" are evidently chosen from a regard to symbolism. The foul stream represents sin, and to cleanse it emblems of purity must be taken. Hence the clean "new" dish, previously unused, and thus untainted; and the salt, naturally very unapt to heal an unwholesome stream, which generally holds too much salt in solution, but a common Scriptural symbol of incorruption. (See Lev. ii. 13; Ezek. xliii. 24; Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 49; Luke xiv. 34; &c.)

21. *The spring of the waters.*] The spring intended is probably that now called Ain-es-Sultan, which is "the only one *near* Jericho." (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 283.) It lies at the distance of nearly two miles from the present Eriha, but it is not much more than a mile from the site of the ancient town. It is described as "a large and beautiful fountain of sweet and pleasant water" (ibid. p. 284). The springs issuing from the eastern base of the highlands of Judah and Benjamin are to this day generally brackish.

and cast the salt in there.] As Moses "cast into the waters" of Marah the tree which God had shewed him. (Ex. xv. 25.)

from thence.] *I.e.* "from the water."

barren land.] Rather "miscarrying." See note on verse 19.

23. *And he went up.*] Elisha ascended from the depressed plain of Jericho to the top of the highland of Judah, an ascent of above 3000 feet.

to Beth-el.] As Beth-el was the chief seat of the calf-worship (1 K. xii. 32, 33; xiii. 1-32), a prophet of Jehovah was not unlikely to meet with insult there.

as he was going up by the way.] *I.e.* "by the usual road." The road was probably that which winds up the defile of the Wady Suweinit, under hills even now retaining some trees, and in Elisha's time covered with a dense forest, the haunt of savage animals. (Compare 1 K. xiii. 24; and for the general prevalence of beasts of prey in the country, both earlier and later than this, see Judg. xiv. 5; 1 S. xvii. 34; 1 K. xx. 36; 2 K. xvii. 25; Am. v. 19, &c.)

there came forth little children.] As the word here translated "children" sometimes means "young men" (Gen. xxii. 5; xli. 12; 2 Chr. xiii. 7), it has been proposed to understand in this place "grown up persons." But the epithet "little" (*ketannim*) precludes this meaning.

24. *He . . . cursed them in the name of the Lord.*] On this one occasion only do we find Elisha a minister of vengeance. Perhaps it was necessary to show, at the outset of his career as a prophet, that he too, like Elijah, could wield the terrors of God's judgments—the more necessary from his known mild and peaceful character. (See note on 1 K. xix. 19.) It may reasonably be surmised that the children who mocked him were the sons of idolatrous fathers, who had brought them up in contempt of the worshippers of Jehovah, and encouraged them to flout His ministers. They may even have been specially ordered to waylay Elisha and insult him as he approached the town.

the wood.] Or "the forest" (*ha-ya'ar*). *Ya'ar* is a stronger term than *khoresh*, which is the ordinary word for "wood."

and tare two-and-forty of them.] The severity of this punishment has troubled many. It may diminish the difficulty which the passage causes, to remember, first, that a signal example may have been greatly needed to

forth two she bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them.

25 And he went from thence to mount Carmel, and from thence he returned to Samaria.

check the growth of irreligion; and secondly, that the persons really punished on this occasion were, not so much the children, as the wicked parents, whose mouth-pieces the children were, and who justly lost the gift of offspring of which they had shown themselves unworthy.

25. *He went from thence to Mount Carmel.*] It appears by the subsequent history, that Elisha held gatherings on Mount Carmel for religious purposes (infra, ch. iv. 23-25) during one period of his life, if he did not even reside there.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 14.

"Where is the Lord God of Elijah? and when he also."

Rather, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah, **even he**? And when he had smitten, &c." The words אַף־הוּא, "even he," were early felt as a difficulty. The LXX., unable to render them, expressed them in Greek characters, ἀφφώ. Houbigant suggests that the true reading is אָנָּא, "now;" and so Thenius, Schulz, Böttcher, and Dathe. Whether we adopt this view or retain the present text, we must equally detach the word (or words) from what follows, and attach it to what precedes.

CHAPTER III.

1 Jehoram's reign. 4 Mesha rebelleth. 6 Jehoram, with Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom, being distressed for want of water, by Elisha obtaineth water, and promise of victory. 21 The Moabites, deceived by the colour of the water, coming to spoil, are overcome. 26 The king of Moab, by sacrificing the king of Edom's son, raiseth the siege.

NOW Jehoram the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned twelve years.

2 And he wrought evil in the sight of the LORD; but not like his father, and like his mother: for he put away the †image of Baal that his father had made. † Heb. *statue.*

3 Nevertheless he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.

4 ¶ And Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand

CHAP. III. 1. *Jehoram, the son of Ahab.*] We have here the statement supplied which is omitted in the present text of 2 K. i. 17. Ahaziah left no son, and was consequently succeeded by his brother.

in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat.] This date agrees exactly with the statements that Jehoshaphat began to reign in the fourth year of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 41), and Ahaziah in the 17th of Jehoshaphat (ib. verse 51).

2. *He wrought evil . . . but not like his father.*] On the "evil" wrought by Ahab, see especially 1 K. xvi. 30-34. Jehoram, warned apparently by the untimely fate of his brother, which Elijah had declared to be a punishment for his Baal worship (2 K. i. 16), began his reign by a formal abolition of the Phœnician state-religion introduced by Ahab, and a re-establishment of the old worship of the kingdom as arranged by its founder, Jeroboam.

he put away the image of Baal that his father had made.] See 1 K. xvi. 32, 33; where, however, the setting up of an "image" of Baal by Ahab is implied rather than distinctly stated. While Jehoram "put away" the image, and thus abolished the worship as that of the state, he must have connived at its continuance among the people, as appears from the narrative in ch. x., especially verses 26 and 27.

4. *Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheepmaster.*] Moab, the region immediately east of the Dead Sea and of the lower Jordan, though in part suited for agriculture, is in the main a great grazing country. It has been compared to "the downs of our own southern counties" (Grove). The king of Moab must have resembled a modern Arab Sheikh, whose wealth is usually estimated by the number of his flocks and herds.

and rendered unto the king of Israel.] It has been argued that this "rendering" was not

lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.

[a] ch. 1. 1. 5 But it came to pass, when [a] Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel.

6 ¶ And king Jehoram went out of Samaria the same time, and numbered all Israel.

7 And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: [b] I *am* as thou *art*, my people as thy people, *and* my horses as thy horses.

[b] 1 Kings 22. 4.

8 And he said, Which way shall we go up? And he answered, The way through the wilderness of Edom.

9 So the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the king of Edom: and they fetched a compass

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regular, but extraordinary (Patrick)—being a fine imposed on the king for his revolt. But, 1, the revolt is *later* than the payment spoken of; and 2, the Hebrew verb used is one which implies repeated and regular payments. Compare Num. xviii. 9; 2 K. xvii. 3; &c.

a hundred thousand lambs.] Tribute in kind was the ordinary tribute at this time in the East. The Assyrian monarchs far more often impose a tribute in cattle, horses, and other commodities, than in gold and silver. Tribute was paid in kind to Jehoshaphat by the Arabians. (2 Chr. xvii. 11.)

and a hundred thousand rams.] Rather "wethers."

with the wool.] There is no "with" in the original; and the best Hebrew scholars understand the passage to mean that Mesha had to pay annually the wool of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 sheep, not the sheep and lambs "with their wool."

5. *When Ahab was dead.*] See above, ch. i. 1, and note ad loc.

6. *The same time.*] Literally, "on that day." The phrase is probably used with some latitude, and means *about* the time that Jehoram ascended the throne—*near* the beginning of his reign. Jehoram may have been encouraged to attempt the reduction of Moab, from which Ahaziah had shrunk, by the slaughter of the Moabites recorded in 2 Chr. xx. 23.

and numbered all Israel.] Rather, "reviewed" or "mustered."

7. *He sent to Jehoshaphat.*] The close alliance between the two kingdoms still subsisted. It was only two years before that Jehoshaphat had accompanied Ahab to the attack on Ramoth-Gilead. Jehoram therefore sends confidently to make the same request with respect to Moab that his father had made with respect to Syria. See 1 K. xxii. 4.

and he said, I will go up.] Jehoshaphat consents at once, notwithstanding that his former compliance had drawn upon him the rebuke of a prophet (2 Chr. xix. 2). Perhaps Jehoram's removal of the Baal-worship (see verse 2) weighed with him. We learn from Chronicles (xx. 1) that he had himself been attacked by the Moabites in the preceding year; and though this attempt of theirs had ended in disaster, Jehoshaphat would feel that it might be renewed, and that it was therefore important to seize the opportunity of weakening his enemy which now offered itself.

I am as thou art, &c.] Jehoshaphat repeats the exact words of his answer to Ahab. (1 K. xxii. 4.) They were probably a formula in use at the time, expressive of complete alliance.

8. *Which way shall we go up?*] The readiest and most natural "way" was across the Jordan near Jericho into the Arboth-Moab, and then along the eastern shore of the lake to Moab proper, the tract south of the Arnon. But this way would not have led near Edom.

the way through the wilderness of Edom.] That is, round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, and across the Arabah, or continuation of the Jordan and Dead Sea valley. This route led to the Edomite country which extended along the eastern side of the Arabah and bordered on Moab towards the south, where its desert (*midbar*) was divided from that of Moab by the Wady-Kurahy or El Ahsy. One object of taking this route was most likely to effect a junction with the forces of Edom, which had resumed its dependence on Judah, though the year before it had been in alliance with Moab. (See 2 Chr. xx. 22, and note ad loc.) Another may have been, to come upon the Moabites unprepared. This line of march was followed on more than one occasion by the Crusaders, who maintained fortresses in the Moabite country.

9. *And they fetched a compass.*] The united armies of Judah and Israel "fetched a compass"—not that of Edom, which would only join when the "compass" was completed.

of seven days' journey: and there was no water for the host, and for the cattle that followed them.

† Heb. *at their feet.*

10 And the king of Israel said, Alas! that the LORD hath called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab!

11 But Jehoshaphat said, *Is there* not here a prophet of the LORD, that we may enquire of the LORD by him? And one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said, Here *is* Elisha the son of Shaphat, which poured water on the hands of Elijah.

12 And Jehoshaphat said, The word of the LORD is with him. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom went down to him.

13 And Elisha said unto the king of Israel, What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother. And the king of Israel said unto him, Nay: for the LORD hath

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of seven days' journey.] The distance from Jerusalem, by Hebron, Malatha, and Thamara to the north Edomite country, which is the best watered route, and was probably that pursued on the present occasion, is not much more than 100 miles. But the difficulties of the way are great (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 580-630); and we can well understand that an army might not be able to move along it at a faster rate than about 15 miles a day.

there was no water.] The kings had probably expected to find water in the Wady-el-Ahsy, which has a stream that is now regarded as perennial (Robinson, vol. ii. p. 488). But it was dried up—quite a possible occurrence with any of the streams of this region.

for the cattle.] *I.e.* "the baggage animals." See verse 17.

10. *The Lord.*] Jehoram, who has disestablished the Baal-worship and only retained the idolatry of the calves (verses 2, 3) acknowledges Jehovah for the true Lord.

to deliver them into the hand of Moab.] The Israelites, depending upon the Wady for water, had probably brought no supply with them. They had arrived at their camping-ground after a hot march through the desert, weary and thirsty. The host of Moab was encamped opposite to them (verse 21), and, better acquainted with the waterless condition of the Wady, had probably brought a supply in skins. Jehoram views his fate as certain—he is delivered into his enemy's hand. His troops are too exhausted to retreat during the night; on the morrow they will be dying of thirst, and will be still less able to move. Escape under these circumstances seems to him simply impossible.

11. *A prophet of the Lord.*] A "prophet *of Jehovah.*" It was necessary to inquire thus definitely, as there were still plenty of *soi-disant* prophets who were only prophets of Baal. (See verse 13, and compare ch. x. 19.)

one of the king of Israel's servants answered, Here is Elisha.] Jehoram had not intentionally brought Elisha with him. He was ignorant of his presence with the host, and one of his "servants," or officers, had to answer Jehoshaphat's inquiry.

which poured water.] Or "which *poureth* water." The præterite in Hebrew often implies the habit or repetition of an action which is still continuing. "Pouring water on the hands" or feet signifies ministration or attendance. (Compare John xiii. 5 et seqq.)

12. *The king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom went down to him.*] It marks the severe need which the kings felt they had of the prophet, that instead of summoning him into their presence they sought him.

13. *And Elisha said unto the king of Israel.*] Jehoram's present humility does not save him from rebuke. He is of the accursed stock, and lies himself under a special curse; since all the evil threatened against Ahab was to come to pass in "*his son's* days" (1 K. xxi. 29). Moreover, his reformation (see verse 2) had been but a half-reformation—a compromise with idolatry. Not only had the calf-worship been retained, but the Baal-worship itself, though disestablished, had been allowed to continue and was in favour with the Queen-Mother, and probably with a portion of the Court.

the prophets of thy father and the prophets of thy mother.] *I.e.* the Baal-prophets, thus designated, either because there had been some who depended upon the king, while others were attached more especially to the queen (1 K. xviii. 19); or, more probably, because, though the king had allowed them and so was answerable for them, the queen had been their real introducer and upholder. (Compare 1 K. xvi. 31; xix. 2; xxi. 25, &c.)

and the king of Israel said . . . Nay, for the Lord hath called.] The force of this reply

called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab.

14 And Elisha said, *As* the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee.

15 But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the LORD came upon him.

16 And he said, Thus saith the LORD, Make this valley full of ditches.

17 For thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water, that ye may drink, both ye, and your cattle, and your beasts.

18 And this is *but* a light thing in the sight of the LORD: he will deliver the Moabites also into your hand.

19 And ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and †mar every good piece of land with stones.

† Heb. *grieve.*

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seems to be—"Nay, reproach me not, since I am in a sore strait—and not only I, but these two other kings also. The Lord—'Jehovah'—is about to deliver us into the hand of Moab. If thou canst not, or wilt not help, at least do not reproach."

14. *And Elisha said, As the Lord of hosts liveth.*] This most solemn form of adjuration, used once by Elijah (1 K. xvii. 1) and once more by Elisha (infra ch. v. 16), has great force, and introduces with marked emphasis the declaration by which Jehoram is to learn that the coming deliverance is not granted on his account, but solely on account of Jehoshaphat.

15. *But now, bring me a minstrel.*] Music seems to have been a regular accompaniment of prophecy in the "schools of the prophets" (1 S. x. 5; 1 Chr. xxv. 1-3; &c.), and an occasional accompaniment of it elsewhere (Ex. xv. 20).

the hand of the Lord came upon him.] See above, 1 K. xviii. 46.

16. *This valley.*] The Hebrew word signifies a *wady*, or broad valley occupied in the centre by a torrent course.

ditches.] Or "pits," as the word is translated in Jerem. xiv. 3, and elsewhere. They were to dig pits in the wady, wherein the water might remain, instead of flowing off down the torrent course.

17. *Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain.*] No rain was to fall where the Israelites and their enemies were encamped; there was not even to be that all but universal accompaniment of rain in the East, a sudden rise of wind. (Compare 1 K. xviii. 45; Ps. cxlvii. 18; Matt. vii. 25.) Thus only could the deception of the Moabites be brought about (see verse 23), who, if they had as much as heard wind during the night, would probably have ascribed the red pools to their right cause.

your cattle and your beasts.] The "cattle" which are here distinguished from the "beasts" denote the animals brought for food. The "beasts" are the baggage animals. The latter alone are mentioned in verse 9.

19. *Ye shall fell every good tree.*] This has been regarded as an infringement of the rule laid down in Deut. xx. 19, 20, an exception of the Moabites from the general merciful provision of the Law, which forbade (it is thought) the cutting down of fruit-trees in an enemy's country. Such an exception might no doubt be made by a prophet, on the authority of his Divine mission. But it may be doubted whether the passage of Deuteronomy has the wide meaning usually assigned to it. In its letter it forbids only the using of the fruit-trees for timber in siege-works. In its spirit it is prudential rather than merciful, the reason assigned for the prohibition being, "for *thou mayest eat* of them." Thus it would seem that the Israelites were not forbidden to fell the fruit-trees in an enemy's country, as a part of the ravage of war, when they had no thoughts of occupying the country. The plan of thus injuring an enemy was probably in general use among the nations of these parts at the time. We see the destruction represented frequently on the Assyrian monuments (Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 588; 'Monuments,' First Series, pl. 73; Second Series, pl. 40), and find frequent mention of it in the inscriptions of Egypt. (See note on Deut. xx. 19.)

and stop all wells of water.] The stoppage of wells was a common feature of ancient, and especially Oriental, warfare. We find the Philistines stopping the Hebrew wells after Abraham's death (Gen. xxvi. 15-18). The Scythians stopped their own wells when Darius invaded them (Herod. iv. 120). Arsaces III. partly stopped, and partly poisoned, the Persian wells in his war with Antiochus (Polyb. x. 28, § 5).

20 And it came to pass in the morning, when the meat offering was offered, that, behold, there came water by the way of Edom, and the country was filled with water.

21 ¶ And when all the Moabites heard that the kings were come up to fight against them, they †gathered all that were able to †put on armour, and upward, and stood in the border.

22 And they rose up early in the morning, and the sun shone upon the water, and the Moabites saw the water on the other side *as* red as blood:

23 And they said, This *is* blood: the kings are surely †slain, and they have smitten one another: now therefore, Moab, to the spoil.

24 And when they came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them: but ‖they went forward smiting the Moabites, even in *their* country.

25 And they beat down the cities, and on every good piece of land cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water, and felled all the good trees; †only in Kir-haraseth left they the

† Heb. *were cried together.*

† Heb. *gird himself with a girdle.*

† Heb. *destroyed.*

‖ Or, *they smote in it even smiting.*

† Heb. *until he left the stones thereof in Kir-haraseth.*

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20. *When the meat-offering was offered.*] Compare 1 K. xviii. 29, where the hour is marked by a similar allusion to the Temple service. The morning sacrifice was offered about sunrise.

there came water by the way of Edom.] The Wady-el-Ahsy drains a considerable portion of northern Edom. Heavy rain had fallen during the night in some part of this tract, and with the morning a freshet of water came down the valley, filling the pits, and then running off again.

21. *And when all the Moabites heard.*] The writer here goes back in point of time, in order to explain the position of the Moabites. It would be better to translate—"Now when all the Moabites had heard that the kings were come up to fight against them, they had gathered," &c. The Moabites had taken their station on the northern side of the wady at least some time the preceding day.

they gathered all that were able to put on armour.] Literally, "to wear a girdle." They brought into the field their whole military force, including even the youths who had just assumed the sword-belt.

and upward.] *I.e.* "and all above this age." The very aged and the infirm were of course excepted.

and stood in the border.] On the north side of the wady, ready to defend their territory.

22. *The sun shone upon the water.*] The sun had risen with a ruddy light, as is frequently the case after a storm (Matt. xvi. 3), nearly over the Israelite camp, which must have been pitched at a bend of the wady, where its course was for a while nearly from north to south.

on the other side.] In the wady, "on the other side" of the torrent course.

23. *And they said, This is blood.*] The pits, deep but with small mouths, gleaming redly through the haze which would lie along the newly moistened valley, seemed to the Moabites like pools of blood. They caught at the idea, probably, the more readily from a recollection of their own disaster the preceding year, when they and their allies had mutually destroyed each other (2 Chr. xx. 23). It seemed to them from their knowledge of the jealousies subsisting between Judah, Israel, and Edom, not unlikely that a similar calamity had now befallen their foes.

25. *On every good piece of land cast every man his stone.*] This marring of good land with stones is the exact converse of that clearing and preparation of land for cultivation whereof we hear in Isaiah v. 2:—"My beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill; and he fenced it, and *gathered out the stones thereof*," &c. The land in and about Palestine is so stony that the first work of the cultivator is to collect the surface stones together into heaps. An army marching through a land could easily undo this work, dispersing the stones thus gathered, and spreading them once more over the fields.

only in Kir-haraseth.] Kir-Haraseth, called also Kir-Hareseth (Is. xvi. 7), Kir-Haresh (ib. 11), and Kir-Moab (ib. xv. 1), is identified almost certainly with the modern Kerak, a strong city on the highland immediately east of the southern part of the Dead Sea. It was the great fortress of Moab, though not the capital, which was Rabbath or Rabbah. Ptolemy and Stephen of Byzantium mention it under the name of Karak-Moba (Karak of Moab). It was an important stronghold at the time of the Crusades, and is still a place of great strength. It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep and narrow valley, which again is completely enclosed by mountains rising higher than

stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about *it*, and smote it.

26 ¶ And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew swords, to break through *even* unto the king of Edom: but they could not.

27 Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him *for* a burnt offering upon the wall. And there was great indignation against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to *their own* land.

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the town. The word Kir or Kar seems to have meant "fortress." It is found in Cir-cesium, Car-chemish, Char-mandé, &c.

left they the stones thereof.] The meaning seems to be that they dismantled all the other cities, casting the stones over the fields, to "mar" them; but that Kir-Haraseth resisted all their attempts.

the slingers went about it and smote it.] The slingers found places on the hills which surrounded the town, whence they could throw their stones into it. They thus greatly harassed the garrison, though they could not take the town.

26. *When the King of Moab found that the battle was too sore for him.*] That is, when he found that the annoyance from the slingers was intolerable.

seven hundred men that drew swords.] Rather, "**with drawn swords.**"

to break through, even unto the King of Edom.] Either because he thought that the King of Edom would connive at his escape or to take vengeance on him for having deserted his former allies. (See note on verse 8.)

27. *He took his eldest son.*] Regarding this event as the one alluded to in Amos ii. 1, several Jewish and some Christian commentators have understood by "his eldest son," the eldest son of the King of Edom, whom they suppose to have been in the King of Moab's power. The Hebrew will certainly bear this interpretation; but it seems improbable that, in that case, the allies would have discontinued the siege; and the sacrifice of an enemy is an unheard-of thing among the nations of Western Asia. It is best, therefore, to regard Am. ii. 1, as referring to some quite different transaction, and to understand by "his son," the King of Moab's own son.

and offered him for a burnt-offering.] An old king of Moab, when in a sore strait, had asked the question, "Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body, for the sin of my soul?" (Mic. vi. 7); and sacrifices of this kind were probably of the very essence of the Chemosh worship, which was closely parallel to the Moloch worship of the Ammonites. Mesha, when his sally failed, as a last resource took his first-born son, and offered him as a burnt-offering to appease the manifest anger of his god, and obtain his aid against his enemies. This act was thoroughly in accordance with Moabitish notions, and is completely intelligible.

upon the wall.] Evidently, that the besiegers might see, and fear. Compare the publicity of the Roman *devotio*, which was intended to strike the hostile army with superstitious dread (Liv. viii. 9).

and there was great indignation against Israel.] The phrase here used refers, in every other place where it occurs, to the wrath of God (see Num. i. 53, xviii. 5; Josh. ix. 20, xxii. 20; 1 Chr. xxvii. 24; 2 Chr. xix. 10, xxiv. 18, &c.), and some so understand here; but most moderns suppose the wrath of man to be meant—either that the Israelites were indignant with themselves, or that the Jews and Edomites were indignant at the Israelites for having caused the pollution of this sacrifice, and so that the siege was relinquished. Of these two explanations the latter is preferable.

they departed from him.] They, *i.e.*, the Israelites, departed from the King of Moab. They gave up the siege, and returned to their own country.

ADDITIONAL NOTE. On the bearing of the Moabite Stone upon the Jewish History.

It is now generally agreed among Semitic scholars, that the inscription of Mesha on the celebrated "Moabite Stone" was set up by the monarch mentioned in this chapter. But different opinions have been expressed as to the date of the inscription, as to the struggle which it commemorates, and so as to its exact bearing upon the narrative of Kings. While some commentators regard it as belonging to the first or second year of Aha-

ziah, and as commemorating the war implied in 2 K. ii. 1 (De Rougé, Schlottmann); others, and notably Dr. Ginsburg, believe that it was set up in the beginning of the reign of Jehu, and that the event which it especially commemorated was the deliverance, briefly touched on in the closing verse of the present chapter. The main argument in favour of the later date is a passage which states that the oppression of Moab under Omri and his descendants lasted for the space of "forty years." These forty years cannot, it is thought, be made out without taking in a considerable portion, or even the whole, of the reign of Jehoram. If, however, it be allowed that in the expression "forty years" 40 may be a round number, standing for 35 or 36, then the earlier date for the inscription, that of De Rougé and Schlottman, may be accepted.

The points established by the Inscription are—1. That Moab recovered from the blow dealt by David (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12), and became again an independent state in the interval between David's conquest and the accession of Omri; 2. That Omri reconquered the country, and that it then became subject to the northern kingdom, and remained so throughout his reign and that of his son Ahab, and into the reign of Ahab's son and successor, Ahaziah; 3. That the independence was regained by means of a war, in which Mesha took town after town from the Israelites, including in his conquests many of the towns which, at the original occupation of the Holy Land, had passed into the possession of the Reubenites or the Gadites, as Baal-Meon (Num. xxxii. 38), Kirjathaim (ib. 37), Ataroth (ib. 34), Nebo (ib. 38), Jahaz (Josh. xiii. 18), &c.; 4. That the name of Jehovah was well known to the Moabites as that of the God of the Israelites; and 5. That there was a sanctuary of Jehovah at Nebo, in the Trans-Jordanic territory, where "vessels" were used in His service.

Many other conclusions have been drawn from the stone; but they are all more or less uncertain. It is, for instance, impossible to say whether or no the Moabites maintained their independence from the time of Mesha to that of Isaiah. They may have been reduced by Jeroboam II., or by Uzziah, and have again become independent and powerful on the destruction of the Israelite kingdom by the Assyrians. Much less can we conclude from it that the Moabites had at any time made any great progress in civilization or in intellectual culture. The construction of the sentences in the inscription is rude and primitive; and though the writing is well cut, it has not the finish of Egyptian or Assyrian work of a far earlier period. It shows the Moabites to have been to some extent a literary people, but it does not indicate that they had advanced beyond the very first stage of literary composition.

CHAPTER IV.

1 Elisha multiplieth the widow's oil. 8 He giveth a son to the good Shunammite. 18 He raiseth again her dead son. 38 At Gilgal he healeth the deadly pottage. 42 He satisfieth an hundred men with twenty loaves.

NOW there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the LORD: and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen.

2 And Elisha said unto her, What shall I do for thee? tell me, what hast thou in the house? And she said, Thine handmaid hath not any thing in the house, save a pot of oil.

CHAP. IV. This chapter contains a collection of what may be called Elisha's *private* miracles — miracles of which individuals not named were the object.

1. *Thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord.*] *I. e.* "thou knowest that my husband was a faithful worshipper of Jehovah."

the creditor is come, &c.] The law of Moses, like the Athenian and the Roman law, recognised servitude for debt, allowing that pledging of the debtor's person, which, in a rude state of society, is regarded as the safest and the most natural security. It did not establish the custom, but, finding it established, allowed it; and, in allowing it, set certain limits to it. Whereas elsewhere the debtor sold himself, his children, and his grandchildren into hopeless slavery, the Jewish law confined the debtor's power of pledging within the bounds of the period of jubilee. (See Levit. xxv. 39-41.) In the present case it would seem that, so long as the debtor lived, the creditor had not enforced his right over his sons, but now on his death he claimed their services, to which he was by law entitled.

2. *A pot of oil.*] Or "an anointing of oil"

3 Then he said, Go, borrow thee vessels abroad of all thy neighbours, *even* empty vessels; ‖borrow not a few.

‖ Or, *scant not.*

4 And when thou art come in, thou shalt shut the door upon thee and upon thy sons, and shalt pour out into all those vessels, and thou shalt set aside that which is full.

5 So she went from him, and shut the door upon her and upon her sons, who brought *the vessels* to her; and she poured out.

6 And it came to pass, when the vessels were full, that she said unto her son, Bring me yet a vessel. And he said unto her, *There is* not a vessel more. And the oil stayed.

7 Then she came and told the man of God. And he said, Go, sell the oil, and pay thy ‖debt, and live thou and thy children of the rest.

‖ Or, *creditor.*

8 ¶ And †it fell on a day, that Elisha passed to Shunem, where *was* a great woman; and she †constrained him to eat bread. And *so* it was, *that* as oft as he passed by, he turned in thither to eat bread.

† Heb. *there was a day.*

† Heb. *laid hold on him.*

9 And she said unto her husband, Behold now, I perceive that this *is* an holy man of God, which passeth by us continually.

10 Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick: and it shall be, when he cometh to us, that he shall turn in thither.

11 And it fell on a day, that he came thither, and he turned into the chamber, and lay there.

12 And he said to Gehazi his servant, Call this Shunammite. And when he had called her, she stood before him.

13 And he said unto him, Say now unto her, Behold, thou hast been careful for us with all this care; what *is* to be done for thee? wouldest

—so much oil, *i.e.*, as would serve me for one anointing of my person. (So the LXX. and the Vulgate. The word used occurs only in this passage.)

3. *Borrow not a few.*] Compare below, ch. xiii. 19.

4. *Thou shalt shut the door upon thee and upon thy sons.*] Compare our Lord's conduct (Luke viii. 51-54; John vii. 3, 4; Acts x. 41; &c.), and His exhortations—"See thou tell no man" (Matt. viii. 4)—"See that no man know it" (ib. ix. 30), and the like.

7. *Pay thy debt*] The textual "debt" is more correct than the marginal "creditor."

live thou and thy children of the rest.] On the linguistic peculiarities of this passage, see additional note at the end of the chapter.

8. *And it fell on a day.*] The expression here used, which occurs *three* times in the present narrative (see verses 11 and 18), is not found elsewhere in the whole of Scripture. This fact supports the view that the author of Kings has collected from various sources his account of the miracles of Elisha, and has kept in each case the words of the original writer. The phrase itself is curious—literally it is, "And *the* day was"—or "And *the* day came"—a mode of expression which seems to imply that the hearer already knows at least the outline of the story.

Elisha passed to Shunem.] On the site of Shunem, see above, 1 K. i. 3.

A great woman.] That is, "a *rich* woman." Compare 1 S. xxv. 2; 2 S. xix. 33.

she constrained him.] Literally, "laid hold on him," as in the margin: *i.e.*, she earnestly besought him, and would take no denial.

to eat bread.] To take his meals at the house.

9. *I perceive that this is an holy man of God.*] Not "a man of God"—*i.e.*, a prophet—only, but a really holy man. Prophetic gifts were not always joined with personal holiness (See 1 K. xiii.)

10. *A little chamber on the wall.*] The room probably projected like a balcony beyond the lower apartments—an arrangement common in the East.

a stool.] Rather "a chair." The *kisseh* is a seat of some dignity. Compare 1 K. x. 19; Ps. cxxii. 5; &c. The "chair" and "table," unusual in the sleeping-rooms of the East, indicate that the Prophet was expected to use his apartment for study and retirement, not only as a sleeping-chamber.

13. *Thou hast been careful for us.*] For the Prophet and his servant, who must have been lodged as well as his master.

thou be spoken for to the king, or to the captain of the host? And she answered, I dwell among mine own people.

14 And he said, What then *is* to be done for her? And Gehazi answered, Verily she hath no child, and her husband is old.

15 And he said, Call her. And when he had called her, she stood in the door.

16 And he said, [a] About this [†] season, according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son. And she said, Nay, my lord, *thou* man of God, do not lie unto thine handmaid.

17 And the woman conceived, and bare a son at that season that Elisha had said unto her, according to the time of life.

18 ¶ And when the child was grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father to the reapers.

19 And he said unto his father, My head, my head. And he said to a lad, Carry him to his mother.

20 And when he had taken him, and brought him to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and *then* died.

21 And she went up, and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and shut *the door* upon him, and went out.

22 And she called unto her husband, and said, Send me, I pray thee, one of the young men, and one of the asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again.

23 And he said, Wherefore wilt

[a] Gen. 18. 10.
[†] Heb. *set time.*

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wouldest thou be spoken for.] Some render, "Wouldst thou speak?" (And so the LXX., who have εἰ ἐστὶ λόγος σοι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.) But our version is right. Elisha, who regards himself as having some influence at court (see below, ch. viii. 4), asks if he shall beg any boon for the woman either of the king or of the captain of the host.

and she answered, I dwell among mine own people.] The woman declines Elisha's offer. She has no wrong to complain of, no quarrel with any neighbour, in respect of which she might need the help of one in power. She "dwells among her own people"—her friends, and dependants, with whom she lives peaceably.

16. *About this season, according to the time of life.*] Rather, "about this season **in the coming year**." The expression occurs also in Gen. xviii. 10, where see note.

do not lie unto thine handmaid.] Compare the incredulity of Abraham (Gen. xvii. 17), of Sarah (Gen. xviii. 12), and of Zachariah (Luke i. 20). The expression, "do not lie," which is harsh, according to modern ideas, accords with the plain, straightforward simplicity of ancient speech. It would not mean more than "Do not deceive me" means with us. Compare verse 28.

17. *According to the time of life.*] Rather "**at the return of the year**." See the first note on verse 16.

19. *He said unto his father, My head.*] It is generally agreed that the child's malady was a sunstroke. That the inhabitants of Palestine suffered from sunstroke we see by Ps. cxxi. 6, Isaiah xlix. 10, and Judith viii. 3.

and he said to a lad.] In the original, "to *the* lad"—*i.e.* the lad who, as a matter of course, was in attendance on him.

22. *And she called unto her husband.*] The woman in her haste does not send by a messenger, who might loiter, or even go herself to her husband, but calls to him from the house, which probably looked upon the field where he was.

send me, I pray thee, one of the young men and one of the asses.] All the "young men" and all the "asses" were in the harvest field, the young men cutting and binding the sheaves, and placing them upon carts or wains, the asses drawing these vehicles when they were fully laden, to the threshing floor. (Compare Amos ii. 13.)

23. *And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to day?*] It is not clear that her husband knew the child was dead. Apparently he had not thought him very ill, or he would scarcely have remained in the field. At any rate he did not connect the illness with his wife's demand, but thought she wished to attend one of the prophet's devotional services. It is evident that such services were now held with something like regularity on Carmel for the benefit of the faithful in those parts.

new moon.] By the law the first day of each month was to be kept holy. Offerings were appointed for such occasions (Num., xxviii. 11-15), and they were among the days

thou go to him to day? *it is* neither new moon, nor sabbath. And she
† Heb. *peace.* said, *It shall be* †well.

24 Then she saddled an ass, and said to her servant, Drive, and go
† Heb. *restrain not for me to ride.* forward; †slack not *thy* riding for me, except I bid thee.

25 So she went and came unto the man of God to mount Carmel. And it came to pass, when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to Gehazi his servant, Behold, *yonder is* that Shunammite:

26 Run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, *Is it* well with thee? *is it* well with thy husband? *is it* well with the child? And she answered, *It is* well.

27 And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught
† Heb. *by his feet.* †him by the feet: but Gehazi came near to thrust her away. And the man of God said, Let her alone; for her soul *is* †vexed within her: and the † Heb. *bitter.* LORD hath hid *it* from me, and hath not told me.

28 Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, Do not deceive me?

29 Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child.

30 And the mother of the child said, *As* the LORD liveth, and *as* thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her.

31 And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face

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on which the silver trumpets were to be blown (Num. x. 10; Ps. lxxxi. 3). Hence "new moons" are frequently joined with "sabbaths." See Isaiah i. 13; Ezek. xlv. 17; xlvi. 4-6; Hos. ii. 11; 1 Chr. xxiii. 31; 2 Chr. ii. 4; Neh. x. 33, &c.

and she said, It shall be well.] Rather, as in the margin, "**Peace.**" That is to say, "Be quiet,—trouble me not with inquiries—only let me do as I wish."

24. *Slack not thy riding.*] This translation conveys a wrong idea. The servant did not ride at all, but went with the ass on foot to urge it forward, as is the ordinary custom in the East. The marginal rendering ("restrain not for me to ride") is better, but is not very clear. Translate "**delay me not in my riding**, except I bid thee."

25. *So she went and came ... to Mount Carmel.*] The distance from Shunam (*Solam*) to the nearest point of Carmel is about sixteen or seventeen miles.

behold, yonder is that Shunammite.] Rather, "**Look, that is the** Shunammite."

26. *She answered, It is well.*] Rather, "**Peace,**" (*shalom*)—a word of such ambiguous meaning that the woman's reply cannot be taxed with falsehood.

27. *She caught him by the feet.*] To lay hold of the knees or feet has always been thought in the East to add force to supplication, and is practised even at the present day. (Compare Matt. xviii. 29; Mark v. 22; vii. 25; Luke viii. 41; John xi. 32, &c.)

the Lord hath hid it from me.] Some commentators see a difficulty here, as if a prophet was bound to know everything supernaturally. But in reality the revelation of past facts, capable of being learnt in the ordinary way, was reserved for rare occasions.

28. *Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord?*] Great grief shrinks from putting itself into words. The Shunammite cannot bring herself to say, "My son is dead;" but by reproaching the prophet with having "deceived" her she sufficiently indicates her loss.

29. *Salute him not.*] The commentators compare Luke x. 4 very pertinently. It is not that the saluting would occupy any appreciable time, but salutation is the forerunner of conversation, and one bent on speed should avoid every temptation to loiter.

lay my staff on the face of the child.] This command has been much canvassed. Perhaps Elisha's object in giving it was simply to assuage the grief of the mother, by letting her feel that something was being done for her child. He may not have known whether his staff would be allowed to work the miracle or no.

30. *As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth.*] See above, ii. 2, 4, 6.

31. *There was neither voice nor hearing.*] Literally, "nor attention." (Compare 1 K. xviii. 29.)

the child is not awaked.] Some commentators conclude from this expression that the

of the child; but *there was* neither voice, nor †hearing. Wherefore he went again to meet him, and told him, saying, The child is not awaked.

†Heb. *attention.*

32 And when Elisha was come into the house, behold, the child was dead, *and* laid upon his bed.

33 He went in therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the LORD.

34 And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he stretched himself upon the child; and the flesh of the child waxed warm.

35 Then he returned, and walked in the house †to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him: and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes.

†Heb. *once hither, and once thither.*

36 And he called Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunammite. So he called her. And when she was come in unto him, he said, Take up thy son.

37 Then she went in, and fell at his feet, and bowed herself to the ground, and took up her son, and went out.

38 ¶ And Elisha came again to Gilgal: and *there was* a dearth in the land; and the sons of the prophets *were* sitting before him: and he said unto his servant, Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets.

39 And one went out into the field to gather herbs, and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild

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child was not actually dead. But this cannot be the intention of the author, who has already told us that the child *died* on his mother's knees at noon. (See verse 20.) Neither need Gehazi have imagined the child to be in a trance; for the euphemism by which death is spoken of as a sleep was already familiar to the Jews. (See note on 1 K. i. 21.)

32. *His bed.*] Not the child's bed, but Elisha's bed. See verse 21.

33. *He . . . shut the door upon them twain.*] Compare verse 4, and note ad loc.

and prayed.] Prayer was the only remedy in such a case as this, Elisha knew—prayer like that of Elijah (1 K. xvii. 21), the "effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man," which "availeth much" (Jam. v. 16). It is prayer, therefore, to which he resorts in the first instance.

34. *He . . . lay upon the child.*] Prayer does not exclude the use of other means. Elisha may have been divinely directed as to those which he should employ; or he may have consciously imitated the act of Elijah (1 K. xvii. 21), only prolonging it, because it had no immediate effect. It is clear that he did not work the miracle with the same rapidity, or with the same ease (so to speak), with which Elijah wrought his parallel one.

he stretched himself.] Or "prostrated himself." The word is a different one from that used of Elijah (1 K. l. s. c.), and expresses closer contact with the body.

the flesh of the child waxed warm.] Warmth may have been actually communicated from the living body to the dead one; and Elisha's persistence—the result and evidence of his strong faith (Heb. xi. 35)—may have been a condition of the child's return to life.

36. *Take up thy son.*] Compare Elijah's action (1 K. xvii. 23) and our blessed Lord's (Luke vii. 15).

37. *She . . fell at his feet.*] The Shunammite discharges the duty of gratitude before indulging her natural affection, and taking up her son into her arms.

38. *There was a dearth in the land.*] Rather, "**The famine was in the land.**" The seven years' dearth of which Elisha had prophesied (ch. viii. 1) had begun.

the sons of the prophets.] See note on 1 K. xx. 35.

were sitting before him.] As scholars before their master, hearing his instructions.

the great pot.] "*The* single great pot that there was in the house." Compare τὸν μόδιον (Matt. v. 15.)

39. *And one went.*] Probably one of the prophets themselves. As the famine was great and provisions dear, the sons of the prophets sent one of their number to gather such wild herbs as were at once wholesome and palatable. Many such might be found in Palestine.

and found a wild vine.] Not a real wild vine (*Vitis labrusca*), the fruits of which, if not very palatable, is harmless; but some climbing plant with tendrils, included by the Hebrews under the name. What the

gourds his lap full, and came and shred *them* into the pot of pottage: for they knew *them* not.

40 So they poured out for the men to eat. And it came to pass, as they were eating of the pottage, that they cried out, and said, O *thou* man of God, *there is* death in the pot. And they could not eat *thereof*.

41 But he said, Then bring meal. And he cast *it* into the pot; and he said, Pour out for the people, that they may eat. And there was no †harm in the pot.

† Heb. *evil thing.*

42 ¶ And there came a man from Baal-shalisha, and brought the man of God bread of the firstfruits, twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of corn ‖in the husk thereof. And he said, Give unto the people, that they may eat.

‖ Or, *in his scrip*, or, *garment.*

43 And his servitor said, What, should I set this before an hundred men? He said again, Give the

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actual plant was has been much disputed. The Hebrew name for its fruit is derived from a root signifying "to split" or "burst open." Hence several critics decide in favour of the *Ecbalium elaterium*, or "squirting cucumber," the fruit of which, egg-shaped, and of a very bitter taste, bursts at the slightest touch, when it is ripe, and squirts out sap and seed grains. Others, however, prefer the explanation suggested by the old versions, viz., that the plant was the *Colocynthis*, which belongs to the family of cucumbers, has a vine-shaped leaf, and bears a fruit as large as an orange, very bitter, abstergent, and drastic, from which is prepared the drug sold as colocynth in the shops. As the dry gourds of this plant, when crushed, burst with a crashing noise, this explanation may, even on the ground of etymology, be accepted. The plant grows abundantly in Palestine.

his lap full.] Literally "his shawl full." The prophet brought the fruit home in his *beged*—his "shawl" or "outer garment."

they knew them not.] The other sons of the prophets did not know the hurtful qualities of the fruit.

40. *O thou man of God.*] This appears to have become the recognised title of Elisha. (See above 2 K. iv. 7, 16, 22, 25, 27; and below verse 42, and v. 14, 15, 20; vi. 6, 9, &c.)

there is death in the pot.] Detecting an unwholesome ingredient they conclude that it is poisonous. Fear ever exaggerates.

41. *Then bring meal.*] The natural properties of meal would but slightly diminish either the bitterness or the unwholesomeness of a drink containing colocynth. It is evident therefore that the conversion of the food from a pernicious and unsavoury mess into palatable and wholesome nourishment was by miracle. Indeed, except for this, the act would scarcely have been recorded.

42. *Baal-Shalisha.*] According to Eusebius and Jerome, Baal-Shalisha was fifteen Roman miles north of Lydda or Diospolis. This would place it in the Sharon plain to the west of the highlands of Ephraim. It was, apparently, the chief city of the "land of Shalisha," mentioned in 1 S. ix. 4.

bread of the first fruits.] It appears by this that, the Levitical priests having withdrawn from the land of Israel (see 2 Chr. xi. 13, 14), pious Israelites transferred to the prophets, whom God raised up, the offerings required by the Law to be given to the priests. (Num. xviii. 13; Deut. xviii. 4.)

full ears of corn.] The word translated "full ears of corn" occurs only here and twice in Leviticus (ii. 14 and xxiii. 14). In both these places it designates a part of the first-fruits. Its exact meaning is uncertain. Gesenius explains it as "groats or polenta made from early ears of wheat grown in gardens." Others understand simply "fresh ears of corn." (See note on Lev. ii. 14.)

in the husk thereof.] "**In his bag.**" The word translated "husk" in the text, and in the margin, "scrip" or "garment," does not occur elsewhere in Scripture. Modern Hebraists agree that it means a "**sack**" or "**bag.**" Compare the Vulgate *pera.*

43. *Should I set this before an hundred men?*] It has been generally seen that this miracle was a faint foreshadowing of our Lord's far more marvellous feeding of thousands with even scantier materials. The resemblance is not only in the broad fact, but in various minute particulars, as in the distribution through the hands of others; the material, bread; the surprised question of the servant; and the evidence of superfluity in the fragments that were left. (See Matt. xiv. 19-21; John vi. 9-13.) As Elijah was a type of the Baptist, so Elisha was in many respects a type of our Blessed Lord. In his peaceful non-ascetic life, in his mild and gentle character, in his constant circuits, in his many miracles of mercy, in the healing virtue which abode in his bodily frame (see below, ch. xiii. 21), he resembled, more than any other prophet, the Messiah, of whom all prophets were more or less shadows and figures.

people, that they may eat: for thus
[a] John 6. 11. saith the LORD, [a]They shall eat, and shall leave *thereof*.

44 So he set *it* before them, and they did eat, and left *thereof*, according to the word of the LORD.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 7.

"Live thou and thy children of the rest."

The present text runs וְאַתְּ בְּנֵיכִי תְּחָיִי מִנִּוֹתָר, the copula being omitted before בניכי. Keil suggests that וְאַתְּ should be וְאַת, which would give the meaning—"And with thy children thou shalt live of the rest." But it is more probable that the copula before בניכי has accidentally slipped out.

CHAPTER V.

1 *Naaman, by the report of a captive maid, is sent to Samaria to be cured of his leprosy.* 8 *Elisha, sending him to Jordan, cureth him.* 15 *He refusing Naaman's gifts granteth him some of the earth.* 20 *Gehazi, abusing his master's name unto Naaman, is smitten with leprosy.*

NOW Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man †with his master, and ‖†honourable, because by him the LORD had given ‖deliverance unto Syria: he was also a mighty man in valour, *but he was* a leper.

† Heb. *before.* ‖ Or, *gracious.* † Heb. *lifted up*, or, *accepted in countenance.* ‖ Or, *victory.*

2 And the Syrians had gone out by companies, and had brought away captive out of the land of Israel a little maid; and she †waited on Naaman's wife.

† Heb. *was before.*

3 And she said unto her mistress, Would God my lord *were* †with the prophet that *is* in Samaria! for he would †recover him of his leprosy.

† Heb. *before.* † Heb. *gather in.*

4 And *one* went in, and told his lord, saying, Thus and thus said the maid that *is* of the land of Israel.

5 And the king of Syria said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter unto the king of Israel. And he departed, and took †with him ten talents of

† Heb. *in his hand.*

CHAP. V. 1. *Honourable.*] That is "in favour with the King," "highly esteemed by him."

by him the Lord had given deliverance unto Syria.] One naturally asks, how Syria came to need deliverance, since, when last we heard of the Syrians, they were victorious over the combined forces of Israel and Judah (1 K. xxii. 1-36). To this question Scripture gives no reply; but the Assyrian monuments furnish a satisfactory one. An Assyrian monarch had pushed his conquests as far as Syria exactly at this period, bringing into subjection all the kings of these parts. But his conquest was not permanent. Syria revolted after a few years and once more made herself independent, in which condition she is found at the accession of the monarch's son. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 344, 361.) It was probably in this war of independence that Naaman had distinguished himself.

but he was a leper.] Leprosy admits of various kinds and degrees. Some of the lighter forms would not incapacitate a man from discharging the duties of a courtier and warrior. (Compare verse 11.)

2. *The Syrians had gone out by companies.*] No peace had been made on the failure of Ahab's expedition. The relations of the two countries therefore continued to be hostile, and plundering inroads naturally took place on the one side and the other.

4. *And one went in and told his lord.*] Rather, "And he went in." It is best to supply Naaman as the nominative, and to understand that he went and told his lord, the King of Syria.

5. *Go to, go.*] Rather, "Go, depart"—that is, "Set out on thy journey at once, do not delay in so important a matter."

six thousand pieces of gold.] Rather "six thousand *shekels* of gold." Coined money did not exist as yet, and was not introduced into Judæa till the time of Cyrus. Gold was carried in bars, from which portions were cut when need arose, and the value was ascertained by weighing. If the gold shekel of the Jews corresponded, as some think, with the Daric of the Persians, the value of the 6000 shekels would be about 6837*l*. If the weight was the same as that of the silver shekel (see notes on Exod. xxxviii. 24-31), the value would exceed 12,000*l*.

silver, and six thousand *pieces* of gold, and ten changes of raiment.

6 And he brought the letter to the king of Israel, saying, Now when this letter is come unto thee, behold, I have *therewith* sent Naaman my servant to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy.

7 And it came to pass, when the king of Israel had read the letter, that he rent his clothes, and said, *Am* I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy? wherefore consider, I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me.

8 ¶ And it was *so*, when Elisha the man of God had heard that the king of Israel had rent his clothes, that he sent to the king, saying, Wherefore hast thou rent thy clothes? let him come now to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel.

9 So Naaman came with his horses and with his chariot, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha.

10 And Elisha sent a messenger unto him, saying, Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean.

11 But Naaman was wroth, and went away, and said, Behold, †‖ I thought, He will surely come out to

† Heb. *I said.* ‖ Or, *I said with myself. He will surely come out,* &c.

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ten changes of raiment.] On the practice of including clothes among gifts of honour in the East, see Gen. xli. 42; xlv. 22; Esth. vi. 8; Dan. v. 7; and compare Hom. 'Od.' xiii. 67; Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2, § 8; 'Anab.' i. 2, § 29; 8, § 29; &c. The custom continues to the present day.

6. *Now when this letter is come unto thee.*] Thenius rightly notes that we have not here the entire letter, but only its principal passage.

that thou mayest recover him.] Literally, "And thou shalt recover him." The Syrian king presumes that, if there is a cure for leprosy to be had in Israel, the mode of obtaining it will be well known to his royal brother.

7. *He rent his clothes.*] The Orientals rent their clothes, not only in mourning for the dead (Gen. xxxvii. 29; Job i. 20; 1 S. iv. 12; 2 S. i. 2; &c.), but whenever they were greatly shocked or grieved. See 2 Sam. xiii. 19; xv. 32; Ezr. ix. 3; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 27; Jerem. xxxvi. 24; &c. The action indicated alarm and terror quite as much as sorrow.

am I God to kill and to make alive?] The thought of having recourse to Elisha does not seem to have occurred to Jehoram. He imagines that the Syrian monarch has intentionally sent him a request with which it is impossible for him to comply.

consider, I pray you.] Jehoram speaks to his chief officers, and bids them mark the *animus* of the Syrian monarch. Compare the conduct of Ahab (1 K. xx. 7).

he seeketh a quarrel.] *I.e.*, a special ground of quarrel, in addition to the ordinary ground of national enmity which was held to justify plundering inroads. (See note on verse 2.)

8. *Elisha, the man of God.*] See the last chapter, verses 7, 9, 16, 21, &c.

he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel.] This reproach is addressed to the king of Israel rather than to Naaman. He shall know, that which *thou* appearest to have forgotten, that there is a prophet—a real Jehovah prophet—in Israel.

9. *With his horses.*] *I.e.*, with the whole company of his attendants (see verse 15), who were mounted on horses, while he himself rode in a chariot. On the employment of chariots by the Syrians, see note on 1 K. xx. 1.

10. *Elisha sent a messenger unto him.*] There is no reason to suppose that Elisha was deterred from personally meeting Naaman by his being a leper. He sent a messenger because Naaman had over-estimated his own importance (see verse 11), and needed the rebuke of disappointment.

go and wash in Jordan.] As the washing in Jordan could have no natural tendency to cure leprosy, we must suppose the prophet to speak "by the word of the Lord." The address resembles that of our Lord to the blind man, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam" (John, ix. 7). In each case a command is given which tests the faith of the recipient, and the miracle is not wrought until such faith is openly evidenced.

seven times.] Compare the command of Elijah (1 K. xviii. 43); and see note on verse 14.

11. *Behold, I thought.*] Literally, "I said with myself," a common Hebrew idiom, meaning "I thought."

me, and stand, and call on the name of the LORD his God, and †strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper.

† Heb. *move up and down.*

12 *Are* not ‖Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be clean? So he turned and went away in a rage.

‖ Or, *Amana.*

13 And his servants came near, and spake unto him, and said, My father, *if* the prophet had bid thee *do some* great thing, wouldest thou not have done *it?* how much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash, and be clean?

14 Then went he down, and dipped himself seven times in Jordan, according to the saying of the man of God: and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and *b* he was clean.

b Luke 4. 27.

15 ¶ And he returned to the man of God, he and all his company, and came, and stood before him: and he said, Behold, now I know that *there is* no God in all the earth, but in

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he will surely come out to me.] In the East a code of unwritten laws prescribes exactly how visits are to be paid, and how visitors are to be received, according to the worldly rank of the parties. No doubt, according to such a code, Elisha should have gone out to meet Naaman at the door of his house.

and call on the name of the Lord his God.] Literally, "of Jehovah his God." Naaman is aware that *Jehovah* is the God of Elisha. (Compare the occurrence of the name of Jehovah on the "Moabite Stone.")

strike his hand over the place.] Or, as in the marginal rendering, "move his hand up and down over the place"—not actually touching it, but passing the fingers up and down it at a short distance. It seems to be implied, by the mention of "the place" here, that the leprosy was partial.

12. *Abana and Pharpar.*] Or "*Amana* and Pharpar," according to another reading. It is generally agreed that the Abana, which is here so prominently put forward, must be the Barada, or true river of Damascus, which, rising in the Antilibanus, flows westward from its foot and forms the oasis within which Damascus is placed. There is no reasonable doubt of the identification, notwithstanding the complete difference of name. With respect to the Pharpar, there is great difficulty in deciding. Various secondary streams water the Damascene plain, but none stands out pre-eminently from the rest as a "river of Damascus." On the whole the Awaaj has, perhaps, the best claim to be viewed as the second river, and (pending further investigation) may be accepted as most probably the Pharpar.

may I not wash in them and be clean?] We are not to suppose that the waters of the Abana or the Pharpar were regarded as possessing any curative virtue. Naaman only means that, if washing is to cure him, his own rivers may serve the purpose. Their water was brighter, clearer, and colder than that of Jordan.

14. *Seven times.*] We may compare the seven dippings of Naaman in Jordan with the seven ascents to the top of Carmel made by Elijah's servant. (See above, 1 K. xviii. 43.) In both cases a somewhat severe trial was made of the individual's faith. The servant saw nothing at all till the seventh time, when "there arose a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand." Naaman, it is probable, in like manner experienced no change in himself until he had taken his seventh plunge, when suddenly "his flesh came again like the flesh of a little child, and he was clean." Such seems to be the usual *modus operandi* in miracles of this kind. Compare the seven compassings of Jericho, and the sudden fall of the walls (Josh. vi. 3-20).

15. *And he returned to the man of God.*] Naaman was grateful. From the Jordan to Samaria was a distance of not less than thirty-two or thirty-three miles, considerably more than a day's journey according to Oriental practice. And Damascus lay beyond Jordan, so that, in returning to Samaria, Naaman went far out of his way, lengthening his necessary journey by at least three days. His conduct may be compared with that of the Samaritan leper healed by our Lord (Luke xvii. 15); but it involved far more personal trouble and inconvenience. His special object in returning seems to have been to relieve his feelings of obligation by inducing the Prophet to accept a gift.

there is no God in all the earth but in Israel.] Expressions of a similar character will be found in Daniel ii. 47; iii. 29; vi. 26, 27, where they are recorded of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius the Mede. But none of them is quite so strong as this. Naaman seems absolutely to renounce all belief in any other God but Jehovah.

Israel: now therefore, I pray thee, take a blessing of thy servant.

16 But he said, *As* the LORD liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none. And he urged him to take *it;* but he refused.

17 And Naaman said, Shall there not then, I pray thee, be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth? for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the LORD.

18 In this thing the LORD pardon thy servant, *that* when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon: when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the LORD pardon thy servant in this thing.

19 And he said unto him, Go in peace. So he departed from him †a little way.

† Heb. *a little piece of ground.*

a blessing.] That is to say, "a present." Compare Gen. xxxiii. 10, 11; Judg. i. 15; 1 S. xxv. 27; xxx. 26; &c.

16. *As the Lord liveth, &c.*] Concerning this solemn formula, see note on 1 K. xvii. 1.

I will receive none.] The labourer is worthy of his hire. The prophets were in the habit of receiving presents from those who consulted them (1 S. ix. 7, 8; 1 K. xiv. 3), and Elisha would have been quite justified in accepting the gift which Naaman offered. But he appears to have thought it best, *under the circumstances*, to refuse. It was important that Naaman should not suppose that the prophets of the true God acted from motives of self-interest, much less imagine that "the gift of God might be purchased with money."

he urged him to take it; but he refused.] This was not a mere ceremonious contest, such as is far from uncommon in the East, where, on the one side, there is no true desire to give, and, on the other, no real reluctance to receive. Both parties were evidently in earnest.

17. *Two mules' burthen of earth.*] This earth, Naaman thought, spread over a portion of Syrian ground, would hallow and render it suitable for the worship of Jehovah.

18. *The house of Rimmon.*] Rimmon is known to us as a god only by this passage. The name, however, is confirmed by the two compounds, Tab-rimmon (1 K. xv. 18), "Rimmon is good," and Hadad-rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), the name of a place near Megiddo. This latter word points to the identity of Rimmon with Hadad, who is known to have been the Sun, the chief object of worship to the Syrians. (Macrob. 'Sat.' i. 23.) With respect to the etymology of the term, it seems best (with Selden, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius,) to connect it with the root *rûm*, "to be high," whence the Hebrew *Ramah*, *Ramoth*, and the Arabic *rhaman*. Compare Hesych. Ῥάμας, ὕψιστος θεός.

when he leaneth on mine hand.] The practice of a monarch's "leaning on the hand" of an attendant was not common in the East. We find, however, a second example of it in 2 K. vii. 2, 17; and, in the apocryphal Esther, (xv. 4) that queen is said to have leant on one of her maidens. In the case of a king, it probably implies age or infirmity.

the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.] Naaman was not prepared to offend his master, either by refusing to enter with him into the temple of Rimmon, or by remaining erect when the king bowed down and worshipped the god His conscience seems to have told him that such conduct was not right; but he trusted that it might be pardoned, and he appealed to the Prophet in the hope of obtaining from him an assurance to this effect.

19. *And he said unto him, Go in peace.*] Elisha avoided any expression of either approval or disapproval. He saw Naaman's weakness; but did not feel that it was necessary to rebuke it. Perhaps he was wrong not to be harder and more uncompromising, for the Old Testament saints are far from perfect characters. He was tender and soft-hearted, not stern and rugged, like Elijah. He was drawn to the new convert, and inclined to hope the best for him. Moreover, he had no distinct mission to the heathen, and no means of knowing with any certainty what God would require of them. The words had not yet been uttered—"Whoso denieth me before men, the same will I deny before my Father, which is in heaven;" and Elisha may be pardoned if he did not himself clearly see the obligation of the convert to refuse all participation in idolatry.

so he departed from him a little way.] This clause should not be separated from the succeeding verse. The meaning is, "So he departed from him, and had gone a little way, when Gehazi bethought himself of what he would do, and followed after him."

20 ¶ But Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God, said, Behold, my master hath spared Naaman this Syrian, in not receiving at his hands that which he brought: but, *as* the LORD liveth, I will run after him, and take somewhat of him.

21 So Gehazi followed after Naaman. And when Naaman saw *him* running after him, he lighted down from the chariot to meet him, and said, † *Is* all well?

† Heb. Is there *peace?*

22 And he said, All *is* well. My master hath sent me, saying, Behold, even now there be come to me from mount Ephraim two young men of the sons of the prophets: give them, I pray thee, a talent of silver, and two changes of garments.

23 And Naaman said, Be content, take two talents. And he urged him, and bound two talents of silver in two bags, with two changes of garments, and laid *them* upon two of his servants; and they bare *them* before him.

24 And when he came to the ‖ tower, he took *them* from their hand, and bestowed *them* in the house: and he let the men go, and they departed.

‖ Or, *secret place.*

25 But he went in, and stood before his master. And Elisha said unto him, Whence *comest thou*, Gehazi? And he said, Thy servant went † no whither.

† Heb. *not hither or thither.*

26 And he said unto him, Went not mine heart *with thee*, when the man turned again from his chariot to

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20. *My master hath spared Naaman this Syrian.*] The words "this Syrian" are emphatic. Gehazi persuades himself that it is right to spoil a *Syrian*—that is, a Gentile, and an enemy of Israel.

as the Lord liveth.] These words are here a profane oath. It could be no fit occasion for a solemn asseveration. But Gehazi, anxious to make himself believe that he is acting in a proper, and, even, in a religious spirit, does not scruple to introduce one of the most solemn of religious phrases.

21. *He lighted down from the chariot.*] This was an act of quite uncalled-for courtesy. It indicates a strong feeling of gratitude in Naaman triumphing over the natural pride of an Oriental, and making him eager to honour the master in the person of his servant.

Is all well?] Literally, "Is there peace? But the true sense of the Oriental idiom is exactly rendered by the phrase in the text. (Compare 2 K. iv. 26, ix. 22, &c.)

22. *From Mount Ephraim.*] Bethel and Gilgal, at both of which there were "schools of the prophets," were situated on Mount Ephraim (supra, ii. 1 and 3).

a talent of silver.] This was no doubt a large demand in respect of the pretended occasion; but it was probably small compared with the amount which Naaman had pressed on the prophet. Gehazi had to balance between his own avarice, on the one hand, and the fear of raising suspicion on the other.

two changes of garments.] On the practice of giving garments as presents to guests and others, see note on verse 5.

23. *Be content.*] Or "consent"—nearly equivalent to our "please."

and bound two talents of silver in two bags.] "*Binding* silver in a bag" is a somewhat unusual expression. We are probably to understand, that, after the silver had been placed in the bag, the mouth was closed by tying the bag round with a string.

24. *And when he came to the tower.*] Rather "the hill." The margin of the Authorised Version suggests the alternative for "tower" of "secret place" (following, probably, the LXX., who translate εἰς τὸ σκοτεινόν). But the expression in the Hebrew text cannot possibly mean anything but "the hill." The question then arises—What hill? Calmet answers, "The hill on which Samaria was built;" but this is unsatisfactory. Rather understand "the well-known hill by Elisha's house" (Keil). We may conjecture that the hill, which must have lain between Elisha's house and the place where Gehazi overtook Naaman, interrupted the view in this direction, and that Gehazi dismissed Naaman's servants at this point lest they should be seen from his master's residence.

25. *He went in and stood before his master.*] Lest his absence should be noticed, Gehazi, as soon as ever he had stowed away his treasures, hastened, without being called, to appear before his master. In the East it is usual for servants to remain most of the day in their lord's presence, only quitting it when given some order to execute.

26. *Went not mine heart with thee?*] So the LXX. The Hebrew has simply, "Went not mine heart?" It is conjectured that

meet thee? *Is it* a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and maidservants?

27 The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper *as white* as snow.

either the word meaning "with thee" has fallen out, or that the verb of the passage has been substituted for it. (See note at the end of the chapter.) Even, however, without either change the passage may bear the sense given it in the text, and can scarcely bear any other. The prophet means to say, "Was I not with thee in spirit—did I not see the whole transaction, as if I had been present at it?" He uses the verb "went," because Gehazi has just denied his "going."

Is it a time, &c.] Or, "Was this a time?" *i.e.* "Was this a proper occasion to indulge greed, when a Gentile was to be favourably impressed, and made to feel that the faith of the Israelites was the only true religion? Was it not, on the contrary, an occasion for the exhibition of the greatest unselfishness, that so a heathen might be won to the truth?"

to receive money.] Literally, "to receive *silver*," as in verses 22 and 23.

and oliveyards and vineyards, &c.] Gehazi's thoughts had probably run on to the disposition which he would make of his wealth, and the prophet here follows them, enumerating his servant's intended purchases.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 26.

"Went not my heart with Thee?"

Houbigant supposes that the LXX. had before them either the full reading, הלא לבי הלך עמך—"Annon cor meum ivit tecum?" or the elliptical one הלא לבי עמך—"Annon cor meum [erat] tecum?" He observes that עמך might readily be corrupted into הלך, or might still more easily slip out after הלך, from having the same final letter.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Elisha, giving leave to the young prophets to enlarge their dwellings, causeth iron to swim.* 8 *He discloseth the king of Syria's counsel.* 13 *The army, which was sent to Dothan to apprehend Elisha, is smitten with blindness.* 19 *Being brought into Samaria, they are dismissed in peace.* 24 *The famine in Samaria causeth women to eat their own children.* 30 *The king sendeth to slay Elisha.*

AND the sons of the prophets said unto Elisha, Behold now, the place where we dwell with thee is too strait for us.

2 Let us go, we pray thee, unto Jordan, and take thence every man a beam, and let us make us a place there, where we may dwell. And he answered, Go ye.

3 And one said, Be content, I pray thee, and go with thy servants. And he answered, I will go.

CHAP. VI. 1. *The sons of the prophets said unto Elisha.*] The writer returns here to the series of private miracles (if we may so term them) which Elisha performed for the benefit of the prophetical schools under his care. The connection, in this point of view, is with ch. iv. 44. The order in which the miracles are placed is probably, though not certainly, that of time.

the place where we dwell with thee.] Literally, "the place where we **sit before** thee," *i.e.* "the place where we assemble and sit to hear thy teaching." Elisha did not, properly speaking, "dwell with" the sons of the prophets. He only visited them in circuit, staying a short time at each place where a "school" was established. (See above, ch. iv. 8.) It is conjectured (Keil) that he was now visiting Jericho. (Compare ii. 5.)

2. *Let us go . . . unto Jordan.*] Jericho was not directly upon the Jordan, but on the banks of a small stream which flowed into that river. (See above, ch. ii. 19.)

and take thence every man a beam.] Trees were rare in most parts of Palestine, but plentiful in the Jordan valley. Jericho was known in the early time as "the city of palms" (Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judg. i. 16, iii. 13). The woody character of the neighbourhood is attested by Strabo (xvi. 2, § 41) and Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iv. 8, § 3).

3. *Be content.*] Or "consent." (See note on verse 23 of the last chapter.)

4 So he went with them. And when they came to Jordan, they cut down wood.

5 But as one was felling a beam, the † ax head fell into the water: and he cried, and said, Alas, master! for it was borrowed.

† Heb. *iron.*

6 And the man of God said, Where fell it? And he shewed him the place. And he cut down a stick, and cast *it* in thither; and the iron did swim.

7 Therefore said he, Take *it* up to thee. And he put out his hand, and took it.

8 ¶ Then the king of Syria warred against Israel, and took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place *shall be* my ‖ camp.

‖ Or, *encamping.*

9 And the man of God sent unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not such a place; for thither the Syrians are come down.

10 And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God told him and warned him of, and saved himself there, not once nor twice.

11 Therefore the heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew me which of us *is* for the king of Israel?

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5. *The ax head.*] Literally, "the iron." The Jews used iron for the heads of axes at a very early date. (See Deut. xix. 5.) They probably acquired a knowledge of the smelting process in Egypt, where iron was employed at least from the time of the third Rameses. (Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' iii. p. 247.)

for it was borrowed.] This is part of the wood-cutter's exclamation, not a remark of the author's. The wood-cutter shows the axe handle to Elisha, and cries—"Alas, my lord, and it a borrowed one!" It was not his intention to appeal to the prophet for help. He merely made the natural exclamation of a man to whom such a misfortune had happened.

6. *And he cut down a stick and cast it in thither.*] It has been suggested that no miracle is here intended, but that Elisha, seeing the axe-head at the bottom of the river, thrust in a long stick, and adroitly passing it through the hole designed to receive the handle, lifted the axe-head to the surface. (Thenius.) But there are two objections to this. First, it is not the natural sense of the words, which imply that the prophet threw the wood into the water; and secondly, the sacred writers do not record mere acts of manual dexterity.

and the iron did swim.] Literally, "And he made the iron to swim." His action, though it could no more naturally produce such a result than salt could purify a spring (2 K. ii. 21), or meal remove the noxious character of poisonous herbs (2 K. iv. 41), yet had the effect which he intended. The iron rose to the surface and remained there.

No doubt there is something startling in the trivial character of this miracle, and of the few others which resemble it. We are apt not to be satisfied unless there is clearly seen by us to be a "dignus vindice nodus" in each case of miraculous interposition. But we really know very little as to the laws which govern the exercise of miraculous powers, where such powers have been committed by God to a mere mortal. It is possible that they may sometimes, like natural gifts, be so much under their possessor's control that he can exercise them, or not exercise them, at pleasure. And it may depend on his discretion whether they are exercised in important cases only, or in trivial cases also. Elisha had evidently great kindness of heart. He could not see a grief without wishing to remedy it. And it seems as if he had sometimes used his miraculous power in pure good nature, when no natural way of remedying an evil presented itself.

8. *Then the king of Syria.*] Rather, "And the king, &c." The king intended is probably the great Benhadad. (See verse 24.)

9. *Beware that thou pass not such a place, &c.*] Or, "Beware that thou neglect not such and such a place, for the Syrians are coming down thither." The meaning, however, is doubtful; and one of the latest commentators (Thenius) prefers the sense given in the Authorised Version.

10. *And saved himself there.*] It is not said in the Hebrew that he "saved himself," but only that he "was ware." The verb used is the same which is translated "beware" in the preceding verse. The LXX. translate with great accuracy by φύλαξαι and ἐφυλάξατο.

11. *Which of us is for the king of Israel?*] Benhadad supposed that there must be a traitor in his camp—not unnaturally: for how otherwise could his intentions always be known? He asks therefore, "Will no one denounce the traitor?"

12 And one of his servants said, † Heb. *No.* †None, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that *is* in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bedchamber.

13 ¶ And he said, Go and spy where he *is*, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, Behold, *he is* in Dothan.

14 Therefore sent he thither horses, † Heb. *heavy.* and chariots, and a †great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about.

‖ Or, *minister.* 15 And when the ‖servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master! how shall we do?

16 And he answered, Fear not: for [a]they that *be* with us *are* more [a] 2 Chron 32. 7. than they that *be* with them.

17 And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain *was* full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.

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12. *And one of his servants said, None.*] Literally, "No"—equivalent to "Not so—it is not as thou supposest—we have no traitor among us."

but Elisha telleth the king.] Though Elisha's powers of working miraculous cures must have become generally known to the Syrians by the cleansing of Naaman's leprosy, yet they can scarcely have assumed merely on that ground that he possessed a supernatural knowledge of men's thoughts. Probably the Syrian lord who answered Benhadad had received his intelligence from some of the Israelites.

in thy bedchamber.] Literally "in the secret place of thy bedchamber"—that is to say, "in the greatest possible secrecy." The seclusion of the harem must be taken into account for the full appreciation of the force of the phrase.

13. *He is in Dothan.*] Dothan, the place where Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 17), seems to have lain on the regular caravan route between Gilead and Egypt, at no great distance from Shechem. Eusebius places it twelve miles to the north of Samaria. In the book of Judith (iv. 6; vii. 3, &c.) it appears among the cities bordering the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon. These indications of locality all tend to identify the site with the modern *Dothân*, which lies between Jenin and Jeba, a little to the left of the great road from Beisan (Scythopolis) to Egypt. The name *Dothân* attaches to a Tel or hill of a marked character, from the foot of which arises a copious fountain (Robinson's 'Later Researches,' p. 122). Dothan or Doth-aïn (Gen. xxxvii. 17) means probably "the double fountain"—either because there were anciently two springs, or merely to express abundance.

15. *When the servant of the man of God was risen early.*] Something unusual on the part of the servant is implied in these words. Probably, either the intentions of Benhadad had oozed out, or the noise of his army had been heard during the night. In one way or another Elisha's servant was alarmed, and he consequently rose earlier than usual to reconnoitre.

an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots.] Rather, "A host (*i.e.* footmen) encompassed the city, and horses, and chariots." Three arms of the service are enumerated.

16. *They that be with us are more than they that be with them.*] We need not suppose that Elisha *saw* the angelic host of which he here spake. He only gave utterance to the conviction of all God's saints when the world persecutes them. (Compare Ps. xxxiv. 7; lv. 18; xci. 11; 2 Chr. xxxii. 7; &c.) God—they know—is on their side; they need not fear what flesh can do unto them. His angels—an innumerable host—are ever guarding those who love Him.

17. *Open his eyes, that he may see.*] With Elisha's servant it was otherwise. He lacked the faith of his master. Elisha therefore prays that he may be given a vision of the spiritual world, and see, as if with the bodily eye, the angelic host which he himself knows to be present and is content not to see.

the mountain.] The hill on the top of which, probably, Dothan was built. (See note on verse 13.)

horses and chariots of fire.] These represent the angelic host, as it was seen in vision by the servant. (Compare 2 K. ii. 11, and Ps. lxviii. 17.)

round about Elisha.] Interposed probably between the city wall and the enemy's host (which was encamped on rising ground beyond the foot of the hill), seeming consequently to

18 And when they came down to him, Elisha prayed unto the LORD, and said, Smite this people, I pray thee, with blindness. And he smote them with blindness according to the word of Elisha.

19 ¶ And Elisha said unto them, This *is* not the way, neither *is* this the city: †follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom ye seek. But he led them to Samaria.

† Heb. *come ye after me.*

20 And it came to pass, when they were come into Samaria, that Elisha said, LORD, open the eyes of these *men*, that they may see. And the LORD opened their eyes, and they saw; and, behold, *they were* in the midst of Samaria.

21 And the king of Israel said unto Elisha, when he saw them, My father, shall I smite *them?* shall I smite *them?*

22 And he answered, Thou shalt not smite *them:* wouldest thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master.

23 And he prepared great provision

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ring Elisha round and so guard him on every side from his persecutors. Compare Ps. xxxiv. 7. "The angel of the Lord *encampeth round about* them that fear him, and delivereth them."

18. *And when they came down to him.*] The Syrians, who had been encamped on rising ground opposite the hill of Dothan, now descended and drew near to the city.

smite this people with blindness.] As the Sodomites were smitten (Gen. xix. 11). It has been observed with reason that we are not to understand real blindness—actual loss of sight—but only a state of illusion in which a man sees things otherwise than as they are. Had the Syrians been actually blind they would have been neither able nor willing to follow Elisha.

19. *And Elisha said. . . . This is not the way.*] Untruth has been held by all moralists to be justifiable towards a public enemy. Where we have a right to kill, much more have we a right to deceive by stratagem.

20. *The Lord opened their eyes, that they saw.*] The illusion which had held them since the first address of Elisha departed from them, and they saw where they were. They found themselves in a great town which they at once knew must be the capital.

21. *My father.*] It has been argued from this phrase, and from Elisha's friendliness in delivering the captives into his hand, that "the king of Israel" here mentioned is not Jehoram but Jehu. These grounds, however, are weak, and must yield to the strong arguments in favour of the king being Jehoram furnished by verses 31 and 32. Jehoram would seem to have used the respectful phrase "My father" in his joy at seeing an army of Syrians delivered up to him by the Prophet. That his character was not changed appears from the ensuing narrative.

Shall I smite them? Shall I smite them?] Literally, "Smiting shall I smite them?" a common Hebraism, which is generally explained as intensive; so that the meaning would be, "Shall I **utterly** smite them?" Compare "With desire have I desired to eat this passover" (Luk. xxii. 15)—which means "I have earnestly desired;" "In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed" (Gen. xxii. 17)—which means "I will greatly bless thee, and greatly multiply thy seed."

22. *Thou shalt not smite them.*] Jehoram is forbidden to smite these captives, since the special object of the miracle was to make the Syrians aware that it was in vain to attempt anything against the prophet, and unless they had returned and told their countrymen what had happened, this object would have been defeated.

wouldest thou smite, &c.] It is doubtful whether this sentence is really interrogative. Ewald so understands it; but Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer, and Keil, translate—"Smite those, whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword," &c. According to these critics, there is a contrast between ordinary captives—those made with the sword and bow—and these particular prisoners who have been given into the king's hand by God. The former, Jehoram is told, he may slay, if he pleases—and the law of Moses certainly allowed such slaughter (Deut. xx. 13)—the latter, he is informed he must not slay.

set bread and water before them.] That is, "treat them not as prisoners, but as guests—give them to eat and to drink, and then dismiss them." "Bread and water" represent generally all dry and moist food.

23. *He prepared great provision for them.*] "He entertained them," *i.e.*, "at a great feast." He did not merely follow the letter of the

for them: and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they went to their master. So the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel.

24 ¶ And it came to pass after this, that Ben-hadad king of Syria gathered all his host, and went up, and besieged Samaria.

25 And there was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was *sold* for fourscore *pieces* of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five *pieces* of silver.

26 And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king.

27 And he said, ‖If the LORD do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barnfloor, or out of the winepress?

‖ Or, *Let not the* LORD *save thee.*

28 And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to day, and we will eat my son to morrow.

29 So [b]we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the

[b] Deu. 28. 53.

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prophet's direction, but understood its spirit, and acted accordingly.

so the bands of Syria came no more, &c.] The plundering bands which had been in the habit of ravaging the territory (2 K. v. 2), ceased their incursions in consequence either of the miracle, or of the kind treatment which Elisha had recommended.

24. *After this.*] Perhaps some years after—when the miracle and the kind treatment were alike forgotten.

Benhadad.] See above, 1 K. xx. 1.

25. *An ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver.*] As the ass was "unclean," it would not be eaten except in the last resort; and its head would be its worst and cheapest part. The price—eighty pieces (probably shekels) of silver—is not unlike that which an ass's head is said to have fetched under Artaxerxes Mnemon, namely, sixty drachms (Plut. 'Vit. Artaxerx.' § 24).

the fourth part of a cab.] The *cab* is not mentioned elsewhere in Scripture. According to the Rabbinical writers it was the smallest of all the dry measures in use among the Jews, being the sixth part of a *seah*, which was the third part of an *ephah*. Josephus made it about equal to two of our quarts. The "fourth part of a cab" would therefore be about a pint.

dove's dung.] Most commentators follow Bochart in understanding by this expression a sort of pulse, which is called "dove's dung," or "sparrow's dung" in Arabic. But it is possible that the actual excrement of pigeons is meant. The records of sieges show that both animal and human excrement have been used as food—under circumstances of extreme necessity. (See Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' v. 13, § 7; Cels. 'Hierobot.' ii. p. 233.)

26. *As the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall.*] The walls of fortified towns had a broad space at the top, protected towards the exterior by battlements, along which the bulk of the defenders were disposed, and from which they hurled their missiles and shot their arrows. The king seems to have been going his rounds, to inspect the state of the garrison and the defences.

help, my lord, O King.] Literally, "Save, my lord the King," a stronger expression than "Help."

27. *If the Lord do not help.*] The margin rendering, "Let not the Lord save thee!" is an imprecation, of which even Jehoram can scarcely have been capable at such a time. The translation in the text is decidedly better, and is maintained by Thenius. Keil and Maurer however prefer to render—"Nay—let Jehovah help thee. Whence shall I help thee?"

out of the barnfloor or out of the winepress?] The king means that both were empty—that he had no longer any food in store; and therefore could not help the woman. (Compare Hos. ix. 2.)

28. *What aileth thee?*] Hitherto the king had assumed that the cry of the woman was simply a cry for food. Now it occurs to him that this may not be so; or, perhaps he sees by her manner that it is not so. He therefore proceeds to inquire what she wants of him.

this woman.] Both women, it would seem, were present; and the aggrieved one pointed to the other.

29. *We boiled my son and did eat him.*] The Israelites had been warned that, if they departed from God, they would be brought into such straits, that mothers would devour their own children. (Lev. xxvi. 29; Deut.

† Heb. *other.*

†next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son.

30 ¶ And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes; and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked, and, behold, *he had* sackcloth within upon his flesh.

31 Then he said, God do so and more also to me, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day.

32 But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and *the king* sent a man from before him: but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See ye how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine head? look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and

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xxviii. 53.) This prophecy was now fulfilled, probably for the first time. It had a second accomplishment when Jerusalem was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar (Lam. iv. 10), and a third in the final siege of the same city by Titus (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' vi. 3, § 4).

30. *He rent his clothes.*] Not in grief and repentance, like his father, Ahab (1 K. xxi. 27), but rather in horror and consternation, as he had done before (2 K. v. 7).

and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked.] This is an exact literal translation of the Hebrew; but the meaning is—"And as he passed by upon the wall" (where he must have been a conspicuous object) "the people saw, &c."

sackcloth.] Compare 1 K. xxi. 27; Jonah iii. 6. Jehoram, it seems, had secretly clothed himself with sackcloth on account of the danger of the city, hoping perhaps to avert Jehovah's anger, as his father had done (1 K. xxi. 29). But there was no spirit of self-humiliation, or of true penitence in his heart, as appeared by the turn which his vexation now took. (See the next verse.)

31. *God do so to me and more also.*] Jehoram uses almost the very words of his wicked mother, when she sought the life of Elijah (1 K. xix. 2). The only difference is that he allows the unity of God by the form of his oath, while she by implication denied it.

the head of Elisha.] Beheading was not an ordinary Jewish punishment. The law did not sanction it. But in Assyria, Babylonia, and generally through the East, it was the most common form of capital punishment. Probably Jezebel had introduced it into Samaria, together with other foreign customs. It is not quite clear why Elisha was to be punished on account of the sufferings caused by the siege. Perhaps he had been commissioned to announce it, as his predecessor had announced the great drought (1 K. xvii. 1); or perhaps Jehoram merely argued from his other miracles that he could give deliverance from the present peril, if he liked.

32. *But Elisha sat, &c.*] Translate, "**And** Elisha **was sitting** in his house, and all the elders **were sitting** with him, **when** the king sent a man from before him."

the elders.] Either "the elders of the city"—for each city seems to have had elders (2 K. x. 1)—or "the elders of the land," who may have been in session at Samaria now, as they were at the time of a former siege (1 K. xx. 7).

sat with him.] The elders can scarcely have gone to Elisha for any other purpose than to beseech his advice or assistance. Their imminent peril drove them to acknowledge the power of Jehovah, and to consult with His prophet.

this son of a murderer.] *I.e.* of Ahab, the murderer, not only of Naboth, but also of all the prophets of the Lord (1 K. xviii. 4), whom he allowed Jezebel to slay.

hold him fast at the door.] Literally, "Press on him at the door," or perhaps "Press on him with the door." Thenius understands the meaning to be, "Lean against the door" (a door that opened inwards), "and push against him if he tries to enter."

is not the sound of his master's feet, &c.] The elders, public officials, not private friends of Elisha, could not have been expected to resist the entrance of the executioner at the *mere* request of the prophet. He therefore assigns a reason for his request—"the king is coming in person, either to confirm or revoke his order—will they detain the headsman until his arrival?" This they could scarcely refuse to do, especially as Elisha's supernatural knowledge of the messenger's approach, and his errand, was a guarantee of the truth of his assertion that the king was about to follow. We are not to suppose, with Keil, that Elisha heard the noise of Jehoram's footsteps.

hold him fast at the door: *is* not the sound of his master's feet behind him?

33 And while he yet talked with them, behold, the messenger came down unto him: and he said, Behold, this evil *is* of the LORD; what should I wait for the LORD any longer?

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33. *The messenger.*] It has been proposed to change "messenger" into "king," the two words being in Hebrew nearly alike, and the speech with which the chapter ends being only suitable in the mouth of the king, whose presence is moreover indicated in verses 2 and 17 of the next chapter. But perhaps two words have fallen out. (See additional note at the end of the chapter.)

came down.] The messenger came *down* from off the wall to the level of the streets.

Behold this evil, &c.] Literally, "Behold, this evil is from Jehovah. **Why** should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" Jehoram bursts into the prophet's presence with a justification of the sentence he has pronounced against him. "Behold this evil—this siege with all its horrors—is from Jehovah—from Jehovah, whose prophet thou art. Why should I wait for Jehovah—temporise with Him—keep, as it were, on terms with Him by suffering thee to live—any longer? What hast thou to say in arrest of judgment?"

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 33.

No doubt מלך, "king," might easily become מלאך, "messenger," and the change proposed would improve the sense; but it would not remove all difficulty. Possibly the words והמלך אחריו, "And the king after him," have slipt out after אליו.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Elisha prophesieth incredible plenty in Samaria.* 3 *Four lepers, venturing on the host of the Syrians, bring tidings of their flight.* 12 *The king, finding by spies the news to be true, spoileth the tents of the Syrians.* 17 *The lord, who would not believe the prophecy of plenty, having the charge of the gate, is trodden to death in the press.*

THEN Elisha said, Hear ye the word of the LORD; Thus saith the LORD, To morrow about this time *shall* a measure of fine flour *be sold* for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria.

2 Then †a lord on whose hand the king leaned answered the man of God, and said, Behold, *if* the LORD would make windows in heaven, might this thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see *it* with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

† Heb. *a lord which belonged to the king, leaning upon his hand.*

CHAP. VII. 1. *Then Elisha said.*] The division between the chapters is most awkward here. Ch. vi. should have ended with verse 23, and ch. vii. should have commenced with what is now verse 24 of ch. vi. Elisha, in this verse, replies to the king's challenge in verse 33 of ch. vi.—that his God, Jehovah, will give deliverance within the space of a day. On the morrow, by the same time in the day, the famine will have ceased, and food will be even cheaper than usual.

a measure of fine flour.] Literally, "*a seah* of fine flour." The *seah* contained six cabs, and was the third part of an ephah. It was probably equal to about a peck and a half English.

for a shekel.] The coined shekel of later times contained 220 grains of silver, and was consequently worth about 2*s.* 8½*d.* of our money. The value of the uncoined shekel of Elisha's time is uncertain; but there is no reason to suppose it very different.

two measures of barley.] Or "two *seahs* of barley." About three pecks English.

in the gate.] The "gates," or "gateways," of Eastern towns are favourite places for the despatch of various kinds of business. It would seem that at Samaria one of the gates was used for the corn market.

2. *A lord.*] Rather, "**the captain**," as in Ex. xiv. 7; 1 K. ix. 22; &c. The term itself, *shalish* (derived from *shalosh*, "three,") may be compared with the Latin "tribunus."

on whose hand the king leaned.] This seems to be the true meaning; but to obtain it we

3 ¶ And there were four leprous men at the entering in of the gate: and they said one to another, Why sit we here until we die?

4 If we say, We will enter into the city, then the famine *is* in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die.

5 And they rose up in the twilight, to go unto the camp of the Syrians: and when they were come to the uttermost part of the camp of Syria, behold, *there was* no man there.

6 For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, *even* the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us.

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must make a slight alteration of the ordinary Hebrew text (see note A at the end of the chapter). With respect to the practice of a king leaning on the arm of an attendant, see note on ch. v. verse 18.

Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven.] The word here translated "windows" has undoubtedly that meaning in some places. (See Eccl. xii. 3; Hos. xiii. 3; &c.) But in this verse, and in Gen. vii. 11, viii. 2 (passages which are in the mind of the speaker), "sluices" rather than "windows" are intended. The "lord" means to say—"If Jehovah were to open sluices in heaven, and pour down corn as he poured down rain in the time of the Deluge, even then could there be such abundance as thou speakest of?"

3. *Four leprous men at the entering in of the gate.*] Or, as we should now say, "at the entrance to the gate;" *i. e.* "at the outer door of the gate-house." This position of the lepers is in accordance with the law of Moses (Lev. xiii. 46; Num. v. 3); and shows that that law was still observed to some extent in the kingdom of Israel.

5. *They rose up in the twilight.*] They waited till the sun had gone down, and it was so dark that no one would see their desertion. The *evening* twilight is intended. See verse 9.

the uttermost part of the camp.] The extreme boundary of the camp *towards the city*, not its furthest or most distant portion. (Compare verse 8.)

6. *The Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise.*] Keil truly remarks that we cannot say whether the miracle by which God now wrought deliverance for Samaria consisted in a mere illusion of the sense of hearing—parallel to the illusion of the sense of sight by which Elisha had been recently delivered (ch. vi. 19, 20); or whether there was any objective reality in the sound. He adds with equal truth that the determination of this question is a matter of no importance. "The Divine causality is the same in either case."

the king of Israel hath hired.] The swords of mercenaries had been employed by the nations bordering on Palestine as early as the time of David (2 Sam. x. 6; 1 Chr. xix. 6, 7). Hence the supposition of the Syrians was far from improbable.

the kings of the Hittites.] The Hittites, who are found in early times far to the south in the country about Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 7), and who afterwards inhabited the central table-land of Judæa (Josh. xi. 3), seem to have retired northwards after the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites. They are found among the Syrian enemies of the Egyptians in the monuments of the 19th dynasty (ab. B.C. 1300), and appear at that time to have inhabited the valley of the Upper Orontes. In the early Assyrian monuments they appear as the most powerful people of northern Syria, dwelling on both banks of the Euphrates in the country along its course from Bir to Balis. In this tract they form a great confederacy under a number of petty kings, while at the same time there is a second confederacy of their race further to the south, which seems to inhabit the anti-Lebanon between Hamath and Damascus. These southern Hittites are under the dominion of *twelve kings*. They are in the time of Benhadad and Hazael a powerful people, especially strong in *chariots*; and generally assist the Syrians against the Assyrians ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 361-363). The Syrians seem now to have imagined that these southern Hittites had been hired by Jehoram.

the kings of the Egyptians.] This is a remarkable expression, since Egypt elsewhere throughout Scripture appears always as a centralised monarchy under a single ruler. We must conclude from the passage that at this period there either were several kings reigning in different parts of Egypt, as we know to have been the case sometimes, or that

7 Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it *was*, and fled for their life.

8 And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver, and gold, and raiment, and went and hid *it*; and came again, and entered into another tent, and carried thence *also*, and went and hid *it*.

9 Then they said one to another, We do not well: this day *is* a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace: if we tarry till the morning light, some mischief will come upon us: now therefore come, that we may go and tell the king's household.

† Heb. *we shall find punishment.*

10 So they came and called unto the porter of the city: and they told them, saying, We came to the camp of the Syrians, and, behold, *there was* no man there, neither voice of man, but horses tied, and asses tied, and the tents as they *were*.

11 And he called the porters; and they told *it* to the king's house within.

12 ¶ And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have done to us. They know that we *be* hungry; therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, When they come out of the city, we shall catch them alive, and get into the city.

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the principal Pharaoh had a prince or princes associated with him on the throne, which was also not uncommon in Egypt. The period, which is that of the 22nd dynasty, is an obscure one, on which the monuments throw but little light. Still the number of royal names belonging to the dynasty, as discovered by M. Mariette, compared with the chronology of Manetho, as reported by Africanus and Eusebius, leads naturally to the conclusion that this was one of the periods during which association was practised. (See Lenormant, 'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient,' vol. i. p. 454.)

7. *Left their tents, and their horses, and their asses.*] Darius Hystaspis did the same when he retreated from Scythia (Herod. iv. 165). The object of the Syrians was probably the same that actuated him, namely, "that their noise might be heard," and the flight of the army might consequently not be suspected.

8. *The uttermost part of the camp.*] See note on verse 5.

9. *Some mischief will come upon us.*] Rather, "**Punishment** will fall upon us"—we shall be punished for what we have done. The lepers began to think that if they kept this important matter secret during the whole night for their own private advantage, when the morning came they would be found out, accused, and punished. They determined therefore to go and tell some person belonging to the Court.

10. *They came and called unto the porter of the city, and they told them.*] This change from the singular "porter" to the plural "them" seems at first sight like a grammatical solecism; but the word has a *collective* force in the singular, like our "guard," and the meaning here is, not that the lepers called to any particular individual, but that they roused the body of men who were keeping guard at one of the gates.

horses tied, and asses tied.] The horses and asses were left *tethered*, that they might not run wild and create a disturbance.

11. *And he called the porters; and they told it.*] Rather, "And **the porters called and told it**." (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

12. *His servants.*] By "servants" here, as elsewhere frequently (Gen. xl. 20; 1 K. i. 2; xv. 18; xx. 6; &c.), we are to understand "high officers of the household," not mere domestics.

I will show you what the Syrians have done.] Jehoram sees in the deserted camp a stratagem like that by which Cyrus is said to have gained a great victory over the Massagetæ (Herod. i. 211). He supposes that the enemy have only withdrawn a short distance, and are lying in wait in the neighbourhood, ready to rise up against the Israelites as soon as they shall enter the camp and fall to eating and drinking, while at the same time they also seize the unprotected city. (Compare the taking of Ai, Josh. viii. 3-19.) The suspicion was a very natural one, since the Israelites knew of no reason why the Syrians should have raised the siege.

13 And one of his servants answered and said, Let *some* take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left† in the city, (behold, they *are* as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it: behold, *I say*, they *are* even as all the multitude of the Israelites that are consumed:) and let us send and see.

† Heb. *in it.*

14 They took therefore two chariot horses; and the king sent after the host of the Syrians, saying, Go and see.

15 And they went after them unto Jordan: and, lo, all the way *was* full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste. And the messengers returned, and told the king.

16 And the people went out, and spoiled the tents of the Syrians. So a measure of fine flour was *sold* for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, according to the word of the LORD.

17 ¶ And the king appointed the lord on whose hand he leaned to have the charge of the gate: and the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died, as the man of God had said, who spake when the king came down to him.

18 And it came to pass as the man of God had spoken to the king, saying, Two measures of barley for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, shall be to morrow about this time in the gate of Samaria:

19 And that lord answered the man of God, and said, Now, behold, *if* the LORD should make windows in heaven, might such a thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

20 And so it fell out unto him: for the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died.

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13. *Five of the horses.*] We may regard "five" as a round number, meaning simply—"a small body of horse."

in the city.] Literally, "in it," which is somewhat harsh, as there is no antecedent to which "it" can naturally refer. Some of the ancient versions indicate a reading of "here" for "in it," which would be an improvement.

behold, &c.] The Septuagint and a large number of the Hebrew MSS. omit the clause "behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it." But the text followed by our translators, which is that of the best MSS., is intelligible and needs no alteration. It is, as Keil explains, merely a prolix way of stating that the horsemen will incur no greater danger by going to reconnoitre than the rest of their countrymen by remaining in the city, since the whole multitude is perishing.

14. *They took therefore two chariot horses.*] This is a mistranslation. The proper rendering is—"**They took two horse-chariots.**" They dispatched *i.e.* two war-chariots, with their proper complement of horses and men, to see whether the retreat was a reality or only a feint. The "horses" sent would be either four, five, or six, since chariots were drawn by either two or three horses.

15. *They went after them unto Jordan.*] The Syrians had fled probably by the great road which led from Samaria to Damascus through Geba, En-gannim, Beth-shean, and Aphek: This is the route assigned to Holofernes in Judith (ii. 27; iii. 10). It crosses the Jordan at the *Jisr Mejamia*, about thirty-five miles north-east of Samaria.

in their haste.] Or "in their *alarm*" (ἐν τῷ θαμβεῖσθαι αὐτούς. LXX.). The word has both meanings.

16. *According unto the word of the Lord.*] See above, verse 1.

17. *The lord on whose hand he leaned.*] See verse 2.

the people trode upon him in the gate.] The crowd and crush was so great, partly of persons coming back with their booty, partly of others rushing to get their share, that the officer set in charge of the gate, who happened to be the very man that had doubted Elisha's prophecy (verse 2), was thrown down, and trampled to death.

who spake.] Some MSS. omit these words. Others have a reading which would make them a mere repetition of words in the preceding clause. (See note D at the end of the chapter.) The translation would then run, "As the man of God had said, as he had said when the king came down to him."

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 2, 11, 13, 17.

NOTE A, verse 2. "A lord, on whose hand the king leaned."

The ordinary Hebrew text runs thus—

ויען השלישׁ אשׁר למלך נשׁען על־ידו

In order to obtain the meaning, "on whose hand the king leaned," we must substitute המלך for למלך, the nominative for the dative.

NOTE B, verse 11. "And he called the porters, &c."

There is no antecedent to "he"; and if it were meant that *one* of the lepers called them, the verb קרא would be followed by אל, as in verse 10. השׁערים must be the subject, and perhaps we should read ויקראו for ויקרא, with several MSS.; or perhaps יקרא is used as a plural *before* its subject. (See Ewald, 'Heb. Gram.,' § 567.)

NOTE C, verse 13. "Let some take, I pray thee."

It is proposed to omit the words in brackets—

וַיִּקְחוּ־נָא חֲמִשָּׁה מִן־הַסּוּסִים הַנִּשְׁאָרִים אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאֲרוּ־בָהּ הִנָּם כְּכָל־הֲמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל [אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאֲרוּ־בָהּ הִנָּם כְּכָל־הֲמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל] אֲשֶׁר־תָּמּוּ וְנִשְׁלְחָה וְנִרְאֶה׃

If the words in brackets were an exact repetition of the preceding line, it would be probable that a transcriber had written the same line twice over; but the occurrence of המון in the place of ההמון, makes against this supposition. It is true that the *Keri* gives המון in both places; but this is a mere emendation.

NOTE D, verse 17. "As the man of God had said, who spake when the king came down to him."

The ordinary reading is כאשׁר דבר איׁש האלהים אשׁר דבר ברדת המלך אליו׃. Some MSS. omit the words אשׁר דבר; others repeat, instead of them, the באשׁר דבר of the preceding clause.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The Shunammite, having left her country seven years, to avoid the forewarned famine, for Elisha's miracle sake hath her land restored by the king.* 7 *Hazael, being sent with a present by Ben-hadad to Elisha at Damascus, after he had heard the prophecy, killeth his master, and succeedeth him.* 16 *Jehoram's wicked reign in Judah.* 20 *Edom and Libnah revolt.* 23 *Ahaziah succeedeth Jehoram.* 25 *Ahaziah's wicked reign.* 28 *He visiteth Jehoram wounded, at Jezreel.*

THEN spake Elisha unto the woman, [a]whose son he had [a] ch restored to life, saying, Arise, and go thou and thine household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn: for the LORD hath called for a famine; and it shall also come upon the land seven years.

2 And the woman arose, and did after the saying of the man of God:

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Then spake Elisha.*] Literally, "**And Elisha spake.**" There is nothing in the original to mark the time. Both the famine here recorded, and the conversation of the monarch with Gehazi, must have been anterior to the events related in ch. v.—since we may be sure that a king of Israel would not have entered into familiar conversation with a confirmed leper. The writer of Kings probably collected the miracles of Elisha from various sources, and did not always arrange them chronologically. Here the link of connexion is to be found in the nature of the miracle. As Elisha on one occasion prophesied plenty, so on another he had prophesied a famine.

the woman.] See above, ch. iv. verses 8-37.

the Lord hath called for a famine.] In the language of the sacred writers, God's "calling for" anything is the same as His producing it. (See Ezek. xxxvi. 29; Rom. iv. 17.) The idea is that sublime one set forth in the words—"And God said, let there be light; and there was light"—namely, that God has only to "speak the word," and at once the thing is made. (See Ps. xxxiii. 9: "For he spake and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.") "Calling for a famine" is a frequent expression. (Comp. Ps. cv. 16; Hag. i. 11.)

2. *In the land of the Philistines.*] The country of the Philistines—the rich low corn-growing plain along the sea-coast of Judah—was always a land of plenty compared with the highlands of Palestine. Moreover, if food failed there, it was easily imported by sea from the neighbouring Egypt.

and she went with her household, and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years.

3 And it came to pass at the seven years' end, that the woman returned out of the land of the Philistines: and she went forth to cry unto the king for her house and for her land.

4 And the king talked with Gehazi the servant of the man of God, saying, Tell me, I pray thee, all the great things that Elisha hath done.

5 And it came to pass, as he was telling the king how he had restored a dead body to life, that, behold, the woman, whose son he had restored to life, cried to the king for her house and for her land. And Gehazi said, My lord, O king, this *is* the woman, and this *is* her son, whom Elisha restored to life.

6 And when the king asked the woman, she told him. So the king appointed unto her a certain ‖officer, saying, Restore all that *was* her's, and all the fruits of the field since the day that she left the land, even until now.

‖ Or, *eunuch.*

7 ¶ And Elisha came to Damascus; and Ben-hadad the king of Syria was sick; and it was told him, saying, The man of God is come hither.

8 And the king said unto Hazael,

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3. *She went forth to cry unto the king for her house and for her land.*] Concerning this "house and land" see above, ch. iv., verses 10 and 18. During the Shunammite's absence in Philistia, her dwelling and her corn-fields had been appropriated by some one else, and this person refused to restore them to her on her return. She therefore determined to appeal to the king. Such direct appeals are common in Oriental countries. (Compare 2 S. xiv. 4; 1 K. iii. 16; 2 K. vi. 26.)

4. *Talked.*] Or "was talking." The meaning is, that just at the time when the woman came to make her appeal, the king and Gehazi happened to be talking about her.

5. *Cried to the king.*] The word translated "cried" aptly describes the loud clamour of an Oriental petitioner. The "cry" interrupted Gehazi's tale, compelling his attention, and that of the king.

6. *The king appointed unto her a certain officer.*] Literally, "a certain eunuch." It is evident that eunuchs were now in common use at the Samaritan Court. (Compare ix. 32.) They are ascribed to the court of David in Chronicles (1 Chr. xxviii. 1); and we may conjecture that they were maintained by Solomon. But otherwise we do not find them in the kingdom of Judah till the time of Hezekiah. (Is. lvi. 3, 4.)

7. *And Elisha came.*] At length the hour had come for carrying out the command given by God to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15), and by him probably passed on to his successor. Benhadad, after a long reign, was sick, and Elisha was forewarned that he would not recover. If Hazael therefore was to be anointed king in Benhadad's lifetime, it was necessary for the prophet to bestir himself. Careless, therefore, of his own safety, he quitted the land of Israel, and proceeded into the enemy's country, thus putting into the power of the Syrian king that life which he had lately sought so eagerly. (2 K. vi. 13-19.) He could not tell how he would be received. While on the one hand he had claims on the monarch's favour, inasmuch as he had healed Naaman of his leprosy, and had also prevailed on Jehoram to release without ransom a captured Syrian detachment (ch. vi. 22); on the other, he had baffled all the proud monarch's plans of conquest (vi. 9-12), and had recently foretold, and might be thought to have caused, the inglorious retreat of his entire host (vi. 24) from before the walls of Samaria (vii. 1-7). It was therefore, humanly speaking, at a great risk that he took the journey.

and it was told him.] Elisha, apparently, had attempted no concealment of his presence, which was at once reported to the king, since it was known how anxious Benhadad had been to capture him. (2 K. vi. 13, 14.)

the man of God.] The Damascenes had perhaps known Elisha by this title from the time of his curing Naaman. Or the phrase may be used as equivalent to "prophet," which is the title commonly given to Elisha by the Syrians. (See 2 K. v. 13; vi. 12.)

8. *Hazael.*] Josephus calls Hazael "the most trusty of all Benhadad's attendants." He was no doubt a high officer of the court; but there is no evidence that he was "captain of the host," as some have supposed. The names of Hazael and Benhadad have been recognised in the Assyrian monuments. They occur in the inscription on the Black Obelisk now in the British Museum.

Take a present in thine hand, and go, meet the man of God, and enquire of the LORD by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?

9 So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present †with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him, and said, Thy son Ben-hadad king of Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?

† Heb. *in his hand.*

10 And Elisha said unto him, Go, say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover: howbeit the LORD hath shewed me that he shall surely die.

11 And he settled his countenance †stedfastly, until he was ashamed: and the man of God wept.

† Heb. *and set it.*

12 And Hazael said, Why weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their

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Both are mentioned as kings of Damascus, who contended with a certain Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, and suffered defeat at his hands. In one of the battles between this king and Benhadad, "Ahab of Jezreel" is mentioned among the allies of the latter. This same Shalmaneser took tribute from Jehu. This is the point at which the Assyrian records first come in direct contact with those of the Jews. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 103-106; 2nd ed.)

Take a present.] Compare notes on 1 K. xiv. 3; 2 K. v. 15.

9. *Every good thing of Damascus.*] Damascus was an important city even at the date of Elisha's visit, and was famous for many sorts of merchandise. Naaman had chosen for the present with which he wished to reward the prophet who should heal his leprosy, gold, silver, and costly raiment. (2 K. v. 5.) Hazael seems to have taken, in the name of his master, a far more magnificent offering. "All the good things of Damascus" included probably, besides rich robes and precious metals, the luscious wine of Helbon, which was the drink of the Persian kings (Strab. xv. 3, § 22), the soft white wool of the Antilibanus (Ezek. xxvii. 18), *damask* coverings of couches (Am. iii. 12), and numerous manufactured articles of luxury, which the Syrian capital imported from Tyre, Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon.

forty camels' burthen.] Josephus understands by this, not so much that the weight of Benhadad's present was equal to the burthen of forty camels, as that forty camels were, in point of fact, laden with it, and that this goodly caravan paraded the streets of the town, conveying to the prophet the splendid *kelat* designed for him. It is rightly observed by Keil that eastern ostentation induces donors to make the greatest possible show of their gifts, and that, consequently, each camel might bear only one or two articles.

thy son, Benhadad.] This was a phrase indicative of the greatest respect. It was one which disciples adopted towards their teachers (2 K. ii. 12), and servants towards their masters (2 K. v. 13). We have found it used once by the King of Israel towards Elisha (2 K. vi. 21), at a moment of strong feeling and excitement. It is now resorted to by Hazael, no doubt at the command of Benhadad, in order to dispose the prophet favourably towards him.

10. *Go, say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover.*] *I.e.* "*Say* to him, what thou hast already determined to say, what a courtier is sure to say,—'Thou shalt certainly recover;' but know that the *fact* will be otherwise—Jehovah has showed me that he will certainly die." (Compare 1 K. xxii. 15, and on the doubt with respect to the true reading of the Hebrew text, see note A at the end of the chapter.)

he shall surely die.] In the original the two clauses exactly balance each other. It would be better to translate—"**Go, say unto him, Thou shalt certainly live: howbeit the Lord hath showed me that he shall certainly die.**"

11. *And he settled his countenance, &c.*] Many commentators understand these words of Hazael; but they are best referred to Elisha. Translate—"And he (Elisha) settled his countenance, and set it (towards Hazael), till he (Hazael) was ashamed." Elisha fixed on Hazael a long and meaning look, till the latter's eyes fell before his, and his cheek flushed. Elisha, it would seem, had detected the guilty thought that was in Hazael's heart, and Hazael perceived that he had detected it. Hence the "shame."

12. *Why weepeth my lord?*] Preserving the tone of humility and deep respect with which he had opened the interview (see verse 9), Hazael now uses towards Elisha the term *adonai*, "lord," which subjects commonly employed towards their sovereigns. (See vi. 26; viii. 5, &c.)

strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child.

13 And Hazael said, But what, *is* thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing? And Elisha answered, The LORD hath shewed me that thou *shalt be* king over Syria.

14 So he departed from Elisha, and came to his master; who said to him, What said Elisha to thee? And he answered, He told me *that* thou shouldest surely recover.

15 And it came to pass on the morrow, that he took a thick cloth, and dipped *it* in water, and spread *it* on his face, so that he died: and Hazael reigned in his stead.

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thou . . . wilt dash their children, and rip up their women.] The intention is not to tax Hazael with special cruelty, but only to enumerate the ordinary horrors of war, as it was conducted among the Oriental nations of the time. (Compare Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9; Is. xiii. 16, 18; Hos. x. 14; 2 K. xv. 16, &c.) Hazael's wars against Israel are related in 2 K. x. 32, 33; xiii. 3-7; and alluded to by Amos (i. 3).

13. *But what, is thy servant a dog?*] This is a mistranslation, and conveys to the English reader a sense quite different from that of the original. Hazael's speech runs thus —"**But what is thy servant, this dog, that he should do this great thing?**" He does not shrink from Elisha's words, or mean to say that he would be a dog, could he act so cruelly as Elisha predicts he will. On the contrary, Elisha's prediction has raised his hopes, and his only doubt is whether so much good fortune ("this great thing") can be in store for one so mean. "Dog" here, as generally (though not always) in Scripture, has the sense of "mean," "low," "contemptible." Compare 1 S. xvii. 43; xxiv. 14; 2 S. iii. 8; ix. 8; xvi. 9; and note that the LXX. translate here ὁ κύων ὁ τεθνηκώς, "this *dead* dog"—the exact phrase which occurs in three of the above passages. (1 S. xxiv. 14; 2 S. ix. 8; xvi. 9.)

the Lord hath showed me, &c.] Elisha answers Hazael's doubt. "Strange as it may seem to thee, Jehovah has revealed it—and so it will be." We cannot say whether he refers to any direct revelation to himself, or only to the old announcement to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15), communicated to him by his master.

14. *He told me that thou shouldest surely recover.*] Hazael repeated the *exact* words of Elisha — "Thou shalt certainly live" (see note on verse 10); but he omitted the clause by which Elisha had shown how those words were to be understood. He thus deceived his master, while he could flatter himself that he had not uttered a lie.

15. *A thick cloth.*] The word here used (*machber*) seems to be derived from a root meaning "to plait;" and the article attached to it implies that it was something usually found in a sick room, and that a sick room had only one thing of the kind. Some think it identical with the *ch'bir*, mentioned in 1 S. xix. 13, which has been commonly regarded as a "pillow" or "cushion." Others suppose it to be the coverlet. Probably it was a cloth or mat placed between the head and the upper part of the bedstead, which in Egypt and Assyria was often so shaped that pillows (in our sense) were unnecessary.

and spread it on his face so that he died.] Several commentators (Geddes, Boothroyd, Schultz) suppose that Benhadad is the subject of the verbs "took," "dipped," "spread," and that he put the cloth on himself, to give himself relief, and so unintentionally caused his own death. But there is no real ground for rejecting the *primâ facie* meaning of the passage, which is that Hazael, excited by the words of Elisha, took advantage of Benhadad's weak state to murder him. The only critical counter-argument adduced is extremely weak. It is the mention of Hazael at the end of the verse, which is held to show that he is not the subject of the earlier clauses. Now, as Hazael is the subject of the last clause of verse 14, he is the only natural subject of the first clause of verse 15, and the recurrence of the word "Hazael" in the last clause of that verse is necessary on account of the change of subject which had occurred in the clause, "so that he (*Benhadad*) died." The objection, that Elisha is thus involved in the guilt of having suggested the deed, has no real force or value. Hazael was no more obliged to murder Benhadad because a prophet announced to him that he would one day be king of Syria, than David was obliged to murder Saul because another prophet anointed him king in Saul's room (1 S. xvi. 1-13).

Benhadad's death may be compared with that of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, who was smothered with his pillow, as he lay upon a sick bed, according to Suetonius. ('Vit. Tiber.' § 73.)

16 ¶ And in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, Jehoshaphat *being* then king of Judah,
[a] 2 Chron. 21. 4. [a] Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah [†] began to reign.
[†] Heb. *reigned.*
17 Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem.
18 And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab: for the daughter of Ahab was his wife: and he did evil in the sight of the LORD.
19 Yet the LORD would not destroy Judah for David his servant's sake, [b] as he promised him to give him alway a [†] light, *and* to his children.
[b] 2 Sam. 7. 13. [†] Heb. *candle, or, lamp.*
20 ¶ In his days Edom revolted

16. *In the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab . . . Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat . . . began to reign.*] The history of the kingdom of Judah is here resumed from 1 K. xxii. 50: but that of the kingdom of Israel still forms to the end of ch. x. the main narrative. The present passage (verses 16-19) is parenthetic, as is the account of Jehoshaphat's reign in 1 K. xxii. (verses 41-50). In ch. i. 17, as the text at present stands, we are told that Jehoram, the son of Ahab, began to reign in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat. Those who regard both passages as sound, suppose that Jehoshaphat gave his son the royal title in his sixteenth year, while he advanced him to a real association in the empire seven years later, in his twenty-third year. (Compare note on 2 K. i. 17.) Two years afterwards, Jehoshaphat died, and Jehoram became sole king.

Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah.] This is a meaning which the text, as it stands, cannot possibly bear. The words run—"**In the fifth year of Joram, son of Ahab, king of Israel, and of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah.**" They are perfectly plain and straightforward, without the least ambiguity, and are correctly rendered by the LXX. As, however, they contradict all the other chronological notices of Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii. 42, 51; 2 K. iii. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 31), which give him a reign of at least twenty-three years, it is scarcely possible that they can be sound. Most probably there is an accidental repetition of the three words with which the verse in the Hebrew text closes.

17. *He reigned eight years.*] The "eight years" of Jehoram are counted from his association in the kingdom in his father's twenty-third year. They terminate in the twelfth year of Jehoram of Israel.

18. *He walked in the way of the kings of Israel.*] Here we have a new feature in the history. Though Jehoshaphat had made alliance with Ahab, married his son to Ahab's daughter, and joined in Ahab's and his son's enterprises (1 K. xxii. 4, 29; 2 K. iii. 7; 2 Chr. xx. 35, 36), yet he had not allowed his political leanings to affect the purity of his faith. It was otherwise with Jehoram. Influenced by his mother, Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, that prince "walked in the way of the kings of Israel;" he allowed, *i.e.*, the introduction of the Baal worship into Judæa.

he did evil in the sight of the Lord.] Among the worst of Jehoram's evil doings must be reckoned the cruel murder of his six brothers (2 Chr. xxi. 4), whom he slew, not for his own security, but in order to obtain their wealth.

19. *Yet the Lord would not destroy Judah.*] The natural consequence of Jehoram's apostasy would have been the destruction of his house, and the transfer of the throne of Judah to another family. Compare the punishments of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. 10), Baasha (xvi. 2-4), and Ahab (xxi. 20-22). But the promises to David (2 S. vii. 13-16; Ps. lxxxix. 29-37; &c.) prevented this removal of the dynasty; and so Jehoram was punished in other ways —1. by the revolt of Edom; 2. by the revolt of Libnah; 3. by successful inroads of the Philistines and Arabs (2 Chr. xxi. 16, 17); and 4. by the horrible manner of his death. (See below, note on verse 24.)

to give him always a light.] On the meaning of this phrase see above, note on 1 K. xi. 36. The expression occurs also in 1 K. xv. 4, and 2 Chr. xxi. 7.

20. *In his days Edom revolted.*] Edom, which had been reduced by David (2 S. viii. 14; 1 K. xi. 15, 16), but had apparently revolted from Solomon (1 K. xi. 14), was again subject to Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat, as appears by the narrative in ch. iii. 8-26. The Edomites had, however, retained their native kings (ibid. verse 9), and with them the spirit of independence. Perhaps they may have known of the famous prophecy of Isaac —"It shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." (Gen. xxvii. 40.) At any rate, they now rose in revolt, and fulfilled the prophecy, remaining from henceforth a separate and independent people. (Jerem. xxv. 21; xxvii. 3; Am. i. 11; &c.)

from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves.

21 So Joram went over to Zair, and all the chariots with him: and he rose by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him about, and the captains of the chariots: and the people fled into their tents.

22 Yet Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day. Then Libnah revolted at the same time.

23 And the rest of the acts of Joram, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

24 And Joram slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and [c]Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead. [c] 2 Chron. 22. 1.

25 ¶ In the twelfth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel did Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah begin to reign.

26 Two and twenty years old *was*

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ana made a king over themselves.] They would naturally throw off the government of the previous tributary king, who held his crown from the kings of Judah, and choose for themselves a new sovereign. Kings of Edom, who seem to be independent monarchs, are often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions.

21. *So Joram went over to Zair.*] The name "Zair" does not elsewhere occur. It has been regarded as equivalent to Zoar, and again to Seir. But Zoar was in the Moabite rather than the Edomite country, being at the upper end of the Dead Sea. Seir, the famous mountain of Edom (Gen. xiv. 6), is far more likely to be intended. The name differs only by the initial sibilant (see note B at the end of the chapter); and, if Seir does not appear in the rest of Kings, the reason may be that the writer has no occasion to mention it.

the people fled into their tents.] It is not quite clear of which people this is said. So far as we can gather from the extremely concise account of the writer, it would seem that Jehoram invaded Idumæa with the object of putting down the revolt—that he was there brought into great peril, the Edomites having surrounded his force—that in this strait he made a night attack upon the encompassing army and defeated it—but that, notwithstanding his success, he was forced to withdraw from the country, and to leave the natives to enjoy their independence.

22. *Yet Edom revolted.*] Literally, "And Edom revolted." The Hebrew is poor in conjunctions, and often where there is a real contrast, uses merely the ordinary connective.

unto this day.] The independence of the Edomites seems to have continued till the time of John Hyrcanus, who once more reduced them. (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.,' xii. 8, § 6.)

then Libnah revolted.] The exact position of Libnah is doubtful, but it was certainly towards the south-*west* of Palestine, so that its revolt cannot well have had any direct connection with that of Edom. Libnah is mentioned among the cities of Judah in Joshua (xv. 42), and is assigned to the "low country." It is placed between the group containing Lachish and Eglon on the one hand, and that consisting of Ekron and her dependent villages on the other, so that its latitude should be from about 31° 35′ to 31° 45. Its exact site has not yet been discovered. Libnah was one of the Levitical towns (Josh. xxi. 13; 1 Chr. vi. 57). It had been the capital of a small Canaanite state under a separate king before its conquest by Joshua (Josh. x. 30; xii. 15), and may perhaps always have retained a considerable Canaanitish population. Or its loss may have been connected with the attacks made by the Philistines on Jehoram's territories. (2 Chr. xxi. 16, 17.)

24. *And Joram slept with his fathers.*] On the circumstances of the death of Jehoram, see 2 Chr. xxi. 12-19.

and was buried with his fathers.] In Chronicles we read that he was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chr. xxi. 20). Probably he was originally interred there, since Ahaziah, his son, and Athaliah, his widow, who approved his policy, remained in power. But his body may have been removed when Jehoiada effected his revolution (2 K. xi. 4-16), so that his *final* burial was as the author of Chronicles describes.

Ahaziah.] This prince is called Jehoahaz in 2 Chr. xxi. 17, by a transposition of the two elements of the name.

26. *Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah.*] As Ahaziah's father, Jehoram, was barely 40 at his death (see verse 17), Ahaziah must have been born when his father was but 18. Yet, according to the author of Chronicles, he was the *youngest* of Jehoram's sons. (2 Chr. xxi. 17; xxii. 1.) This is certainly surprising; but it is *possible*, owing to the early age at which youths marry in the East.

Ahaziah when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Athaliah, the daughter of Omri king of Israel.

27 And he walked in the way of the house of Ahab, and did evil in the sight of the LORD, as *did* the house of Ahab: for he *was* the son in law of the house of Ahab.

28 ¶ And he went with Joram the son of Ahab to the war against Hazael king of Syria in Ramoth-gilead; and the Syrians wounded Joram.

29 And king Joram went back to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds †which the Syrians had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria. And Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was †sick.

† Heb. *wherewith the Syrians had wounded.*

† Heb. *wounded.*

his mother's name was Athaliah.] It is evident by this name, as well as by those of Jehoram and Ahaziah, that the Baal-worshipping kings of Israel did not openly renounce the service of Jehovah. Athaliah is "the time for Jehovah;" Ahaziah "the possession of Jehovah;" Jehoram, or Joram, "exalted by Jehovah."

the daughter of Omri.] "Son" and "daughter" were used by the Jews of any descendants. Christ was "the son of David"—David "the son of Abraham" (Matt. i. 1). The whole race were "the children of Israel." Athaliah was no doubt the actual daughter of Ahab, as stated in verse 18, and consequently the *grand-daughter* of Omri. Her being called "the daughter of Omri" implies that an idea of special greatness was regarded as attaching to him, so that his name prevailed over that of Ahab. Indications of this ideal greatness are found in the Assyrian inscriptions, where the early name for Samaria is Beth-Omri, and where even Jehu has the title of "the son of Omri." ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 365.)

27. *He walked in the way of the house of Ahab.*] See above, verse 18. Ahaziah was completely under the influence of his mother (2 Chr. xxii. 3), and her relatives (ib. verse 4).

28. *He went with Joram the son of Ahab to the war against Hazael.*] Ahaziah followed in this the example of his grandfather Jehoshaphat, who had made the alliance, and had accompanied in their wars both Ahab (1 K. xxii. 29) and Joram (2 K. iii. 9).

in Ramoth-gilead.] This war of the two kings against Hazael seems to have been an aggressive one, and to have had for its object the recovery of Ramoth-gilead, which Ahab and Jehoshaphat had vainly attempted fourteen years earlier. (1 K. xxii. 3-36.) Joram probably thought that the accession of a new and usurping monarch presented a favourable opportunity for a renewal of the war. (See note on ch. i. 1.) It may also have happened that Hazael was engaged at the time upon his northern frontier with repelling one of those Assyrian attacks which seem by the inscriptions to have fallen upon him in quick succession during his earlier years. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 364.) At any rate, the war appears to have been successful. Ramoth-gilead was recovered (Joseph., 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 6, § 1; 2 K. ix. 14), and remained probably thenceforth in the hands of the Israelites.

the Syrians wounded Joram.] According to Josephus, Joram was struck by an arrow in the course of the siege, but remained till the place was taken. He then withdrew to Jezreel, leaving his army under Jehu within the walls of the town.

29. *In Jezreel.*] Jezreel, the country palace of Ahab (1 K. xviii. 45; xxi. 1), was still (it appears) maintained by his son as the royal residence.

the wounds.] It would seem by this expression that Joram must have received more than the simple stroke of an arrow which Josephus mentions.

at Ramah.] Ramah, Ramath, Ramoth, and Remeth are different forms of the same name. The word means simply "high" or "elevated." In the word Ramoth-gilead, Ramah or Ramoth is alone the true name. "Ramoth-Gilead" means "Ramoth in Gilead"—the Ramoth of the trans-Jordanic region, which is distinguished by the suffix from the many other Ramahs of the Holy Land.

Ahaziah went down to see Joram.] Ahaziah had probably remained at Ramoth at the time of Joram's departure. After a while he "went down" from that elevated position and crossed the valley of the Jordan to the low ground where Jezreel lay, to visit his sick uncle. This led to his own destruction. (2 Chr. xxii. 7.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 10 and 21.

NOTE A on verse 10. "Go say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover."

The *Ketib* reading is אֱמֹר לֹא חָיֹה תִחְיֶה—"Say—Thou shalt certainly not live"—the *Keri*—אֱמֹר לוֹ חָיֹה תִחְיֶה "Say to him—Thou shalt certainly live." The chief critical grounds for preferring the *Keri* are the following—1. לֹא is very rarely used before the infinitive absolute; 2. the pronoun is wanted after אמר; 3. if the writer had said "Thou shalt certainly not recover," he would have assigned the next clause as a *reason*, and would have written כי הראני—"*for* the Lord hath shown me," and not והראני—"*yet* the Lord hath shown me."

NOTE B on verse 21. "Joram went over to Zair."

Zair is in Hebrew צָעִיר, while Seir is שֵׂעִיר. The sounds of *sin* and *tsaddi* are very much alike, and in different Semitic dialects often replace one another. Thus Samaria (שֹׁמְרוֹן) is in Assyrian *Tsammarin*.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Elisha sendeth a young prophet with instructions to anoint Jehu at Ramoth-gilead.* 4 *The prophet having done his message fleeth.* 11 *Jehu, being made king by the soldiers, killeth Joram in the field of Naboth.* 27 *Ahaziah is slain at Gur, and buried at Jerusalem.* 30 *Proud Jezebel is thrown down out of a window, and eaten by dogs.*

AND Elisha the prophet called one of the children of the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this box of oil in thine hand, and go to Ramoth-gilead:

2 And when thou comest thither, look out there Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an †inner chamber;

† Heb. *chamber in a chamber.*

3 Then [d] take the box of oil, and pour *it* on his head, and say, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, and flee, and tarry not.

[d] 1 Kin. 19. 16.

4 ¶ So the young man, *even* the young man the prophet, went to Ramoth-gilead.

5 And when he came, behold, the captains of the host *were* sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee,

CHAP. IX. 1. *One of the children of the prophets.*] Literally, "one of the **sons** of the prophets." On the sons of the prophets, see note on 1 K. xx. 35.

Gird up thy loins.] That is, "prepare thyself for a journey."

box.] Rather "**flask**," or "**vial**," as in 1 S. x. 1. Oil and ointment were commonly kept in open-mouthed jars, vases, or bottles made of glass, alabaster, or earthenware. Many such vessels have been found both in Egypt and in Assyria.

of oil.] Literally, "**of the oil**"—*i.e.* of the holy oil (τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον, Joseph.), oil compounded after the receipt given in Exodus (xxx. 23-25).

2. *When thou comest thither.*] Rather, "when thou hast **entered there**;" *i.e.* when thou hast gone into the town.

go in.] *I.e.* "enter his quarters." The same verb is used both here and at the beginning of the verse, but in the first place with reference to the town, and in the second to the house where Jehu was.

his brethren.] Jehu's "brethren" are his companions, his *brother* officers. See verses 5 and 11.

an inner chamber.] Literally "a chamber within a chamber," as in 1 K. xx. 30, and xxii. 25. Here the meaning can only be a "private," not a "secret," chamber.

3. *And say.*] The writer has not given us here the whole of Elisha's message, but only the most essential portion of it. It is his habit to avoid needless repetitions. For the full message, see verses 6-10.

flee and tarry not.] The probable object of these directions was (as Thenius observes) at once to prevent questioning, and to render the whole thing more striking.

4. *The young man, even the young man the prophet.*] The repetition of the word *han-na'ar* here is doubtful. The LXX. and the Syriac translator seem to have had it once only.

5. *The captains of the host.*] The chief officers—the generals—were assembled together in Jehu's quarters, as Elisha had pro-

O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of all us? And he said, To thee, O captain.

6 And he arose, and went into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the LORD, *even* over Israel.

7 And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the LORD, [e] at the hand of Jezebel.

8 For the whole house of Ahab shall perish: and [f] I will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel:

9 And I will make the house of Ahab like the house of [g] Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of [h] Baasha the son of Ahijah:

10 And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and *there shall be* none to bury *her*. And he opened the door, and fled.

11 ¶ Then Jehu came forth to the servants of his lord: and *one* said unto him, *Is* all well? wherefore came this mad *fellow* to thee? And he said unto them, Ye know the man, and his communication.

[e] 1 Kin. 21. 15.

[f] 1 Kin. 14. 10. & 21. 21.

[g] 1 Kin. 14. 10. & 21. 22.

[h] 1 Kin. 16. 3.

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phesied that they would be (verse 2), when the young man entered. Probably Jehu was holding a council of war. The place of assembly seems to have been the great court. Hence, in the next verse, we hear that Jehu, on being told that the message was to him, rose up and "went into the house"—entered, that is, one of the rooms opening into the court.

7. *The blood of my servants the prophets.*] Compare 1 K. xviii. 4.

the blood of all the servants of the Lord.] We may gather from this passage that besides the murder of the prophets there had been general persecutions of the worshippers of Jehovah at Jezebel's instigation—persecutions which are not recorded in the direct narrative. The allusion cannot be to the single case of Naboth.

8. *I will cut off from Ahab him, &c.*] See note on 1 K. xiv. 10.

9. *Like the house of Jeroboam.*] Compare 1 K. xv. 29, 30.

like the house of Baasha.] Compare 1 K. xvi. 11.

10. *And the dogs shall eat Jezebel.*] The fate of Jezebel had been prophesied by Elijah. (1 K. xxi. 23; 2 K. ix. 36, 37.) Its announcement as imminent forms a worthy climax to this grand prophecy of Elisha's. Hers was the chief guilt. From her had come the whole of that terrible sin which had now overshadowed both kingdoms. She was the "fons et origo mali." What more fitting, then, that now when the evil was come to a head, and divine wrath was about to burst forth and sweep away the entire impious brood, she should be selected for a punishment of extraordinary horror—a punishment which would never be forgotten—which, in Jewish eyes, was the most terrible that could befall humanity?

in the portion of Jezreel.] There most fitly would she suffer—at Jezreel—the scene of her idolatries—there, where she had set up her temple and her grove—had maintained her 400 prophets and her priests—had threatened Elijah with destruction (1 K. xix. 2)—and, above all, had stirred up her lord to commit murder (xxi. 7-15). The "portion" or "field" of Jezreel, if not exactly identical with the vineyard of Naboth, was at any rate a tract closely adjoining upon it. (See note on 1 K. xxi. 1.)

and he opened the door and fled.] See above, verse 3. Elisha's messenger strictly obeyed all his injunctions.

11. *The servants of his lord.*] The "captains" of verse 5, "servants," like himself, of Joram.

Is all well?] Literally, "Is it peace?" as in verses 17, 18, 19, and 22. Compare 2 K. iv. 26.

this mad fellow.] Too much force seems to be attributed to this expression, when it is regarded either as proving that the Hebrew prophets delivered their oracles under the influence of an ecstatic frenzy (Hengstenberg), or as illustrating the readiness of worldly men to tax an earnest believer with enthusiasm and fanaticism (Keil). The captains do not mean to say that the man is mad; but, seeing his excited look, his strange action, and his extreme haste, they call him (as soldiers would) "this wild fellow"—"this scatter-brain."

12 And they said, *It is* false; tell us now. And he said, Thus and thus spake he to me, saying, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel.

13 Then they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put *it* under him on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying, †Jehu is king.

† Heb. *reigneth.*

14 So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi conspired against Joram. (Now Joram had kept Ramoth-gilead, he and all Israel, because of Hazael king of Syria.

15 But [i]king †Joram was returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians †had given him, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria.) And Jehu said, If it be your minds, *then* †let none go forth *nor* escape out of the city to go to tell *it* in Jezreel.

[i] ch. 8. 29.
† Heb. *Jehoram.*
† Heb. *smote.*
† Heb. *let no escaper go,* &c.

16 So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went to Jezreel; for Joram lay there. And Ahaziah king of Judah was come down to see Joram.

17 And there stood a watchman on the tower in Jezreel, and he spied the company of Jehu as he came, and said, I see a company. And Joram said, Take an horseman, and send to meet them, and let him say, *Is it* peace?

18 So there went one on horseback to meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, *Is it* peace? And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying, The messenger came to them, but he cometh not again.

19 Then he sent out a second on horseback, which came to them, and said, Thus saith the king, *Is it* peace? And Jehu answered, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.

20 And the watchman told, saying, He came even unto them, and cometh not again: and the ‖driving *is* like

‖ Or, *marching.*

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13. *Took every man his garment, and put it under him.*] The outer cloak of the Jews was a sort of large shawl or blanket, which, on an occasion like this, might well serve for a carpet of state. Such a carpet is commonly represented on the seat of an Assyrian throne in the Nineveh sculptures.

on the top of the stairs.] Rather, "on the very stairs," or "on the stairs themselves." The stairs would undoubtedly be those of the house in which the captains were assembled; they would rise against the wall of the house from the pavement of the court to the level of the upper story, or of the roof. At the top of the stairs would be a flat platform, and this would form a convenient extempore throne, on which the new king could exhibit himself to his subjects (who were, doubtless, admitted into the court below) seated and in an elevated position.

blew with trumpets.] On this recognised part of the ceremony of a coronation, see 2 S. xv. 10; 1 K. i. 39; 2 K. xi. 14.

14. *Joram had kept Ramoth-Gilead.*] Rather, "Joram was keeping watch in Ramoth-Gilead." The city being taken, but the war continuing, and there being a danger of the Syrians recovering it, Joram and all Israel (*i. e.* the whole military force) were guarding the recent conquest, while Hazael threatened it. Joram is mentioned, though not present, because the watch was kept by his orders. Then, to prevent misconception, the writer repeats, almost in the same words, what he had said in viii. 29, of Joram's personal withdrawal to Jezreel. The whole passage, "Now——with Hazael, king of Syria," is parenthetic.

15. *If it be your minds.*] *I.e.* "if you think with me on the point,"—"if you deem it advisable." Jehu, not being yet king, suggests, instead of commanding.

16. *Ahaziah was come down,* &c.] See viii. 29, and note ad loc.

17. *A watchman.*] Literally, "the watchman." The palace evidently had a single watch-tower, where one watchman at a time was on the look-out.

company.] Rather, "multitude."

18. *What hast thou to do with peace?*] "What does it matter to *thee* whether my errand is one of peace or no? Whatever it is, *thou* art not concerned with it."

20. *The driving is like the driving of Jehu.*] The word translated "driving" here does not mean "charioteering," but "leading" or "conduct" of a band. The watchman

the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth † furiously.

† Heb. *in madness.*

† Heb. *Bind.*

21 And Joram said, † Make ready. And his chariot was made ready. And Joram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah went out, each in his chariot, and they went out against Jehu, and † met him in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite.

† Heb. *found.*

22 And it came to pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, *Is it* peace, Jehu? And he answered, What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts *are so* many?

23 And Joram turned his hands, and fled, and said to Ahaziah, *There is* treachery, O Ahaziah.

24 And Jehu † drew a bow with his full strength, and smote Jehoram between his arms, and the arrow went out at his heart, and he † sunk down in his chariot.

† Heb. *filled his hand with a bow.*

† Heb. *bowed.*

25 Then said *Jehu* to Bidkar his captain, Take up, *and* cast him in the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite: for remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, [a] the LORD laid this burden upon him;

[a] 1 Kin. 21. 29.

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observed that the band was led forward at an unusually rapid rate, and associated this strange procedure with the known character of Jehu, who must have been regarded as violent and impetuous.

furiously.] Literally, "**madly.**" It is curious that both the Chaldee and Arabic versions, as well as Josephus, give an exactly opposite sense—"he driveth quietly."

the son of Nimshi.] Properly "the grandson." But see note on 2 K. viii. 26. Nimshi was probably a more famous person than Jehoshaphat. (See verse 2.)

21. *And Joram said, Make ready.*] Literally, "Bind"—*i. e.* "Harness the horses to the chariot." The king seems still to have had no suspicion of Jehu's treason. Probably he imagined that the captain of the host was bringing him important news from the seat of war, and he was impatient to learn their purport. Ahaziah's accompanying him is significant of the close friendship which united the uncle and the nephew.

they went out against Jehu.] Rather—"**to meet** Jehu"—εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἰού, LXX.

in the portion of Naboth.] The portion of Naboth is no longer called a "vineyard" (1 K. xxi. 1-18), probably because it had been thrown into the palace-garden, and applied to the purpose for which Ahab originally wanted it (ib. verse 2). The approach to the city on this side must have lain either through it, or close by it.

22. *What peace, &c.*] Joram had asked the usual question, "Is it peace?"—meaning simply, "Is all well?" (See above, verse 11, and note ad loc.) Jehu replies with another question—"How can all be well, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel, **and her many witchcrafts continue?**" By "whoredoms" we are probably to understand "idolatries"—acts of spiritual unfaithfulness; by "witchcrafts," dealings with the Baal prophets and oracles. (See 2 K. i. 2.)

23. *Joram turned his hands and fled.*] Cf. 1 K. xxii. 34. The meaning here is that Joram *ordered his charioteer* to turn round and drive back to the town. Jehu's words left no doubt as to his hostile intention; and so Joram, who had probably come out unarmed and unattended, felt compelled to seek for safety in flight. Flying, he shouted to his nephew the two words—"Treason, Ahaziah!"

24. *Jehu drew a bow with his full strength.*] The phrase used is "**Jehu filled his hand with a bow;**" which probably means simply "Jehu took a bow into his hand."

smote Jehoram between his arms.] *I.e.*, in his back, between his two shoulders, as he fled.

he sunk down.] Literally, "he bowed himself."

25. *Take up, and cast him.*] Rather, "**Bear him,** and cast him." Jehoram had not fallen to the ground, but had only "sunk down in his chariot." He did not require to be "taken up." The Hebrew verb used has the two meanings.

when I and thou rode together after Ahab.] Most moderns explain this to mean, "rode side by side," on horses among Ahab's body-guard, which they suppose to have ridden after him *in pairs*, two and two. Keil, following Kimchi, suggests—"rode side by side" in a chariot after Ahab's chariot. But the Assyrian sculptures make it probable that Josephus was right in his interpretation, which was "rode side by side *behind Ahab in his chariot.*" The Assyrian monarchs, when they go out to war, are frequently attended by two guards, who stand behind them in the same chariot.

this burden.] Compare the use of the same

26 Surely I have seen yesterday the †blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons, saith the LORD; and I will requite thee in this ‖plat, saith the LORD. Now therefore take *and* cast him into the plat *of ground*, according to the word of the LORD.

27 ¶ But when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw *this*, he fled by the way of the garden house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. *And they did so* at the going up to Gur, which *is* by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there.

28 And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David.

29 And in the eleventh year of Joram the son of Ahab began Ahaziah to reign over Judah.

30 ¶ And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel heard *of it;* and she †painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window.

† Heb. *bloods.*

‖ Or, *portion.*

† Heb. *put her eyes in painting.*

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word in Isaiah (xiii. 1; xv. 1; xvii. 1; xix. 1; &c.), and again in Lamentations (ii. 14). In the language of the sacred writers any denunciation of woe is termed a "burthen."

26. *Surely I have seen, &c.*] Keil regards the report of Elijah's speech in 1 K. xxi. 19, as the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet, and considers that Jehu here gives a free version of them. But it is at least as probable that we have here a portion of the actual words, and that in 1 K. xxi. the writer used abbreviation. (See note on 1 K. xxi. 21.) The passage from "Surely I have seen," to "Saith the Lord," is exegetical of verse 25, containing the "burthen," or prophetical denunciation of woe, there spoken of.

and the blood of his sons.] The murder of Naboth's sons is here for the first time mentioned. As the maxim, Νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείποι, has always prevailed in the East, and as the removal of the sons was necessary, if the vineyard was to escheat to Ahab, we can well understand that Jezebel would take care to clear them out of the way. She was not likely to do any work, which she undertook, by halves.

27. *When Ahaziah ... saw this.*] The Hebrew has simply, "When Ahaziah saw." We are left to supply the object of the verb ourselves, which may be best done from verse 24—"When Ahaziah saw Jehoram smitten." He would not wait to see what became of the body.

by the way of the garden-house.] Or, "by the way of Beth-Gan" (LXX.). It has been conjectured that Beth-Gan, "the house of the garden," is another name for En-Gannim, "the spring of the gardens," and that both are identical with the Ginæa of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xx. 6, § 1), which seems to be the modern *Jenin*. Jenin lies due south of Jezreel, on the road between it and Samaria. Ahaziah would naturally fly in that direction, since it led towards his own country. The road from Jezreel (*Zerin*) to Jenin passes at first along the plain of Esdraelon, but after a while begins to rise over the outlying spurs of the Samaritan hills. Here probably was "the ascent of Gur, by Ibleam," which may have occupied the site of the modern *Jelâma*. Jehu expected that the soldiers whom he sent in pursuit of Ahaziah would overtake him when his speed was checked by this "ascent," and therefore ordered them to attack him there. Whether they did so or not is uncertain. The words, "*And they did so,*" are not in the original; where the passage runs as follows—"And Jehu followed after him and said, Smite him also in the chariot at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam."

he fled to Megiddo, and died there.] On the situation of Megiddo, see note on 1 K. iv. 12. On the possible reconcilement of this passage with 2 Chr. xxii. 9, see the note on that passage.

28. *And buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxii. 9, where the allowance of burial to Ahaziah, despite his connexion with the family of Ahab, is ascribed to the recollection of his descent from the good King Jehoshaphat.

29. *In the eleventh year.*] We read in ch. viii. 25, that Ahaziah ascended the throne in Jehoram's *twelfth* year. The discrepancy may be explained as arising either from two modes of calculating the regnal years of kings (Keil), or from two ways of reckoning the accession of Ahaziah, who is likely to have been regent for his father during at least one year. (See 2 Chr. xxi. 19.)

30. *Jezebel ... painted her face.*] Literally, "put her eyes in antimony"—*i. e.* dyed the upper and under eyelids with a pigment prepared from antimony, a common practice in the East, even at the present day. The effect is at once to increase the apparent size of the eye, and to give it unnatural brilliancy. No doubt the practice was very

31 And as Jehu entered in at the gate, she said, *Had* Zimri peace, who slew his master?

32 And he lifted up his face to the window, and said, Who *is* on my side? who? And there looked out to him two *or* three ‖eunuchs.

‖ Or, *chamberlains.*

33 And he said, Throw her down. So they threw her down: and *some* of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses: and he trode her under foot.

34 And when he was come in, he did eat and drink, and said, Go, see now this cursed *woman*, and bury her: for she *is* a king's daughter.

35 And they went to bury her: but they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of *her* hands.

36 Wherefore they came again, and told him. And he said, This *is* the word of the LORD, which he spake †by his servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, ᵇIn the portion of Jezreel shall dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel:

† Heb. *by the hand of.*
ᵇ 1 Kin. 21. 23.

37 And the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung upon the face of the field in the portion of Jezreel; *so* that they shall not say, This *is* Jezebel.

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ancient among the Oriental nations. Nicolas of Damascus, Diodorus and Athenæus ascribe it to Sardanapalus. Xenophon notes its employment by the Persians ('Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 20). Representations of eyes thus embellished occur on the Assyrian sculptures. (See Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' 1st Series, pl. 92.) Reference to the existence of the practice among the Jews will be found in Jer. iv. 30 and Ezek. xxiii. 40.

and tired her head.] Foreseeing her fate, Jezebel determined to keep up her regal splendour to the last, and painted her eyes and tired her head, and no doubt put on her royal robes, that she might die as became a queen, in true royal array.

and looked out at a window.] Rather "at the window" (διὰ τῆς θυρίδος, LXX.). The gate-tower had probably, as many of those in the Assyrian sculptures, one window only.

31. *Had Zimri peace, &c.*] Most moderns translate, either (*a*) affirmatively—"Hail to the new Zimri, murderer of his lord!" or (*b*) interrogatively, but with a direct address to Jehu as a Zimri—"Is it peace, O Zimri, murderer of his lord?" But De Wette, Maurer, and Dathe prefer the rendering of the English version, which is certainly better than the second of the suggested translations. For the history of Zimri, see above, 1 K. xvi. 9-18.

32. *Who is on my side, who?*] Literally, "Who (is) with me, who?" Words, in their brevity and impetuosity, very characteristic of Jehu.

33. *He trode her under foot.*] All the ancient versions have "*They* trode her under foot." The difference is unimportant, since in either case the will of Jehu, forcing his horses to trample over the body, is implied.

34. *And when he was come in, he did eat and drink.*] Leaving the mangled body on the bare earth, Jehu went to the banquet. It was, no doubt, important that he should at once show himself to the Court as king.

this cursed woman.] In calling Jezebel "this cursed one," Jehu means to remind his hearers that the curse of God had been pronounced upon her by Elijah, (see verse 36, and compare 1 K. xxi. 23,) and so to justify his own conduct.

for she is a king's daughter.] Merely as the widow of Ahab and mother of Jehoram, Jehu would not have considered Jezebel entitled to burial. But she was the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians (1 K. xvi. 31), and so a princess born. This would entitle her to greater respect. And wilfully to have denied her burial would have been regarded as an unpardonable insult by the reigning Sidonian monarch.

35. *The skull and the feet and the palms of her hands.*] "The *harder* parts of the human frame" (Stanley). This writer saw the wild dogs of Jezreel prowling about the "mounds," where the offal is cast outside the gates of the town. ('Biblical Dictionary,' ad voc. *Jezebel.*)

36. *The word of the Lord which he spake.*] We seem to have here the full prophecy, of which the notice in 1 K. xxi. 23 is an abbreviation. Verse 37 is to be attached closely to the latter part of verse 36, being a continuation of Elijah's prophetic threat.

CHAPTER X.

1 Jehu, by his letters, causeth seventy of Ahab's children to be beheaded. 8 He excuseth the fact by the prophecy of Elijah. 12 At the shearing house he slayeth two and forty of Ahaziah's brethren. 15 He taketh Jehonadab into his company. 18 By subtilty he destroyeth all the worshippers of Baal. 29 Jehu followeth Jeroboam's sins. 32 Hazael oppresseth Israel. 34 Jehoahaz succeedeth Jehu.

AND Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria. And Jehu wrote letters, and sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel, to the elders, and to
† Heb. *nourishers.* †them that brought up Ahab's *children*, saying,

2 Now as soon as this letter cometh to you, seeing your master's sons *are* with you, and *there are* with you chariots and horses, a fenced city also, and armour;

3 Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set *him* on his father's throne, and fight for your master's house.

4 But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, two kings stood not before him: how then shall we stand?

5 And he that *was* over the house, and he that *was* over the city, the elders also, and the bringers up *of the children*, sent to Jehu, saying, We *are* thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any king: do thou *that which is* good in thine eyes.

6 Then he wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye *be* †mine, and *if* ye will hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to me to Jezreel by to morrow this time. Now the king's sons, *being* seventy persons, *were* with the great men of the city, which brought them up.
† Heb. *for me.*

CHAP. X. 1. *And Ahab had seventy sons.*] This would not be an extreme number of actual sons in a country where polygamy prevailed. In the present place, however, the term "sons" is evidently used for descendants, since there were among them children of Jehoram. (See verses 2, 3, 6, 13.)

the rulers of Jezreel.] Rather, "the princes." It is not easy to understand why the princes *of Jezreel* should have been at Samaria, or, if they were there, what special authority they could have had in that town. Probably we ought to read for "Jezreel," either "Israel" or "Samaria." (The latter is the reading of one Hebrew MS., and has the support of the LXX. and of Josephus.)

the elders.] On the authority of the "elders" of towns, see above, 1 K. xxi. 8-13.

2 *Your master's sons.*] Actual sons of Jehoram. See verse 13.

a fenced city.] Or "fenced cities" (πόλεις ὀχυραί, LXX.; and so Josephus, and almost all the old versions). If Samaria had refused to acknowledge Jehu, many other Israelite towns would have been sure to follow the example.

3. *Fight for your master's house.*] As the family of Ahab had not obtained the throne without a war of succession (1 K. xvi. 21, 22), so Jehu feels that he may have to fight for his crown. The house which had furnished four successive kings, and reigned with unusual splendour, could not fail to have many partisans, who might be expected to rise against the usurper. Jehu, impatient of delay, threw out the "bold challenge" of the text, whereby matters were brought to a crisis. Placing his adversaries' advantages before them in the most favourable light, he called upon them to decide what they would do. If they took up his challenge there was war at once, while the spirit of the army, which had proclaimed him king, could be depended on. If they declined, they must necessarily make their submission, and then he could require them to perform an act which would involve them in his guilt, and so secure their subsequent fidelity. The unscrupulous soldier shows shrewdness as well as courage, a sharp wit as well as a bold heart, on this occasion.

4. *Two kings.*] Literally, "the two kings" (οἱ δυὸ βασιλεῖς, LXX.) *i.e.* Jehoram and Ahaziah. (2 K. ix. 21-28.)

5. *He that was over the house.*] *I.e.* the officer who had the charge of the palace. (See note on 1 K. iv. 6.)

he that was over the city.] *I.e.* the governor of the town. (See above, 1 K. xxii. 26, and note ad loc.) This officer and the governor of the palace seem to correspond to the "princes" of the first verse.

6. *By to-morrow this time.*] Jezreel was so near to Samaria that this order could be easily executed. See note on 1 K. xxi. 8.

the king's sons, being seventy persons.] The royal children, some of whom were actual

7 And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, that they took the king's sons, and slew seventy persons, and put their heads in baskets, and sent him *them* to Jezreel.

8 ¶ And there came a messenger, and told him, saying, They have brought the heads of the king's sons. And he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning.

9 And it came to pass in the morning, that he went out, and stood, and said to all the people, Ye *be* righteous: behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who slew all these?

10 Know now that there shall fall unto the earth nothing of the word of the LORD, which the LORD spake concerning the house of Ahab: for the LORD hath done *that* which he spake [c †]by his servant Elijah.

[c] 1 Kin. 21. 29.

11 So Jehu slew all that remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men, and his ‖kinsfolks, and his priests, until he left him none remaining.

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

‖ Or, *acquaintance.*

12 ¶ And he arose and departed, and came to Samaria. *And* as he *was* at the †shearing house in the way,

† Heb. *house of shepherds binding* sheep.

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sons of Jehoram, while others were probably his nephews, are now called in a general way "the king's sons."

7. *Put their heads in baskets and sent him them.*] The heads of rivals, pretenders, and other obnoxious persons are commonly struck off in the East, and conveyed to the chief ruler, in order that he may be positively certified that his enemies have ceased to live. The head of Histiæus was conveyed from the coast of Asia Minor to Susa in order that it might be seen by Darius. (Herod. vi. 30.) The Egyptians who slew Pompey carried his head to Julius Cæsar. In the Assyrian sculptures we constantly see soldiers conveying heads from place to place, not, however, in baskets, but in their hands, which hold the head by the hair.

8. *Lay ye them in two heaps.*] The Assyrian sculptures exhibit, not unfrequently, "heaps" of heads, which, however, seem to be rather those of enemies killed in battle than of political adversaries. (See Layard's 'Monuments,' 2nd series, plates 29, 35, and 45.) The "*two*" heaps were probably placed one on either side of the gateway, to strike terror into the partisans of the late dynasty as they passed in and out of the town. Compare the bloody fragments between which the army of Xerxes marched out from Sardis. (Herod. vii. 39.)

9. *Ye be righteous.*] These words are not an ironical address to those who had brought the heads, but, as appears from the context, a serious address to those Jezreelites who had gone out of their town to see the sight. "Ye are just," says Jehu, "and can judge aright. Judge between me and the party of Ahab who accuse me. I indeed slew my master, but they have slain these seventy youths." Jehu unfairly keeps back the fact that he had commanded the execution.

10. *Know now.*] "Know, however, that neither they nor I really deserve to be regarded as guilty. We are but executing the word of the Lord—the sentence pronounced on the house of Ahab by Elijah."

shall fall to the earth.] *I.e.*, "Shall remain unfulfilled." (Compare 1 S. iii. 19.)

11. *So Jehu slew.*] Rather, "**And** Jehu slew." The reference is not to the past, but to fresh executions which Jehu was now emboldened to make. Having secured the adhesion of the capital, and tested the feelings of the Jezreelites by the exhibition of the seventy heads, he proceeded on his bloody course, not merely destroying the remainder of the kindred of Ahab, who might be regarded as coming under the sentence pronounced by Elijah, but further putting to death all the most powerful of Ahab's partisans—probably, among the rest, the very men who had thought to purchase his favour by the sacrifice of the seventy princes whom they were especially bound to guard. (Compare the mention of the "great men," both in this verse, and above, verse 6.)

his kinsfolks.] Rather, "his friends" or (as in the margin) "his acquaintance." (Compare the LXX., τοὺς γνωστοὺς αὐτοῦ.)

his priests.] Not the Baal priests generally, whose persecution came afterwards (see verse 19), but only such of them as were attached to the Court.

12. *Came to Samaria.*] Rather, "**went towards.**"

the shearing-house.] Literally, "the house of binding of the shepherds." Perhaps already a proper name, Beth-eked or Beth-eked-rohim (Βαιθακάθ, LXX.), identical with

† Heb. *found.*

13 Jehu †met with the brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah, and said, Who *are* ye? And they answered, We *are* the brethren of Ahaziah; and we go down †to salute the children of the king and the children of the queen.

† Heb. *to the peace of*, &c.

14 And he said, Take them alive. And they took them alive, and slew them at the pit of the shearing house, *even* two and forty men; neither left he any of them.

15 ¶ And when he was departed thence, he †lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab *coming* to meet him: and he †saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart *is* with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give *me* thine hand. And he gave *him* his hand; and he took him up to him into the chariot.

† Heb. *found.*

† Heb. *blessed.*

16 And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the LORD. So they made him ride in his chariot.

17 And when he came to Samaria,

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the Beth-akad of Jerome ('Onom.'), which is described as a place between Jezreel and Samaria, situated on the plain, 15 Roman miles distant from Legio (Megiddo). It has not yet been identified with any known site.

13. *The brethren of Ahaziah.*] Not the actual brothers of Ahaziah, who had all been slain by the Arabs before his accession to the throne (2 Chr. xxi. 17, xxii. 1); but his nephews, the sons of his brothers, as we learn from 2 Chr. xxii. 8. It is remarkable that they should have penetrated so far into the kingdom of Israel without having heard of the revolution.

the children of the king and the children of the queen.] *I.e.* "the sons of Jehoram, and the children (sons and grandsons) of the queen-mother, Jezebel." Some of both may well have been at Jezreel, though the younger branches of the royal family were at Samaria. (See verse 1.)

14. *At the pit of the shearing-house.*] Or "at the well of Beth-Eked." The well furnished a convenient receptacle for the bodies. Compare the massacre of Mizpah (Jer. xli. 7), and again that at Cawnpore.

neither left he any of them.] These princes, it must be remembered, were descendants of Ahab through Athaliah, and so included in Elijah's sentence (1 K. xxi. 21).

15. *Jehonadab, the son of Rechab.*] Called Jonadab (Jer. xxxv. 6, 14, 16, 19). It appears from 1 Chr. ii. 55 that this personage belonged to the tribe of the Kenites, one of the most ancient in Palestine. (Gen. xv. 19.) Their origin is unknown, but their habits were certainly those of Arabs. They were constant nomads, and are found in various parts of Palestine at different periods —among the Midianites in the time of Moses, who took his wife from them (Ex. ii. 15-21 compared with Judg. i. 16; iv. 11)—in Galilee, under the early judges (Judg. iv. 10-17) —mixed up with Amalek, in the reign of Saul (1 S. xv. 6). Owing to their connexion with Moses, they formed a friendship with the Israelites, accompanied them in their wanderings, and finally received a location in the wilderness of Judah (Judg. i. 16). The character of this chief, Jonadab, is best seen in the rule which he established for his descendants (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7)—a rule said to be still observed at the present day (Wolff, Pierotti). It would seem that he sympathised strongly with Jehu's proceedings, and desired to give the countenance of his authority, such as it was, to the new reign.

he saluted him.] Literally, "he blessed him." According to the Hebrew text, Jehu "saluted" (or blessed) Jehonadab. According to the LXX. and Josephus, Jehonadab "saluted" (or blessed) the king.

Is thine heart right?] There is an ellipse here of "with me," or "with my heart," which some commentators would supply. (See note A at the end of the chapter.) But no emendation is necessary.

And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, &c.] The Hebrew text runs—"And Jehonadab answered, It is, it is. Give me thy hand. And he gave him his hand, and took him up to him into the chariot." The LXX. have—"And Jonadab answered, It is. And Jehu said—If it is, give me thy hand. And he gave him his hand; and he took him up to him into the chariot." Our translators appear to have preferred the Septuagint here. But the Hebrew is more graphic, and quite as consonant with Eastern manners.

into the chariot.] Jehu was no doubt glad to have the countenance of Jehonadab on his public entrance into Samaria. The ascetic had a reputation for sanctity, which could not fail to make his companionship an advantage to the but half-established monarch.

16. *They made him ride.*] The LXX. has the verb in the singular ("he made him ride"), which seems better.

17. *He slew all that remained unto Ahab*

he slew all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria, till he had destroyed him, according to the saying of the LORD, which he spake to Elijah.

18 ¶ And Jehu gathered all the people together, and said unto them, Ahab served Baal a little; *but* Jehu shall serve him much.

19 Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his servants, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice *to do* to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live. But Jehu did *it* in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshippers of Baal.

20 And Jehu said, †Proclaim a solemn assembly for Baal. And they proclaimed *it*. † Heb. *Sanctify.*

21 And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not a man left that came not. And they came into the house of Baal; and the house of Baal was ‖full from one end to another. ‖ Or, so *full*, that they stood *mouth to mouth.*

22 And he said unto him that *was*

in Samaria.] Compare verse 11. Thus was finally completed the political revolution which transferred the throne from the house of Omri to that of Nimshi, the fifth of the royal families of Israel.

according unto the saying of the Lord.] This emphatic reiteration (compare verse 10) marks, first, how in the mind of the writer all this history is viewed as deriving its special interest from its being so full and complete an accomplishment of Elijah's prophecies; and, secondly, how at the time Jehu carefully put forward the plea that what he did had this object. It does not indicate that a single-minded wish to execute God's will was Jehu's predominant motive. Probably, even where he most strictly fulfilled the letter of prophecies, he was working for himself, not for God; and hence vengeance was denounced upon his house even for the very "blood of Jezreel" (Hos. i. 4).

18. *And Jehu gathered all the people together.*] Though we cannot ascribe to Jehu a spirit of true piety, we can well enough understand how the bold and hardy soldier, trained in the Syrian wars, should have revolted against the unmanly and voluptuous worship of the Dea Syra, and have wished to go back to the simple solemn service of Jehovah. Without any strong religious feeling, Jehu may well have perceived that the sensuous idolatry introduced by the house of Omri was eating out the heart of the nation; and may have been desirous to see abolished the degrading rites which always accompanied Astarte worship. These views and feelings he had, no doubt, concealed hitherto; since it would have been dangerous to declare them during the lifetime of Jezebel. Even after her death it was prudent to temporise, to wait until the party of Ahab was crushed politically, before broaching the religious question, lest the falling throne should receive the support, not merely of its political adherents, but of the whole body of Baal-worshippers throughout the kingdom. Now, however, the time was come for throwing off the mask. Having slain all the issue of Ahab in the kingdom of Israel, and all the influential men of the party (verses 7, 11, and 17), Jehu felt that he might begin his reformation of religion. But even now, with the same prudent caution which had hitherto marked his course, he uses "subtilty" rather than open violence. So he "gathers the people together," and makes the declaration of the text, "Ahab served Baal a little; but Jehu shall serve him much"—a declaration which might readily be believed, since few would know his real sentiments.

19. *All the prophets of Baal, all his servants, and all his priests.*] It appears from this passage that the prophets and priests of Baal were not identical. The former would correspond to the dervishes, the latter to the mollahs, of Mahometan countries. By the "servants" of Baal are meant the ordinary worshippers.

20. *Proclaim a solemn assembly for Baal.*] Jehu applies to his proposed gathering the sacred name assigned in the law to the chiefest festivals of Jehovah. (See Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35; Deut. xvi. 8.) He might think that this desecration of the sacred term would help to convince men of his sincerity.

21. *Full from one end to the other.*] Literally, "brimful"—"full from brim to brim." In order to understand how such numbers could find room, we must remember that the ancient temples had vast courts around them, which could contain many thousands.

22. *The vestry.*] The sacred robes of the Baal priests are mentioned by Silius Italicus (iii. 23) and Herodian (v. 5). They seem to have been of linen, and were probably

over the vestry, Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal. And he brought them forth vestments.

23 And Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the house of Baal, and said unto the worshippers of Baal, Search, and look that there be here with you none of the servants of the LORD, but the worshippers of Baal only.

24 And when they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings, Jehu appointed fourscore men without, and said, *If* any of the men whom I have brought into your hands escape, *he that letteth him go*, his life *shall be* for the life of him.

25 And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu said to the guard and to the captains, Go in, *and* slay them; let none come forth. And they smote them with †the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains cast *them* out, and went to the city of the house of Baal.

† Heb. *the mouth.*

26 And they brought forth the †images out of the house of Baal, and burned them.

† Heb. *statues.*

27 And they brake down the image of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught house unto this day.

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white. It is doubtful, however, whether the vestry here mentioned is the robe-room of the temple, and not rather (as Thenius supposes) the robe-chamber of the royal palace, from which the king gave a festal garment to each worshipper. It can scarcely be supposed that the temple vestry would contain vestments for more than the priests. But the royal robe-chamber might furnish thousands of "changes of raiment," since dresses were among the gifts continually bestowed on persons as marks of royal favour.

23. *The worshippers of Baal only.*] The presence of persons belonging to another religion was usually regarded by the ancients as a profanation of the rites. In the case of the Greek mysteries such intrusion is said to have been punished by death. Consequently Jehu could give these injunctions without arousing any suspicion.

24. *His life shall be for the life of him.*] Compare 1 K. xx. 39.

25. *As soon as he had made an end of offering.*] We are not to suppose that Jehu offered with his own hand, any more than Solomon (1 K. viii. 62, 63). The actual sacrificers were no doubt the priests of Baal; but Jehu is considered to have made the offering, since he furnished the victims.

the guard.] Literally "the runners." This name seems to have been given to the royal body-guard as early as the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 17). It was their duty to *run* by the side of the king's chariot as he moved from place to place.

go in.] The guard seems to have been hitherto stationed outside the court of the temple, probably at the gates.

cast them out and went.] It is better, with Patrick and Thenius, to translate, "the guard and the captains *hasted* and went," or "went *hastily*." This is a meaning which the Hebrew will bear, and the sense is thus rendered satisfactory. That the soldiers should have troubled themselves to cast the bodies of the slain out of the temple enclosure is very unlikely.

the city of the house of Baal.] Most modern commentators agree that by this expression the temple itself, as distinguished from the court in which it stood, is intended. The guard having slain all who were in the court, rushed on and entered the sanctuary, there no doubt completing the massacre, and further tearing down and bringing out the sacred objects mentioned in the next verse.

26. *The images.*] Or "pillars." Dean Stanley supposes that these "images" were "figures of the Phœnician deities carved in wood, seated or raised on pillars" ('Lectures,' vol. ii. p. 288). But, so far as we have any evidence on the subject, it would seem that the Phœnician pillar idols (κίονες, metæ), were mere columns, obelisks, or posts, destitute of any shaping into the semblance of humanity. (See Tacit. 'Hist.' ii. 3; Damasc. ap. Phot. 'Bib.' p. 1063; Max. Tyr. 'Diss.' xxxviii. p. 384, &c., and compare note on 1 K. xiv. 23.)

and burned them.] These words show that the "images" or "pillars" in this case were of wood.

27. *And they brake down the image of Baal.*] The other images, it appears, were not images of Baal, but of inferior deities —the *alonim vualonuth* (*i.e.* gods and goddesses) of Carthage (Plaut. 'Pœn.' v. 1, 1). The image of Baal, which was "broken down," and not burnt, would seem to have

28 Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel.

29 ¶ Howbeit *from* the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, *to wit*, the golden calves that *were* in Beth-el, and that *were* in Dan.

30 And the LORD said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing *that which is* right in mine eyes, *and* hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that *was* in mine heart, thy children of the fourth *generation* shall sit on the throne of Israel.

31 But Jehu †took no heed to walk in the law of the LORD God of Israel with all his heart: for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin. † Heb. *observed not.*

32 ¶ In those days the LORD began †to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel; † Heb. *to cut off the ends.*

33 From Jordan †eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which *is* by the river Arnon, ‖even Gilead and Bashan. † Heb. *toward the rising of the sun.* ‖ Or, *even to Gilead and Bashan.*

34 Now the rest of the acts of Jehu, and all that he did, and all his

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been of stone, like the *meta* of Astarte at Paphos (Tac. 'Hist.' l. s. c.) Ewald conjectures that it was erected in front of the temple.

made it a draughthouse.] Compare Ezra vi. 11; Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29.

29. *From the sins of Jeroboam . . . Jehu departed not.*] To abolish the calf-worship was a thought which had probably never occurred to Jehu. He had grown up under it, and may have regarded it as essential to the national independence of Israel. He had religious feeling enough, and patriotism enough, to detest the utterly debasing Astarte worship; but the pure worship of Jehovah was altogether beyond and above him.

30. *And the Lord said unto Jehu.*] Probably by the mouth of Elisha. Jehu had been expressly ordered to "smite the house of Ahab" (2 K. ix. 7); and thus to a certain extent his bloody measures were acts of obedience, for which God might see fit to assign him a temporal reward.

thy children to the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.] This was accomplished in the persons of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 1), Joash (ib. verse 9), Jeroboam (xiv. 16), and Zachariah (xv. 8), the son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson of Jehu. It is noticeable that no other family sat upon the throne of Israel so long. The house of Omri, which furnished four kings, held the crown for three generations only and for less than fifty years—that of Jehu reigned for five generations and for above a hundred years.

32. *The Lord began to cut Israel short.*] Literally "to cut off in Israel," *i. e.*, to take away from Israel portions of its territory. There is no need of the change of reading proposed by Hitzig. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

Hazael smote them.] So fulfilling the prophecy of Elisha (2 K. viii. 12).

33. *All the land of Gilead.*] The loss of the entire trans-Jordanic territory seems to be intended, or at any rate its complete ruin and devastation. (Compare Am. i. 3.) This was the home of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and of the half tribe of Manasseh. (Josh. xxii. 1-9.) It was more accessible from Damascus than the region west of the river.

Aroer, which is by the river Arnon.] There were several places of this name. The one here mentioned is the most famous. (Compare Deut. ii. 36; iii. 12; iv. 48; Josh. xii. 2; xiii. 9, 16; Judg. xi. 26; 1 Chr. v. 8; Jer. xlviii. 19, and for the site see note on Deut. ii. 36.)

even Gilead and Bashan.] Or "*both* Gilead and Bashan," (καὶ τὴν Γαλαὰδ καὶ τὴν Βασάν. LXX.). The writer had previously called the whole territory "Gilead;" now he, as it were, recollects himself, and distinguishes it, more accurately, into Gilead, the southern, and Bashan, the northern region. (See notes on 1 K. iv. 13 and 19.)

34. *All his might.*] It is remarkable that this expression, which is not used by the author of Kings in connection with any other king of *Israel*, should be applied to Jehu, whose ill success in his struggle with Hazael has just been noted, and whom we know also to have submitted to the Assyrians and consented to become a tributary. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 364.) Perhaps the word *gĕbûrah* means here rather "personal courage" than "might" or "power."

night, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

35 And Jehu slept with his fathers: and they buried him in Samaria. And Jehoahaz his son reigned in his stead.

36 And †the time that Jehu reigned over Israel in Samaria *was* twenty and eight years. † Heb. *the days* were.

are they not written.] The LXX. add a clause here which occurs also in the summary of Zimri's reign (1 K. xvi. 20), where it means "and the treason which he wrought," or "and the conspiracy which he made."

36. *In Samaria.*] The family of Ahab had made Jezreel a sort of second capital, and had reigned there, at least in part (1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 15-30). Jehu and his descendants seem to have fixed their residence wholly at Samaria. (See 2 K. xiii. 1, 10; xiv. 23; xv. 8.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 15 and 32.

NOTE A on verse 15—"Is thy heart right?"

Houbigant proposed to read היש את לבבי לבבך ישר, instead of היש את לבבך ישר. Bishop Horsley thought the passage required a still greater alteration, and suggested that it should be read היש את לבבך ישר כאשר את לבבי. But no change is really necessary.

NOTE B on verse 32—"The Lord began to cut Israel short."

Hitzig's conjecture is ingenious but unnecessary. He proposes to read לקצוף from קצף, "to be angry," instead of לקצות from קצה, "to be cut off." Thenius approves the suggestion, because קצה should be followed by מישראל, and not by בישראל.

CHAPTER XI.

1 Jehoash, being saved by Jehosheba his aunt from Athaliah's massacre of the seed royal, is hid six years in the house of God. 4 Jehoiada, giving order to the captains, in the seventh year anointeth him king. 13 Athaliah is slain. 17 Jehoiada restoreth the worship of God.

AND when [a]Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the †seed royal. [a] 2 Chron. 22. 10. † Heb. *seed of the kingdom.*

2 But Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram, sister of Ahaziah, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole

CHAP. XI. 1. *Athaliah.*] Athaliah had inherited the spirit of Jezebel her mother. As wife of Joram and mother of Ahaziah she had guided both the internal and the external policy of the Jewish kingdom; she had procured the establishment of the worship of Baal in Judæa (2 K. viii. 18, 27), and had maintained a close alliance with the sister kingdom (ib. verse 29; x. 13). The revolution effected by Jehu touched her nearly. It struck away from her the entire support which she derived from the power and grandeur of her relatives and their readiness to help her at need. It isolated her religious system, severing the communication with Phœnicia. Moreover, the death of Ahaziah deprived her of her legal status in Judæa, which was that of *Gĕbirah*, or Queen-mother (see 1 K. xv. 13, and note), and transferred that position to the chief wife of her deceased son. Under these circumstances, which might well have daunted even a woman of more than ordinary courage, Athaliah's hereditary spirit and energy asserted itself. Instead of yielding to the storm, or merely standing on the defensive, she resolved to become the assailant, and, before any plans could be formed against her, to strike. In the absence of her son, hers was probably the chief authority at Jerusalem. She used it to command the immediate destruction of all the seed royal—that is, of all Ahaziah's sons, nephews, and perhaps grand-nephews, thus (as she believed) entirely exterminating the family of David, which had been already thinned by previous massacres (2 Chr. xxi. 4, 17; 2 K. x. 14). She then seized the throne.

2. *Jehosheba.*] Or "Jehoshabeath," as she is called in Chronicles. (2 Chr. xxii. 11.)

sister of Ahaziah.] "Half-sister," according to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 7, § 2)—daughter of Joram, not by Athaliah, but by another wife. She was married to Jehoiada the high-priest (2 Chr. xxii. 11), and was thus in a position to save and conceal her nephew.

him from among the king's sons *which were* slain; and they hid him, *even* him and his nurse, in the bedchamber from Athaliah, so that he was not slain.

3 And he was with her hid in the house of the LORD six years. And Athaliah did reign over the land.

4 ¶ And [b] the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the rulers over hundreds, with the captains and the guard, and brought them to him into the house of the LORD, and made a covenant with them, and took an oath of them in the house of the LORD, and shewed them the king's son.

5 And he commanded them, saying, This *is* the thing that ye shall do; A third part of you that enter in on

[b] 2 Chrón. 23. 1.

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in the bedchamber.] Literally, "in the chamber of mattresses"—probably a store-room in which mattresses were kept. Some regard it as one of the rooms attached to the Temple (1 K. vi. 5-10); others, with more probability, as a room in the palace, where it was found most convenient to conceal the child at first for a few days before he could be secretly removed to the Temple.

3. *With her.*] *I. e.* Jehosheba; who, as wife of the high-priest, had ready access to the Temple.

six years.] It appears, from a comparison of this statement with verse 21, that Joash was but a year old at the time when he was saved from the massacre.

and Athaliah did reign over the land.] In these words the writer dismisses the entire reign of Athaliah, whereof he scorns to speak. We gather incidentally from 2 K. xii. 5-12, compared with 2 Chr. xxiv. 7, that Athaliah used her power to establish the *exclusive* worship of Baal through the kingdom of Judah, and to crush that of Jehovah. She stopped the Temple service, gave over the sacred vessels of the sanctuary to the use of the Baal priests, and employed the Temple itself as a quarry from which materials might be taken for the construction of a great temple to Baal, which rose in the immediate neighbourhood.

4. *Jehoiada sent and fetched the rulers over hundreds.*] Jehoiada, *i. e.* sent secretly and invited to a conference the five centurions or captains of the guard, whose names are given in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

with the captains.] The word here used, *hak-kari*, is wrongly translated "captains." It designates a certain part of the royal guard, probably that which in the earlier times was known under the name of Cherethites (1 K. i. 38). Gesenius explains the word as signifying "the executioners," from *karah*, "to bore," or "stab." Others (as Dean Stanley) see in the term an ethnic name—"Carians." The Carians seem certainly to have been much inclined to take service as mercenaries from an early date. We find them in this capacity in Egypt from the time of Psammetichus (B.C. 664); and in Greece their addiction to the occupation had passed into a proverb at the period when Archilochus wrote (B.C. 700-660). According to some scholars a passage in Homer ('Iliad,' ix. 378), implies that even in his day they had begun the practice.

and the guard.] Literally "the runners," as in 2 K. x. 25. The LXX. regard both this word and the preceding as proper names. They translate ἀπέστειλεν Ἰωδαὲ καὶ ἔλαβε τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους τῶν Χορρὶ καὶ τῶν Ῥασίμ. It would perhaps be best to render the whole passage thus—"And in the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched **the centurions of the Carians and the guardsmen.**"

and shewed them the king's son.] The existence of Joash had, it would seem, hitherto been kept secret.

5. *A third part of you that enter in on the Sabbath.*] As five captains of the guard are mentioned in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxiii. 1), so five divisions of the guard are distinguished here—an "undesigned coincidence" deserving of notice. Three of the five divisions are mentioned as belonging to the part of the guard which "entered in" on the Sabbath; the other two as belonging to that part which "went forth" on the Sabbath (verse 7). By the former phrase seems to be meant the mounting guard at the royal palace, by the latter the serving of escort to the sovereign beyond the palace bounds. Jehoiada orders that of those whose business it would be to guard the palace on the ensuing Sabbath, one company or cohort should perform that task in the ordinary way, while another should watch the gate of Sur—that by which the palace was usually quitted for the Temple, and a third should watch another of the palace gates, called "the gate of the guard" (see verse 19). The two companies whose proper business it would be to serve as the royal escort beyond the palace walls, he orders to enter the Temple, and surround the person of the young king.

the sabbath shall even be keepers of the watch of the king's house;

6 And a third part *shall be* at the gate of Sur; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall ye
‖ Or, *from breaking up.* keep the watch of the house, ‖that it be not broken down.

7 And two ‖ parts of all you that
‖ Or, *companies.* † Heb. *hands.* go forth on the sabbath, even they shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD about the king.

8 And ye shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand: and he that cometh within the ranges, let him be slain: and be ye with the king as he goeth out and as he cometh in.

9 And the captains over the hundreds did according to all *things* that Jehoiada the priest commanded: and they took every man his men that were to come in on the sabbath, with them that should go out on the sabbath, and came to Jehoiada the priest.

10 And to the captains over hundreds did the priest give king David's spears and shields, that *were* in the temple of the LORD.

11 And the guard stood, every man with his weapons in his hand, round about the king, from the right †corner of the temple to the left corner of the temple, *along* by the altar and the temple. † Heb. *shoulder.*

12 And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and *gave him* the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed

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the king's house.] *I.e.* the royal palace, the residence at this time of Athaliah.

6. *The gate of Sur.*] In 2 Chr. xxiii. 5 this gate seems to be called "the gate of the foundation." (On the two readings, see note A at the end of the chapter.)

the gate behind the guard.] Probably identical with "the gate of the guard" mentioned in verse 19. This gate must have been on the east side of the palace, towards the valley of the Tyropœum.

the house.] *I.e.* the palace, the only "house" yet mentioned, with which "the house of the Lord" is in the next verse contrasted.

that it be not broken down.] The word here used (*massach*) occurs nowhere else; and its meaning is very doubtful. Ewald translates "according to custom;" Keil "in defence;" Fürst "alternately." Kimchi and Buxtorf, like our translators, connect the word with the root *nasach*, "to destroy," and translate "ye shall keep the house from destruction."

8. *He that cometh within the ranges.*] Rather "he that entereth within **your ranks**." If any one tried to break through the soldiers' ranks to the king, or even to disturb their order, he was to be immediately slain.

as he goeth out and as he cometh in.] *I. e.* As he proceeds from one part of the temple buildings to another—wherever he goes during the day.

9. *And came to Jehoiada.*] Not all of them, but only the two captains of the two companies whose duty it was to "go out on the Sabbath" (see verse 7). The other three captains no doubt took up the stations assigned them about the palace (verses 5 and 6) without coming to Jehoiada. But the narrator, with his usual brevity, leaves much to the common-sense of the reader.

10. *King David's spears.*] No doubt it was thought that a blessing would attend their use in the service of David's house.

shields.] On *shĕlatim*, the word here used, see note on 2 S. viii. 7. Some suppose the *shĕlatim* of Hadadezer to be here intended; but this is uncertain.

11. *From the right corner of the temple to the left corner.*] Rather, "from the right **side** of the Temple buildings to the left **side**"—*i.e.* right across the Temple court from the one side to the other.

along by the altar and the temple.] *I.e.* "By the altar of burnt offerings and the temple." This altar stood exactly in front of the Temple-porch. Here the king was stationed, on a stand or pillar (verse 14), and before him and behind him (and therefore "round about" him) stood the soldiers, drawn up several ranks deep across the entire court, just in front of the sacred building.

12. *And gave him the testimony.*] There is no "gave him" in the original. The statement made is that Jehoiada "put on" Joash "the crown and the testimony." It is generally agreed that this "testimony" was "the Book of the Law" which was kept in the ark of the covenant. (Deut. xxxi. 26.) This Jehoiada placed on the king's head at the moment of coronation, perhaps to indicate

† Heb. *Let the king live.*

him; and they clapped their hands, and said, †God save the king.

13 ¶ And when Athaliah heard the noise of the guard *and* of the people, she came to the people into the temple of the LORD.

14 And when she looked, behold, the king stood by a pillar, as the manner *was*, and the princes and the trumpeters by the king, and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew with trumpets: and Athaliah rent her clothes, and cried, Treason, Treason.

15 But Jehoiada the priest commanded the captains of the hundreds, the officers of the host, and said unto them, Have her forth without the ranges: and him that followeth her kill with the sword. For the priest had said, Let her not be slain in the house of the LORD.

16 And they laid hands on her; and she went by the way by the which the horses came into the king's house: and there was she slain.

17 ¶ And Jehoiada made a covenant between the LORD and the king and the people, that they should be the LORD's people; between the king also and the people.

"that the king was not to be above, but beneath the law of his country." (Stanley, 'Lectures,' ii. 397.) The ceremony was, so far as we know, a new one.

God save the king.] Literally, "Let the king live"—the words by which a new king was ordinarily greeted. (1 S. x. 24; 2 S. xvi. 16; 1 K. i. 25, 39.)

13. *The noise of the guard.*] Compare 1 K. i. 40, 41, where a similar noise was heard at an equal or greater distance.

and of the people.] In the present text there is no "and;" but a necessary emendation supplies it. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

14. *The king stood by a pillar.*] Rather, "upon the pillar"—(ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου. LXX.) Under the later monarchy the Jewish king seems to have had a special place assigned him in the Temple-court, from which on occasions he addressed the people (2 K. xxiii. 3; 2 Chr. xxiii. 13; xxxiv. 31). This was probably a sort of stand, or pulpit, raised on a pillar (Lee, Stanley), and was known as *ha-'ammud*, "the stand" or "the pillar." Some identify this "stand" with Solomon's "scaffold" (2 Chr. vi. 13), but without sufficient reason.

the princes.] Rather, "the **captains**," whose full title in the Hebrew is "princes of hundreds."

the trumpeters.] Literally, "the trumpets."

all the people of the land.] *I. e.* all who were present—a multitude which filled the Temple-court. The intentions of Jehoiada had probably to some extent become known, and the people had provided themselves with trumpets, the better to mark their approval of the inauguration.

Athaliah rent her clothes.] The queen saw at a glance that all was lost. She had pressed forward into the Temple-court unattended; she there saw her guards in open revolt, and the people exhibiting every sign of joyous approval. She knew herself in her enemies' power, and had no hope that she would be spared. Her action and her cry were instinctive. She could have hoped nothing from them.

treason.] Literally, "Conspiracy!" which our translators have given in the margin of 2 Chr. xxiii. 13—the parallel passage to this.

15. *Have her forth without the ranges.*] Rather, "**Conduct her out between your ranks.**" Guard her, *i.e.* on all sides, that the people may not fall upon her and kill her as she passes through the court, thereby polluting the Temple.

for the priest had said.] Jehoiada, *i.e.* had *previously* declared his wish that the queen's execution should not take place within the Temple precincts.

16. *And they laid hands on her.*] This is the translation of the Septuagint and Vulgate; but almost all modern critics understand the passage differently. Their rendering is—"and they **gave her space**"—they cleared a way for her, that is, and allowed her to walk out of the Temple not only unharmed but untouched.

the way by the which the horses came into the king's house.] Josephus makes Athaliah first conducted into the Kedron valley, and thence brought to "the gate of the king's mules" for execution; but it seems unlikely that so circuitous a route should have been taken.

17. *Jehoiada made a covenant.*] In the original it is "*the* covenant;" whereby it ap-

18 And all the people of the land went into the house of Baal, and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they in pieces thoroughly, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars. And the priest appointed †officers over the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *offices.*

19 And he took the rulers over hundreds, and the captains, and the guard, and all the people of the land; and they brought down the king from the house of the LORD, and came by the way of the gate of the guard to the king's house. And he sat on the throne of the kings.

20 And all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was in quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword *beside* the king's house.

21 Seven years old *was* Jehoash when he began to reign.

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pears that such a covenant either was already an established part of a coronation, or at least became such afterwards. We have no other express mention of a coronation covenant excepting in the case of David, who made one with the elders of Israel in Hebron. (2 S. v. 3.)

18. *All the people of the land.*] See verse 14, and note ad loc.

the house of Baal.] Here we see that an actual temple had been built to Baal at Jerusalem itself by Athaliah, Ahaziah, or Jehoram. According to Josephus, it was constructed in the reign of Jehoram. ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 7, § 4.) Its exact position is uncertain.

images.] The word used here is not that translated "images" in the last chapter (verse 26), but a word which implies likeness. That the Phœnicians had fashioned images, besides their unfashioned pillar-idols, is plain from Herod. iii. 37.

the priest appointed officers over the house of the Lord.] The Temple worship having been discontinued during Athaliah's rule, it devolved on Jehoiada now to re-establish the courses of the Levites, which David had appointed for the service of the sanctuary. (See 2 Chr. xxiii. 18, and compare 1 Chr. xxiii. 6-32.) He had already summoned the Levites out of all the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xxiii. 2), and had made use of them in the events of the day. Consequently they were at hand; and he proceeded at once to assign the custody of the Temple to a particular course, before conducting the young king to the palace.

19. *The captains.*] Rather, "the **Carians**." See note on verse 4.

brought down.] They conducted the king *down* from the Temple hill, across the valley of the Tyropœum, and up the opposite hill to the royal palace, entering it not by the "horse-gate" (verse 16), where Athaliah had just been slain, but by the "gate of the guard" (see verse 6), which was probably the main gate of the palace on the eastern side. (See 2 Chr. xxiii. 20.) The mention of their *descent* from the Temple is a strong argument against the theory of some, that the bridge across the Tyropœum already existed, having been built by Solomon.

20. *All the people of the land rejoiced, &c.*] The revolution was generally, if not universally, acceptable. Jerusalem remained quiet. No one raised any disturbance on account of Athaliah's death. Apparently, the Baal worship had taken no hold on the people, but had depended altogether on the support of the Court. That support withdrawn, it collapsed at once.

they slew Athaliah with the sword.] This is one of the many little repetitions which mark the manner of the writer, whom they do not strike as objectionable. They generally contain some *little* point which has not been mentioned before. (See 'Introduction,' § 1, note 7.) Here we have the *mode* of Athaliah's death stated, which was not told us in verse 16.

21. *Jehoash.*] Or "Joash." The former is the full, the latter the contracted form.

NOTE A on verse 6. "The gate of Sur."

The reading of 2 Chr. xxiii. 5, שער היסוד, is preferable to that of the present passage, שער סור, because יסוד has an intelligible etymology, which סור has not. We may suppose that the writer of Kings called the gate שער יסוד, and that the *yod* having faded, סוד was read as סור.

NOTE B on verse 13. "The noise of the guard and of the people."

There can be little doubt that we should read here, with Thenius, את־קול הרצי והעם, instead of את־קול הרצין העם. The late plural form in —ין— does not really belong to the time of the author of Kings, who elsewhere always has רצים (2 K. xi. 4, 6, 11, 19, &c.). רצי for רצים may be justified by the analogy of the connected term כרי (verses 4 and 19).

CHAPTER XII.

1 *Jehoash reigneth well all the days of Jehoiada.*
4 *He giveth order for the repair of the temple.*
17 *Hazael is diverted from Jerusalem by a present of the hallowed treasures.* 19 *Jehoash being slain by his servants, Amaziah succeedeth him.*

a 2 Chron. 24. 1. IN [a]the seventh year of Jehu Jehoash began to reign; and forty years reigned he in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Zibiah of Beer-sheba.

2 And Jehoash did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him.

3 But the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

4 ¶ And Jehoash said to the priests, All the money of the ‖†dedicated things that is brought into the house of the LORD, *even* the money of every one that passeth *the account*, †the money that every man is set at, *and* all the money that †cometh into any man's heart to bring into the house of the LORD,

‖ Or, *holy things.* † Heb. *holinesses.* † Heb. *the money of the souls of his estimation.* † Heb. *ascendeth upon the heart of a man*

5 Let the priests take *it* to them, every man of his acquaintance: and let them repair the breaches of the house, wheresoever any breach shall be found.

CHAP. XII. 1. *Beersheba.*] On the situation of this place, see note on 1 K. xix. 3.

2. *All his days.*] Not "all the days of his life;" but only "so long as Jehoiada was his adviser." Compare 2 Chr. xxiv. 15-22.

wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him.] Nothing more is told us of the minority of Jehoash. But we may gather from this, that Jehoiada was, practically speaking, regent while it lasted. An increase of power to the priestly order was the natural consequence of this new position of the chief-priest of the nation. We shall find Jehoiada shortly (see verse 10) bearing the revived and important title of "High-Priest;" and the Levitical order will be seen from this time to be more mixed up with public affairs and to have greater influence than previously. The title of "High" or "Chief Priest" is passed on to Jehoiada's successors (2 Chr. xxvi. 20; xxxi. 10; xxxiv. 9, &c.), who trace their office to him rather than to Aaron (Jer. xxix. 26). Jehoiada must have been regent for at least ten or twelve years. One of his last governmental acts, apparently, was to "take for Jehoash two wives" (2 Chr. xxiv. 3), Jehoaddan of Jerusalem and another. The marriage with Jehoaddan must have taken place at least as early as Jehoash's twenty-first year, since Amaziah was born when his father was twenty-two. (Compare 2 K. xii. 1 with xiv. 2.)

3. *But the high places were not taken away.*] See the same formula used 1 K. xv. 14; xxii. 43; 2 K. xiv. 4; xv. 4, 35. The worship seems to have continued uninterruptedly to the time of Hezekiah, who abolished it (2 K. xviii. 4). It was, however, again established by Manasseh, his son (2 K. xxi. 3). The priests at this time cannot have regarded it as idolatrous, or Jehoiada would have put it down during his regency.

4. *And Jehoash said to the priests.*] It is remarkable that the first movement towards restoring the fabric of the Temple should have come, not from Jehoiada, but from Jehoash—not from the priest, but from the king. (Compare 2 Chr. xxiv. 4.) Jehoiada had, it seems, allowed the mischief done in Athaliah's time to remain unrepaired during the whole term of his government.

all the money of the dedicated things.] Literally, "all the money of the holies"—*i. e.* "all the holy (or consecrated) money."

the money of every one that passeth the account, &c.] Three kinds of sacred money are here distinguished—first, the half shekel required in the Law (Ex. xxx. 13) to be paid by every one above twenty years of age when he passed the numbering; secondly, the money to be paid by such as had devoted themselves, or those belonging to them, by vow to Jehovah, which was a variable sum dependent on age, sex, and property (Lev. xxvii. 2-8); and thirdly, the money offered in the way of free-will offerings.

the money that every one is set at.] Or "valued at." The Law itself valued those who had made vows at certain rates according to age and sex. If a man was too poor to pay at the rate thus fixed, the priest was to value him. (Lev. l. s. c.)

5. *Every man of his acquaintance.*] The collection was not to be made at Jerusalem only, but in "all the cities of Judah" (2 Chr. xxiv. 5), the various priests and Levites being collectors in their own neighbourhoods.

breaches.] "Breaches" is an over-strong term here, where *bedek* clearly includes every kind and degree of ruin or dilapidation.

6 But it was *so*, *that* †in the three and twentieth year of king Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house.

† Heb. *in the twentieth year and third year.*

7 Then king Jehoash called for Jehoiada the priest, and the *other* priests, and said unto them, Why repair ye not the breaches of the house? now therefore receive no *more* money of your acquaintance, but deliver it for the breaches of the house.

8 And the priests consented to receive no *more* money of the people, neither to repair the breaches of the house.

9 But Jehoiada the priest took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the LORD: and the priests that kept the †door put therein all the money *that was* brought into the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *threshold.*

10 And it was *so*, when they saw that *there was* much money in the chest, that the king's ‖scribe and the high priest came up, and they †put up in bags, and told the money that was found in the house of the LORD.

‖ Or, *secretary.* † Heb. *bound up.*

11 And they gave the money, being told, into the hands of them that did the work, that had the oversight of the house of the LORD: and they †laid it out to the carpenters and builders, that wrought upon the house of the LORD,

† Heb. *brought it forth.*

12 And to masons, and hewers of stone, and to buy timber and hewed stone to repair the breaches of the house of the LORD, and for all that †was laid out for the house to repair *it*.

† Heb. *went forth.*

13 Howbeit there were not made

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6. *The priests had not repaired the breaches.*] The work of reparation had ceased. (See the next verse.) No money had for some time been brought in (2 Chr. xxiv. 6). Perhaps it was difficult for the priests and Levites to know exactly what proportion of the money paid to them was fairly applicable to the Temple service and to their own support; and what, consequently, was the balance which they ought to apply to the repairs.

7. *But deliver it.*] *I.e.* "Allow it to be delivered."

9. *Jehoiada took a chest.*] At the king's commandment (2 Chr. xxiv. 8).

beside the altar.] The altar of *burnt-offering* is meant, which was in the court of the Temple opposite the porch. (See note on ch. xi. 11.)

the priests that kept the door.] The north door into the priests' court (Ezek. xl. 35-43) seems to be intended, not the door of the Temple building. The chest must have been placed a little to the right of this north door, between it and the altar of burnt-offering, so that the people could see it from the doorway. The people were not ordinarily allowed to go within the doorway into this court, which belonged to the priests and Levites only.

10. *The king's scribe.*] Or "secretary." See note on 1 K. iv. 3. Such persons are seen often in the Assyrian sculptures, with a roll, apparently of parchment, in one hand and a pen in the other, taking account for the king of the spoil brought in from foreign expeditions, &c. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 6.)

the high priest.] This title had been dropped since the time of Aaron (Lev. xxi. 10; Num. xxxv. 25) or at any rate since that of Eleazar (Josh. xx. 6). It is now revived and continues. (See above, verse 2, note.)

came up.] It appears from 2 Chr. xxiv. 11 that if the high-priest could not attend in person he might send his "deputy" to act for him.

they put up in bags and told the money.] It has been proposed to alter the text here (see note at the end of the chapter), because the "telling" must have preceded the "placing in bags." But such an inversion of the correct order is an inexactness familiar enough to the ancients.

11. *Being told.*] Rather, "being weighed" or "measured out." The verb is different from that used in the last verse.

13. *Howbeit there were not made . . vessels.*] There is a curious verbal contradiction between this statement and that of 2 Chr. xxiv. 14—"They brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, *whereof were made* vessels, &c." But the two writers are not really opposed. All that the author of Kings desires to impress on his readers is, that the repairs were not delayed by any deductions from the money that flowed in

for the house of the LORD bowls of silver, snuffers, basons, trumpets, any vessels of gold, or vessels of silver, of the money *that was* brought into the house of the LORD:

14 But they gave that to the workmen, and repaired therewith the house of the LORD.

15 Moreover they reckoned not with the men, into whose hand they delivered the money to be bestowed on workmen: for they dealt faithfully.

16 The trespass money and sin money was not brought into the house of the LORD: it was the priests'.

17 ¶ Then Hazael king of Syria went up, and fought against Gath, and took it: and Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem.

18 And Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, and his own hallowed

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through the chest on account of vessels or ornaments of the house. What became of the surplus in the chest after the last repairs were completed he does not care to tell us. But it is exactly this, the application of which is mentioned by the writer of Chronicles.

bowls of silver, snuffers, &c.] The need of supplying fresh bowls, snuffers, &c., arose from the pollution of those previously used in the temple service by their application to the Baal worship during the reigns of Ahaziah and Athaliah. (See 2 Chr. xxiv. 7.)

15. *They reckoned not with the men.*] Compare 2 K. xxii. 7. If these men were, as seems to follow from 2 K. xi. 18, xii. 11, and 2 Chr. xxiv. 12, priests and Levites, it would be evident that the honesty of the priestly order was not in question.

16. *The trespass money and the sin money.*] In all cases of injury done to another, a man was bound by the Law to make compensation, to the sufferer, if possible; if not, to his nearest kinsman. If the man was dead and had left no kinsman, then the compensation was to be made to the priest. (Num. v. 8.) This would form a part of the trespass and sin money. The remainder would accrue from the voluntary gifts made to the priests by those who came to make atonement for sins or trespasses (ib. verse 10). On the difference between "sins" and "trespasses," see note on Lev vi. 7.

17, 18.] There was probably a considerable interval between the conclusion of the arrangement for the repairs and the Syrian expedition related in these verses. The death of Jehoiada, the apostacy of Joash and the "princes," the warnings of the prophets, and the murder of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, all fell into this space. See 2 Chr. xxiv. 15-22.

17. *Hazael.*] It is doubtful whether Hazael undertook this war in person. In Chronicles (2 Chr. xxiv. 23) "the host of Syria" is said to have "come up," and to have *sent* the spoil which it took to the Damascene king.

against Gath.] This is the first and last time that we hear of the Damascene Syrians undertaking so distant an expedition. Gath (now, probably, Tel-es-Saffieh) was in the *Shefêlah*, or low coast tract, the country of the Philistines, and could only be reached from Syria through Israel or Judah. As Hazael "oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz" (2 K. xiii. 22), he may perhaps have had the right of marching troops through that monarch's kingdom. He would most conveniently reach Gath by way of Beth-Shean, the Jezreel valley, Megiddo, and the coast route. When at Gath, he would not be more than 25 or 30 miles from Jerusalem. It is uncertain whether the city belonged at this time to Judah or to the Philistines. It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 8), and was probably subject to Jehoshaphat (ib. xvii. 11); but it is a Philistine city in Uzziah's reign (2 Chr. xxvi. 6).

Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem.] "Setting the face" is a phrase for determination generally, but especially for determination to proceed somewhere. (Compare Jer. xlii. 15; Luk. ix. 51.) Jerusalem can scarcely have been the primary object of this expedition, or it would have been attacked by a less circuitous route. Perhaps the Syrians were induced to make a sudden march against the Jewish capital, by learning, while at Gath, that a revolution had occurred there, that the blood of the high-priest had been shed, and that the people were divided into two parties, who would scarcely be inclined to act together. (See the narrative of Zechariah's murder in 2 Chr. xxiv. 18-22.) The attack on Judea followed close upon Zechariah's death (ib. verse 23).

18. *Jehoash . . . took all the hallowed things.*] Jehoash did not submit without a struggle. Though Zechariah had warned him

things, and all the gold *that was* found in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and in the king's house, and sent *it* to Hazael king of Syria: and he † went away from Jerusalem.

† Heb. *went up.*

19 ¶ And the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

20 And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and slew Joash in ‖ the house of Millo, which goeth down to Silla.

‖ Or, *Beth-millo.*

21 For Jozachar the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad the son of Shomer, his servants, smote him, and he died; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

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before his death that "Jehovah had forsaken his people" (2 Chr. xxiv. 20), yet he sent out against the Syrians "a very great host" (ib. verse 24) under the command of the "princes of the people" (verse 23); and it was not until this army was completely defeated by a much smaller Syrian force, that he followed the example of his ancestor, Asa, and bought the friendship of the Syrians with the Temple treasures (1 K. xv. 18. Compare the conduct of Hezekiah 2 K. xviii. 15, 16.)

Jehoram and Ahaziah.] Though these two monarchs had been worshippers of Baal, yet they had combined with that idolatrous cult a certain amount of decent respect for the old religion. It is evident from this passage that they had made costly offerings to the Temple; and it appears from 2 Chr. xxiv. 7 that Athaliah was the first to relinquish wholly the worship of Jehovah.

20. *A conspiracy.*] We learn from 2 Chr. xxiv. 25 that immediately after the withdrawal of the Syrians, Joash fell sick, afflicted apparently by a complication of diseases. Either from a suspicion of intended treason, or from some other unknown cause, he took up his abode in the fortress of Millo, which Solomon had built at Jerusalem. (1 K. ix. 24.) Here some of his attendants, anxious to revenge the murder of Zechariah, and perhaps of other "sons of Jehoiada" (2 Chr. xxiv. 25), conspired against him and "slew him on his bed." It can scarcely be supposed that this conspiracy was unconnected with religion. Soon after the death of Jehoiada, Joash had apostatised; had renewed the worship of Baal (2 Chr. xxiv. 18); and, despite of many prophetic warnings (ib. verses 19 and 27), had persisted in his evil courses, even commanding Zechariah to be slain when he rebuked them. The conspirators, who wished to avenge Zechariah, no doubt wished also to put down the Baal worship. In this it appears that they succeeded. For, though Amaziah punished the actual murderers after a while (2 K. xiv. 5), yet he appears not to have been a Baal-worshipper. The only idolatries laid to his charge are the maintenance of the high places (2 K. xiv. 4), and a worship of the gods of Edom (2 Chr. xxv. 14-20).

which goeth down to Silla.] This clause is very obscure, Silla being quite unknown, and the sense of "goeth down to" uncertain.

21. *Jozachar.*] The author of Chronicles calls this person Zabad (2 Chr. xxiv. 26), and states that his mother, Shimeath, was an Ammonitess.

Shomer.] Or Shimrith, according to Chronicles (l.s.c.), which would be the feminine form of the same name. She belonged to the nation of the Moabites.

they buried him with his fathers.] In Jerusalem, that is; but not in the sepulchres of the kings. (See 2 Chr. xxiv. 25.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 10.

"The king's scribe and the high priest came up and they put up [marg. bound up] the money in bags."

For ויצרו, "and they bound up," Houbigant would read ויצקו, "and they poured out," while Ewald suggests ויערו, "and they emptied," which is the form used in 2 Chr. xxiv. 11.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Jehoahaz's wicked reign. 3 Jehoahaz, oppressed by Hazael, is relieved by prayer. 8 Joash succeedeth him. 10 His wicked reign. 12 Jeroboam succeedeth him. 14 Elisha dying prophesieth to Joash three victories over the Syrians. 20 The Moabites invading the land, Elisha's bones raise up a dead man. 22 Hazael dying, Joash getteth three victories over Ben-hadad.

† Heb. *the twentieth year and third year.*

IN †the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* seventeen years.

2 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, and † Heb. *walked after.* †followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.

3 ¶ And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben-hadad the son of Hazael, all *their* days.

4 And Jehoahaz besought the LORD, and the LORD hearkened unto him: for he saw the oppression of Israel, because the king of Syria oppressed them.

5 (And the LORD gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents, †as beforetime.

† Heb. *as yesterday and third day.*

6 Nevertheless they departed not from the sins of the house of Jeroboam, who made Israel sin, *but* †walked therein: and there †remained the grove also in Samaria.)

† Heb. *he walked.* † Heb. *stood.*

7 Neither did he leave of the people to Jehoahaz but fifty horse-

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CHAP. XIII. 1. The writer in this chapter returns to the history of the kingdom of Israel, which he traces through the two reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoash. He then, in ch. xiv., resumes the history of Judah.

in the three and twentieth year.] Josephus says the "one and twentieth year" ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 8, § 5); and this change seems requisite to bring the chronology of the present verse into accordance with that of verse 10.

3. *He delivered them into the hand of Hazael.*] See below, verse 7.

Ben-hadad.] The recurrence of this name is remarkable. Hazael, though a usurper, maintains in use the favourite appellation of the preceding dynasty. So in Egypt the usurping Amasis called his son Psamatik; and Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, a usurper, called one of his sons Nebuchadnezzar.

all their days.] Literally, "all the days." Not "all the days" of the two Syrian kings, for Ben-hadad lost to Joash all the cities which he had gained from Jehoahaz (infra, verse 25); but either "all the days of Jehoahaz" (see verse 22), or "all the days of Hazael"—both while he led his own armies, and while they were led by his son. (See note on verse 22.)

5. *The Lord gave Israel a saviour.*] Not immediately on the repentance of Jehoahaz, but after his death, when Joash was enabled to defeat Ben-hadad thrice and recover the cities of Israel. (See verse 25.)

they went out from under the hand of the Syrians.] *I. e.* they ceased to be oppressed by the Syrians; they shook off their yoke, and became once more perfectly independent.

in their tents.] *I. e.* "their houses." On the use of this idiom—a trace of the old nomadic life—see note on 1 K. viii. 66.

6. *But walked therein.*] Rather, "he walked therein." "He" probably means Joash, the "saviour" of the preceding verse. The sixth verse refers to the same time as the fifth, the two being closely interconnected, and forming together a long parenthesis, as our translators have seen.

there remained the grove also in Samaria.] It seems strange that Jehu had not destroyed Ahab's "grove" (1 K. xvi. 33) at Samaria, when he put down the worship of Baal, broke or burnt the images, and desecrated the temple (2 K. x. 26-28.) Perhaps the "grove" worship was too closely connected with the old worship in high places (1 K. iii. 2; xiv. 15; 2 K. xvii. 10) to be set aside with the same ease as the rites newly introduced from Phœnicia.

7. *Neither did he leave, &c.*] The nominative to the verb "leave" must be supplied from verse 4, with which this verse is to be closely connected. The meaning is that "the king of Syria" (*i. e.* Hazael) limited the standing army of Jehoahaz to 10 chariots, 50 horsemen, and 10,000 footmen.

men, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing.

8 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jehoahaz, and all that he did, and his might, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

9 And Jehoahaz slept with his fathers; and they buried him in Samaria: and Joash his son reigned in his stead.

10 ¶ In the thirty and seventh year of Joash king of Judah began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* sixteen years.

11 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD; he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel sin: *but* he walked therein.

12 And the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, and his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

13 And Joash slept with his fathers; and Jeroboam sat upon his throne: and Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel.

14 ¶ Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness whereof he died. And Joash the king of Israel came down unto him, and wept over his face, and said, O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.

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the king of Syria . . . . had made them like the dust by threshing.] Expressions similar to this are sometimes employed metaphorically, and import merely defeat, conquest, and grinding oppression. (See Jer. li. 33; Mic. iv. 12, 13; and perhaps Is. xxi. 10.) But here the literal use of threshing-instruments in the execution of prisoners of war is perhaps intended. (See Amos i. 3; and compare 2 S. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3; and Prov. xx. 26.)

8. *His might.*] *I. e.* "his valour." See note on 2 K. x. 34.

9. *Joash.*] Or "Jehoash" (as in verses 10 and 25; and again in ch. xiv. verses 8 to 17.)

12, 13. It is difficult to account for the occurrence of these verses in this place. They recur, with little variation, in the next chapter (verses 15 and 16). Keil rightly notes that they are here too early, since the whole remainder of the chapter is devoted to the acts of the king whose reign they bring, as it were, to a close; while in the next chapter they are altogether out of place, since they needlessly interrupt the history of the Jewish monarchs. According to ordinary laws of historical composition, they should form the closing paragraph of the present chapter.

his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah.] See ch. xiv. verses 8-14; and compare 2 Chr. xxv. 17-24.

14. *Elisha was fallen sick.*] We have here the closing scene of Elisha's life. It was now at least sixty-three years since his call, when he cannot well have been less than twenty years of age; so that he must at this time have been eighty-three at the least. Very possibly he was above ninety.

Joash . . . . came down unto him.] We have heard nothing of Elisha since he sent the young prophet to anoint Jehu king. He seems to have lived in complete retirement from that time. Once only, soon after Jehu's destruction of all Ahab's house, he had perhaps broken silence, and signified to that monarch that his performance of God's will in respect of the family of Ahab would be rewarded by the descent of the crown in his family for five generations (2 K. x. 30). Since then, for forty-five years, he had as it were disappeared from sight. Even at the time to which we are come, it was not he who sought the king, but the king who sought him. Apparently, the special function of the two great Israelite prophets was to counteract the noxious influence of the Baalistic rites; and, when these ceased, their extraordinary ministry came to an end.

wept over his face.] So De Wette and Thenius; but others think the writer only means that Joash wept in Elisha's presence.

the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.] It is impossible to imagine that Joash now by a mere coincidence spoke the exact words at the deathbed of Elisha, which Elisha himself had spoken when he was about to lose Elijah. He must have known the circumstances of Elijah's removal, which were perhaps already entered in the "book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel;" and he must have intended to apply to Elisha his own words on that solemn

15 And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows. And he took unto him bow and arrows.

16 And he said to the king of Israel, † Put thine hand upon the bow. And he put his hand *upon it:* and Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands.

† Heb. *Make thine hand to ride.*

17 And he said, Open the window eastward. And he opened *it*. Then Elisha said, Shoot. And he shot. And he said, The arrow of the LORD's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed *them*.

18 And he said, Take the arrows. And he took *them*. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground. And he smote thrice, and stayed.

19 And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed *it:* whereas now thou shalt smite Syria *but* thrice.

20 ¶ And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year.

21 And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band *of men;* and they

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occasion. "Alas!" he probably meant to say, "thou too art about to leave us, and to follow Elijah—thou who hast been since his departure, that which he was while he remained on earth, the true defence of Israel." (See note on 2 K. ii. 12.)

16. *Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands.*] A symbolical act, indicating that the successes, which the shooting typified, were to come, not from human skill, or strength, or daring, but from the presence and the power of God.

17. *Open the window eastward.*] Syria of Damascus lay partly east, but still more north, of the Holy Land. The window was to be opened, and the arrow shot, *eastward*, not so much against Syria itself as against the scene of the recent Syrian successes, Gilead (2 K. x. 33), which was also to be the scene of Joash's victories over them. Aphek is almost due east from Shunem, where it is not unlikely that Elisha now was.

the arrow of the Lord's deliverance, &c.] Literally, "An arrow of deliverance from the Lord, and an arrow of deliverance against Syria; and thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, even to consuming."

Aphek.] On the situation of Aphek and its identity with the modern *Fik*, see note on 1 K. xx. 26.

18. *Smite upon the ground.*] So Thenius and Ewald. Keil and others prefer to render—"**Shoot to the ground**;" *i.e.* "Shoot arrows from the window into the ground outside, as if thou wert shooting against an enemy."

19. *And the man of God was wroth.*] Though Joash did the prophet's bidding, it was without any zeal or fervour; and probably without any earnest belief in the efficacy of what he was doing. Hence the "wrath" of Elisha.

then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it.] The unfaithfulness of man limits the goodness of God. Our Lord "*could* do no mighty work" in one city, "because of their unbelief." (Mark vi. 5, 6.) God had been willing now to give the Israelites complete victory over Syria—victory "even to consuming" (verse 17); but Joash by his non-acceptance of the divine promise in its fulness had checked the outflow of mercy; and the result was that the original promise could not be fulfilled.

thrice.] For the fulfilment, see verse 25, ad fin.

20. *They buried him.*] With a magnificent funeral, if we may believe Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 8, § 6, ἔτυχε ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς).

the bands of the Moabites invaded the land.] The Moabites had been increasing in strength ever since their revolt from Ahaziah. (2 K. i. 1.) The defeat which they suffered at the hands of Jehoram and Jehoshaphat (ib. iii. 24) did not effect their subjugation. They spread themselves into the country north of the Arnon (Is. xvi. 2), and thence proceeded to make plundering expeditions year by year into Samaria. (See the first note on verse 21.)

at the coming in of the year.] In spring, that is—the Jews beginning their year at the vernal equinox. This was the natural season for incursions, as then in Palestine the crops began to be ripe.

21. *They spied a band of men.*] Literally, "they spied the band." The use of the article implies that at this period a band of Moabites was in the habit of invading the country every year. The men who were burying a corpse saw *the band of this year.*

cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man †was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, [a]he revived, and stood up on his feet.

† Heb. *went down.*
[a] Ecclus. 48. 14.

22 ¶ But Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz.

23 And the LORD was gracious unto them, and had compassion on them, and had respect unto them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his †presence as yet.

† Heb. *face.*

24 So Hazael king of Syria died; and Ben-hadad his son reigned in his stead.

25 And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz †took again out of the hand of Ben-hadad the son of Hazael the cities, which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times did Joash beat him, and recovered the cities of Israel.

† Heb. *returned and took*

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they cast the man into the sepulchre.] Rather, "they **thrust** the man." The graves of the Jews were not pits dug in the ground, like ours, but caves or cells excavated in the side of a rock, the mouth of the cave being ordinarily shut by a heavy stone.

and when the man was let down (margin, *went down*) *and touched, &c.*] The original does not say that the man either "was let down" or "went down," but only, in the graphic style common with the ancient writers, "when the man came and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived."

and stood up on his feet.] It must be remembered that coffins were not used by the Jews. The body was simply wrapped or swathed in grave-clothes. Thus, on returning to life, the son of the widow of Nain at once "sat up" (Luk. vii. 15); Lazarus "came forth" (John xi. 44); and so this man "stood up on his feet."

22. *All the days of Jehoahaz.*] It would appear from this that Hazael outlived Jehoahaz. In that case the cities taken from Jehoahaz by Ben-hadad (verse 25) must have been taken by him, not as king, but as general under his father.

23. *Neither cast he them from his presence as yet.*] The writer regards the captivity of Israel as God's "casting them from his presence" (see ch. xvii. 18, 20); and notes that this extreme punishment, though deserved, was by God's mercy not allowed to fall on them as yet.

24. *So Hazael . . . . died.*] Literally, "*And* Hazael died," a fact not mentioned before.

25. *The cities which, &c.*] We cannot say what cities exactly these were. Probably they were cities west of the Jordan, since the tract east of that river was conquered, mainly if not wholly, in the reign of Jehu. (2 K. x. 33.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 21.

This miracle of Elisha's after his death is more surprising than any of those which he performed during his lifetime. The Jews regarded it as his highest glory; and hence the son of Sirach concludes his eulogy of Elisha with a double reference to it:—"No word could overcome him, and after his death his body prophesied. He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous." (Ecclus. xlviii. 13, 14.) No exact parallel to the miracle offers itself to us in the rest of Scripture. Still it may be said to belong to a class of Scriptural miracles, cases, *i. e.*, where the miracle was not wrought through the agency of a living miracle-worker, but by a material object in which, by God's will, "virtue" for the time resided. The most familiar example of this class is the staunching of the issue of blood by the touch of the hem of Christ's garment; but the cures wrought by "handkerchiefs and aprons" brought to the sick from the body of St. Paul (Acts xix. 12) are still more nearly parallel. Another, not exactly similar, but still connected instance, is that of St. Peter's shadow, which seems to have had a healing efficacy. (See Acts v. 15.) Miracles of this kind appear to be peculiarly offensive to our modern thought, but it is difficult to say why. As Dean Alford well observes, "All miraculous working is an exertion of the direct power of the All-powerful; a suspension *by Him* of His ordinary laws; and whether He will use *any* instrument in doing this, or *what* instrument, must depend altogether on His own

purpose in the miracle—the effect to be produced on the recipients, beholders, or hearers. Without His special selection and enabling, *all instruments were vain*—with these, *all are capable.*" ('Greek Testament,' vol. ii. p. 196.) In the present instance, no doubt, the primary effect was greatly to increase the reverence of the Israelites for the memory of Elisha, to lend force to his teaching, and especially to add weight to his unfulfilled prophecies, as to that concerning the coming triumphs of Israel over Syria. In the extreme state of depression to which the Israelites were now reduced, a very signal miracle may have been needed to encourage and reassure them.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *Amaziah's good reign.* 5 *His justice on the murderers of his father.* 7 *His victory over Edom.* 8 *Amaziah, provoking Jehoash, is overcome and spoiled.* 15 *Jeroboam succeedeth Jehoash.* 17 *Amaziah slain by a conspiracy.* 21 *Azariah succeedeth him.* 23 *Jeroboam's wicked reign.* 28 *Zachariah succeedeth him.*

IN the second year of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel reigned
[b] 2 Chron. 25. 1. [b] Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah.

2 He was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.

3 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, yet not like David his father: he did according to all things as Joash his father did.

4 Howbeit the high places were not taken away: as yet the people did sacrifice and burnt incense on the high places.

5 ¶ And it came to pass, as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand, that he slew his servants [c] which had slain the king his father. [c] ch. 12. 20.

CHAP. XIV. 1. In this chapter the history of Judah is resumed, and carried through the reign of Amaziah (verses 1-20) into that of his son, Azariah or Uzziah (verses 21, 22.) After this, a brief account is given of the contemporary history of Israel under Jeroboam II. (verses 23-29.) The earlier narrative runs parallel with 2 Chr. xxv.

2. *In the second year of Joash.*] Here we have another chronological difficulty. From the statements already made, that Joash of Judah reigned forty years (2 K. xii. 1), and that Joash of Israel ascended the throne in his namesake's thirty-seventh year (2 K. xiii. 10), we should have expected to hear that Amaziah succeeded his father in the fourth rather than in the second year of Joash (of Israel). The usual explanation of the discrepancy is to suppose a double accession of the Israelitish Joash—as co-partner with his father in the thirty-seventh year of his namesake, as sole king two years afterwards.

3. *Not like David his father.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxv. 2: "Not with a perfect heart." Amaziah's chief sins were those related in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxv. 14-16) at length, viz. his worship of the gods of Edom, and his threatening the life of the prophet who rebuked him.

he did . . . as Joash.] There is a curious parity between the lives of Joash and Amaziah. Both were zealous for Jehovah in the earlier portion of their reigns, but latterly fell away; both disregarded the rebukes of prophets; and both, having forsaken God, were in the end conspired against and slain.

4. *The high places were not taken away.*] Compare xii. 3, and note ad loc.

5. *As soon as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand.*] The phrase, "confirmed in his hand," which is the same as that used in 2 K. xv. 19 to express the authorisation of a new reign by an imperial superior, has given rise to a suspicion that Judæa was already at the accession of Amaziah an Assyrian fief, whose sovereigns were not established in power till "confirmed" by the reigning Assyrian monarch. But this is uncertain. The murder of Joash (2 K. xii. 21) would naturally be followed by a time of confusion and trouble, during which Amaziah's ability to assert and maintain his rights would be doubtful. The "confirmation" or "establishment" (2 Chr. xxv. 3) here intended *may be* only the passing off of these troubles, and the general recognition of the new king's authority by his subjects.

his servants.] Jozachar and Jehozabad. (2 K. xii. 21.)

6 But the children of the murderers he slew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, wherein the LORD commanded, saying, [d] The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

[d] Deu. 24. 16. Ezek. 18. 20.

7 He slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took [1] Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day.

[1] Or, *The rock.*

8 ¶ Then Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash, the son of Je-

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6. *The children of the murderers he slew not.*] This seems to be noted as a rare instance of clemency. (Compare 2 Chr. xxv. 4.) Hitherto, as we have seen in the case of Naboth (2 K. ix. 26), the execution of the father was followed, almost as a matter of course, by that of at least all his male children.

written in the book of the law.] See Deut. xxiv. 16. It is strange at first sight, that, when the Law contained so very plain a prohibition, the contrary practice should have established itself. But we must remember, first, that the custom was that of the East generally (see Dan. vi. 24; Herod. iii. 119, &c.); and secondly, that it had the sanction of one who might be thought to have known thoroughly the mind of the legislator, viz. Joshua. (See Josh. vii. 24, 25.)

7. *He slew of Edom . . . ten thousand.*] Amaziah's Idumæan war, introduced here thus abruptly, and then hurried over in a single verse, is treated at length by the writer of Chronicles. (See 2 Chr. xxv. 5-13.) From his narrative it appears that Amaziah, besides slaying 10,000 Edomites in battle, took 10,000 prisoners, whom he put to death by precipitating them from the rocks on which Selah stood.

in the valley of salt.] The "Valley of Salt" has been identified by most modern commentators with the broad open plain called the Sabkah, at the southern end of the Dead Sea—the continuation of the *Ghor* or Jordan gorge. At the north-western corner of this plain stands the *Khashm Usdom*, which is a mountain of rock-salt, and the tract between this mountain and the sea is a salt-marsh. Salt springs also abound in the plain itself, more especially in its western portion, so that the name would, thus far, be fully accounted for. It is doubted, however, whether the Hebrews would have applied the word *ge'*, which is commonly used of clefts and ravines, to such a sunk plain as the *Sabkah*; and it is certainly most unlikely that 10,000 prisoners would have been conveyed upwards of eighty miles (the distance of the Sabkah from Petra), through a rough and difficult country, only in order to be massacred. On the whole, it is perhaps most probable that the "Valley of Salt" yet remains to be discovered, and that its true position was near Petra.

Selah.] Selah, or *has-Selah* (which is the expression used in the original), means simply "the Rock" (marg.). There can be little doubt that it was this native name which the Greeks represented by the corresponding term, Petra. This famous city was situated at a considerable elevation among the mountains which bound the Wady Arabah towards the east. It seems to have been a place of some importance in the time of the earlier judges (Judg. i. 36), and was probably the capital of the Edomites till they were pressed westward by the Nabathæans. The ruins of Petra have been described by Robinson ('Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 518-538), Stanley ('Sinai and Palestine,' pp. 88-92), and others.

Joktheel.] This word signifies "subdued by God." Amaziah, no doubt, gave the name in a religious spirit, as an acknowledgment of the divine aid by which his victory was gained. The name failed to take permanent hold on the place, because the Edomites, on not long afterwards recovering their city, restored the old appellation. (See 2 Chr. xxviii. 17, and compare Is. xvi. 1, and Am. i. 11.)

unto this day.] The writer of Kings evidently gives the exact words of his document, composed not later than the reign of Ahaz, before whose death the Edomites had recovered Petra. (See last note.)

8. *Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash.*] We learn from Chronicles that Amaziah had hired a large body of Israelite soldiers for his Idumæan war, but, warned by a prophet, had dismissed them. These persons, disgusted at their treatment, ravaged the Jewish territory on their way back to Samaria (2 Chr. xxv. 13), thus affording to Amaziah a sufficient ground of quarrel. This, however, was the occasion rather than the cause of the war. The cause was Amaziah's pride and ambition. His success against Edom had so elated him that he thought himself more than a match for his northern neighbour. (See verse 10, and compare 2 Chr. xxv. 19.)

hoahaz son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let us look one another in the face.

9 And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that *was* in Lebanon sent to the cedar that *was* in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that *was* in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.

10 Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory *of this*, and tarry †at home: for why shouldest thou meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldest fall, *even* thou, and Judah with thee?

† Heb *at thy house.*

11 But Amaziah would not hear. Therefore Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which *belongeth* to Judah.

12 And Judah †was put to the worse before Israel; and they fled every man to their tents.

† Heb. *was smitten.*

13 And Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash the son of Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits.

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let us look one another in the face.] This is an unusual phrase; but its meaning cannot be doubted. It is a challenge to combat—"let us come together—let us meet face to face in arms, and try each other's strength." Compare verses 11, 12; and Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 9, § 2.

9. *The thistle.*] The Oriental use of apologues on the most solemn and serious occasions is well known to all, and scarcely needs illustration. The parable of Jotham is the first recorded instance. (Judg. ix. 8-15.) Another celebrated example is the reply of Cyrus to the Greeks of Asia. (Herod. i. 141.) A third will be found in the history of Astyages. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iii. p. 226.) Arabian and Persian history teems with similar stories. (Ockley, 'History of the Saracens,' pp. 106, 146, &c.; Malcolm, 'History of Persia,' vol. i. pp. 70, 71, 172, &c.) It is a common feature of such apologues that they are not exact parallels to the case whereto they are applied, but only general or partial resemblances. Hence there is need of caution in applying the several points of the illustration.

10. *Thou hast indeed smitten.*] Rather, "Thou hast utterly smitten."

glory of this.] Literally, "Be honoured;" *i. e.* "Enjoy thy honour—be content with it" (Keil)

why shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt?] Rather, "Why wilt thou meddle with misfortune?"

11. *Jehoash went up.*] Jehoash did not wait to be attacked. Invading Judæa from the west, and so *ascending* out of the low coast tract, he met the army of Amaziah at Beth-shemesh (*Ain-shems*), about 15 miles from Jerusalem, a city occupying "a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains" (Robinson, 'Later Researches,' p. 153), very suitable for the engagement of two large armies.

which belongeth to Judah.] This clause is added to distinguish the city here intended from two others of the same name, one on the borders of Issachar (Josh. xix. 22), and the other one of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali (ib. xix. 38).

12. *Judah was put to the worse.*] Literally, "was smitten" (marg.). The author of Chronicles notes that Amaziah's obstinacy, and his consequent defeat and captivity, "came of God" (2 Chr. xxv. 20), were judgments upon him for an idolatry into which he had fallen after his conquest of Edom. On his return from Petra, he had "brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed himself down before them, and offered incense unto them" (ib. verse 14).

13. *Brake down the wall of Jerusalem.*] The object of this destruction was of course to leave Jerusalem at the mercy of her rival; and it must have been among the conditions of the peace that the breach thus made should not be repaired. When we hear of the walls of captured towns being "broken down" or "destroyed," we must usually understand the making of one or more such breaches in them as that which is here mentioned. (See Neh. iv. 7.)

the gate of Ephraim.] Gates in Oriental cities are named from the places to which they lead. The gate of Ephraim must therefore have been a north gate. It was probably the same which, after the deportation of the Ten Tribes, was known indifferently as the "gate of Ephraim" (Neh. viii. 16; xii. 39), and the "gate of Benjamin" (Jer. xxxvii. 13; Zech. xiv. 10).

the corner gate.] This was probably a gate at the north-west angle of the city, where

14 And he took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and hostages, and returned to Samaria.

15 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jehoash which he did, and his might, and how he fought with Amaziah king of Judah, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

16 And Jehoash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; and Jeroboam his son reigned in his stead.

17 ¶ And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years.

18 And the rest of the acts of Amaziah, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

19 Now [a]they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem: and he fled to Lachish; but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him there.

[a] 2 Chron. 25. 27.

20 And they brought him on horses: and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the city of David.

21 ¶ And all the people of Judah took [b]Azariah, which *was* sixteen years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah.

[b] 2 Chron. 26. 1, he is called *Uzziah*.

22 He built Elath, and restored it

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the north wall approached the Valley of Hinnom. The entire breach was thus in the north wall, on the side where Jerusalem was naturally the weakest. Josephus says that Joash drove his chariot through the breach into the town, a practice not unusual with conquerors. (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 9, § 3.)

14. *All the gold and silver.*] As the Temple had been stript of its treasures about fifteen years previously, to buy off the hostility of Hazael (2 K. xii. 18), there can have been no great accumulation now.

hostages.] This is the only distinct mention of "hostages" in the Old Testament. It would seem that the Oriental conquerors generally regarded the terror of their arms as sufficient to secure the performance of the engagements contracted towards them.

15, 16. *The rest of the acts of Joash, &c.*] These two verses, which are repeated almost word for word from the last chapter (verses 12, 13), are out of place here, where they interrupt the history of Amaziah's reign. It is scarcely possible that the writer can have given them their present position.

17. *Amaziah ... lived after the death of Jehoash ... fifteen years.*] He must therefore have survived his disgraceful defeat at Bethshemesh by at least as many years, and it cannot have been on account of that disaster that the conspiracy was formed to which he ultimately fell a victim (verse 19). The writer of Chronicles, who attributes the conspiracy to the apostacy of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 27), probably only means that it was a judgment upon him for that sin, not that the apostacy induced his subjects to conspire.

19. *He fled to Lachish.*] Lachish seems to have been always a place of remarkable strength. It resisted Joshua for two days, when the neighbouring cities fell in one (Josh. x. 28, 32, 35). It was among the strongholds fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 9). And it seems to have baffled an attack of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 8). Amaziah doubtless fled to it from Jerusalem, when he became aware of the conspiracy against him, regarding it as a place of security. On the site of Lachish, see note on Josh. x. 3.

20. *They brought him on horses.*] Literally, "on *the* horses," *i.e.* they conveyed his body back to Jerusalem in the royal chariot, and with the horses, which had brought him to Lachish. The combination of relentless animosity against the living prince with the deepest respect for his dead remains is very characteristic of an Oriental people.

21. *All the people of Judah.*] These words, which are repeated by the writer of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvi. 1), seem to be emphatic. They imply that the conspiracy was one in which the general mass of the people did not participate; and that thus there was not even a period of confusion and trouble on this occasion, as there was on the murder of Joash, Azariah being at once unanimously accepted for king.

Azariah.] Or "Uzziah," as he is called elsewhere (2 Chr. xxvi. 1-23; 2 K. xv. 13, 32, 34; Is. i. 1; vi. 1, &c.). The two names mean respectively, "the strength of Jehovah," and "whom Jehovah assists." They seem to have been regarded as mere variants, which might be used indifferently (see 1 Chr. iii. 12), though they were really formed from distinct roots.

22. *He built Elath.*] Elath, or Eloth

to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

23 ¶ In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel began to reign in Samaria, *and reigned* forty and one years.

24 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.

25 He restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the LORD God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant [c]Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet, which *was* of Gath-hepher.

[c] Matt. 12. 39, 40, called *Jonas*.

26 For the LORD saw the affliction of Israel, *that it was* very bitter: for *there was* not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper for Israel.

(1 K. ix. 26; 2 Chr. xxvi. 2), was near Ezion-Geber, in the extreme recess of the Gulf of Akabah. It had been lost to the Jews on the revolt of Edom from Joram (2 K. viii. 22), and had apparently been destroyed by the Edomites, or allowed to fall into decay. Uzziah's re-establishment of the place, rendered possible by his father's successes (verse 7), seems to imply a desire to renew the commercial projects which Solomon had successfully carried out, and which Jehoshaphat had vainly attempted (1 K. xxii. 48).

after that the king slept with his fathers.] *I. e.* "after the death of Amaziah." This phrase, which at first sight seems superfluous, was probably intended to mark the re-establishment of Elath as one of the first acts of the new king.

23. The history of the more northern kingdom is once more resumed, and occupies the remainder of the chapter.

Jeroboam.] The name is here remarkable. It is the only instance in the history of either kingdom, of a recurrent royal appellation. We can scarcely doubt that Jeroboam II. was named after the great founder of the Israelite kingdom by a father who trusted that he might prove a sort of second founder. Perhaps the prophecy of Jonah (see verse 25) had been already given, and it was known that a great deliverance was approaching.

25. *He restored the coast of Israel.*] Jeroboam, in the course of his long reign, recovered the old boundaries of the Holy Land to the north, the east, and the south-east. The "entering in of Hamath" is spoken of as the northern boundary in Numb. xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5; Judg. iii. 3; Am. vi. 14; and 1 K. viii. 65. The "sea of the plain," or the Dead Sea, is made the boundary towards the south in Numb. xxxiv. 12; Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49. Here Israel adjoined on Moab. The entire tract east of Jordan had been lost to Israel in the reign of Jehu (2 K. x. 33), or in his reign and that of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 3, 25). All this was now recovered: and not only so, but Moab was reduced, as appears from Amos vi. 14 (see Pusey's 'Minor Prophets,' p. 209), and, as we shall see later, the Syrians were in their turn forced to submit to the Jews, and Damascus became tributary (see verse 28). The northern conquests were perhaps little less important than the eastern. On their real extent, see note on verse 28.

the word of the Lord . . which he spake.] There is no sufficient ground for thinking that we have the prophecy of Jonah here alluded to (Hitzig, Stanley), or a portion of it (Thenius), in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Isaiah, where Isaiah has been supposed to state that he quotes from a more ancient prophet (see Is. xvi. 13). The prophecy in question refers wholly to the conquest of Moab, which Jeroboam does not seem to have attacked. Isaiah may be himself its author, for the sense of ch. xvi. 13 is doubtful. Even if he is not, there are no grounds for assigning the fragment to Jonah.

Jonah the son of Amittai.] The patronymic, "Ben-Amittai," identifies the prophet of this passage with the famous preacher to the Ninevites (Jon. i. 1). It tends to fix his date to some period not very late in the reign of Jeroboam II., which (according to the ordinary chronology) was from B.C. 823 to B.C. 782.

the prophet.] *I. e.* "*the* well-known prophet." Compare 1 K. xi. 29; 2 K. xx. 1.

Gath-hepher.] This place is mentioned in Joshua (xix. 13), under the modified form of Gittah-hepher, as a city on the borders of Zebulon, east of Japhia. A place in this position was known as Gath in Jerome's time ('Pref. ad Jonam'), and contained the reputed tomb of Jonah. This circumstance, and the position of the modern *El-Meshad* (near Nazareth), four miles N.E. of *Yafa*, point to that village, where his tomb is still shown, as the probable birthplace of the prophet. (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 209, note.)

26. *The affliction of Israel.*] That which the Israelites had suffered for two reigns at the hands of the Syrians (2 K. x. 32, 33; xiii. 3, 7, 22).

27 And the LORD said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash.

28 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and all that he did, and his might, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, *which belonged* to Judah, for Israel, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

29 And Jeroboam slept with his fathers, *even* with the kings of Israel; and Zachariah his son reigned in his stead.

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very bitter.] Or "very stubborn" (Gesenius). But the old versions all agree with our translators. The Masoretic pointing of the Hebrew word used is probably wrong. (See note at the end of the chapter.)

there was not any shut up, nor any left.] This phrase is adopted without any alteration from Deut. xxxii. 36. Literally, it would imply complete depopulation. (See note on 1 K. xiv. 10.) By the context in this place its force is limited; and we must understand it to mean no more than extreme depression and weakness. (Compare 2 K. xiii. 7.)

27. *And the Lord said not.*] Though the Israelites were brought thus low, yet the fiat did not as yet go forth for their destruction. Rather, according to the promises of Deut. xxxii. 36-43 (which are in the writer's mind), God "repented himself for his servants," and was "merciful unto his land and to his people:" he did not send a prophet to say that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven; but on the contrary sent two to announce that they should be delivered from their present enemies, and obtain triumphs over them. (See 2 K. xiii. 17-19; and supra, verse 25.)

that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven.] This is again a Mosaic phrase, found only here and in Deuteronomy (ix. 14; xxix. 20).

28. *He recovered Damascus.*] The exact meaning of this expression is uncertain. Possibly Jeroboam may have actually captured the city, and have been its master as completely as David was (2 S. viii. 6). More probably he gained certain advantages over Ben-hadad, which induced the latter to make his submission and consent to such terms as those extorted by Ahab (1 K. xx. 34). The prophet Amos, writing probably *after* Jeroboam's successes, speaks of Damascus as still one of the rivals and enemies of Israel.

and Hamath.] There is more reason for regarding Hamath as among the actual conquests of Jeroboam than Damascus. Though it was more remote from Samaria than Damascus, occupying the site of the modern *Hamah*, it was far more accessible than the eastern city. The power which held "the entering in of Hamath," or the lower portion of the Cœle-syrian valley from the gorge of the Litany to Baalbek, could with the utmost ease pour its troops down the fertile *Bukaa* to Hamah, or even to the *Jisr-Hadid*, near Antioch; but Damascus could only be approached either by crossing the dry and almost desert region of Trachonitis, or through the difficult passes of the Anti-Lebanon. Again, there is evidence that Hamath was brought low in the reign of Jeroboam, so low as to have become almost a byword for calamity. The prophet Amos (vi. 2) couples it with Gath, which had been taken and dismantled by the Jews (2 Chr. xxvi. 6), and Calneh, which had been conquered by the Assyrians (Is. x. 9). Damascus, on the other hand, as observed above, seems to have been still flourishing in Amos's time. The objection that Hamath itself could not have been "recovered" because it had never belonged to Israel (Keil), is sufficiently met by 1 K. iv. 21-24, and 2 Chr. ix. 26, not to mention 2 Chr. viii. 4, which would not alone prove the possession of the city.

which belonged to Judah, for Israel.] The words thus translated are not free from difficulty. We should have expected simply "to Israel," (and so Houbigant would amend the passage). The writer would probably have so expressed himself, but for the recollection that the cities named, or Hamath at any rate, had not previously belonged to Israel *proper*, but only to the joint kingdom presided over by Judah. Consequently, he substitutes "to Judah" for "to Israel." But then, to prevent the misunderstanding (one which has actually arisen despite his precaution), that Jeroboam made over his Syrian conquests to Judah (so Hitzig and Movers), he adds *l'israel*, "through Israel"—they were recovered to Judah, *i.e.* to the people of God generally, through or by means of being added to Israel, *i.e.* to the northern kingdom. (So Winer and De Wette.)

are they not written.] A few further facts in the history of Jeroboam II. are recorded by the prophet Amos. That writer, though bred up a subject of the southern kingdom (Am. i. 1; vii. 14), being commissioned to preach to the Israelites (vii. 15), transferred his abode

to Bethel, and there delivered his threatenings (ib. 13). He prophesied that the high places of Isaac should be desolate, the sanctuaries of Israel (at Dan and Bethel) laid waste, and that the house of Jeroboam should perish by the sword (ib. 9). Upon this Amaziah, the high-priest at Bethel, made complaint to Jeroboam, representing Amos as a dangerous conspirator who threatened the life of the king. The effect of the complaint does not distinctly appear; but on the whole, it seems most probable that Jeroboam disregarded the information, and allowed Amos to speak his mind freely.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 26.

"The Lord saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter."

The Masoretic pointing (מֹרָה) makes the word the participle of מרה, "to be perverse, refractory; to rebel." To obtain the meaning "bitter," the pointing must be as follows—מָרָה. This is the feminine of מר, the participle of מרר, "to be bitter, to grieve."

CHAPTER XV.

1. *Azariah's good reign.* 5 *He dying a leper, Jotham succeedeth.* 8 *Zachariah, the last of Jehu's generation, reigning ill, is slain by Shallum.* 13 *Shallum, reigning a month, is slain by Menahem.* 16 *Menahem strengtheneth himself by Pul.* 21 *Pekahiah succeedeth him.* 23 *Pekahiah is slain by Pekah.* 27 *Pekah is oppressed by Tiglath-pileser, and slain by Hoshea.* 32 *Jotham's good reign.* 36 *Ahaz succeedeth him.*

IN the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Azariah son of Amaziah king of Judah to reign.

2 Sixteen years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Jecholiah of Jerusalem.

3 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah had done;

4 Save that the high places were not removed: the people sacrificed and burnt incense still on the high places.

5 ¶ And the LORD smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house. And Jotham the

CHAP. XV. 1. *In the twenty and seventh year.*] According to the numbers in 2 K. xiv. 2, 17, and 23, Azariah should have ascended the throne in Jeroboam's 14th year. (So Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 10, § 3.)

3. *He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord.*] Azariah not only maintained the worship of Jehovah, but was a good and religious monarch during the greater portion of his reign. See 2 Chr. xxvi. 4, 5. Becoming puffed up, however, with his military successes (see note on verse 6), he attempted to invade the high-priest's office, and forfeited God's favour for this sin, drawing down upon himself the judgment recorded in verse 5.

according to all that his father . . . had done.] Amaziah is, on the whole, reckoned among the good kings, though he was guilty of two great sins. (See 2 K. xiv. 3, and 2 Chr. xxv. 2, 14, 16.)

4. *The high places were not removed.*] Compare 1 K. iii. 2; xv. 14; xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3; xiv. 4.

5. *The Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper.*] The circumstances under which this terrible affliction befel one of the greatest of the Jewish kings, are given at some length by the author of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvi. 16-21), who supplies us with a tolerably full account of this important reign, which the writer of Kings dismisses in half-a-dozen verses. (See notes on 2 Chr. xxvi. 6-21.)

a several house.] "**A house of liberation.**" (See note at the end of the chapter.) Gesenius, Michaelis, and Winer understand a "hospital" or "infirmary." Keil and Professor Lee deny that the words can have this signification. The former translates "a house of liberation," the latter, "a house of

king's son *was* over the house, judging the people of the land.

6 And the rest of the acts of Azariah, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

7 So Azariah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

8 ¶ In the thirty and eighth year of Azariah king of Judah did Zachariah the son of Jeroboam reign over Israel in Samaria six months.

9 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, as his fathers had done: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.

10 And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him before the people, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.

11 And the rest of the acts of Zachariah, behold, they *are* written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

12 This *was* [d]the word of the LORD which he spake unto Jehu, saying, Thy sons shall sit on the throne of Israel unto the fourth *generation*. And so it came to pass.

[d] ch. 10. 30.

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retirement." On the necessity, under which the Law placed lepers, of living apart from other men, see note on 2 K. vii. 3.

over the house.] Over the "king's house" (2 Chr. xxvi. 21) or royal palace. Jotham, *i.e.* was regent in his father's room from the time that his father became a leper.

judging the people.] On the pre-eminence of this function over others, according to Oriental notions of a king, see note on 1 K. iii. 9.

6. *The rest of the acts of Azariah.*] The chief of these "acts" were recorded by Isaiah (2 Chr. xxvi. 22), and have come down to us in Chronicles. They comprised, besides the re-establishment of Elath (2 K. xiv. 22), 1. Successful wars (*a*) with the Philistines, which resulted in the capture and dismantling of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and in the planting of a number of Jewish colonies in the Philistine country—(*b*) with the Arabians of Gur-Baal—and (*c*) with the Mehunim or Maonites; 2. Extension of the power of Judah over Ammon; 3. Fortification of Jerusalem; 4. Extension of pasture and of agriculture towards the east and south, and protection of the agricultural and pastoral population by means of "towers;" 5. Reorganisation of the army; and 6. Construction of numerous engines for the attack and defence of towns. (See 2 Chr. xxvi. 6-15, and notes ad loc. Compare, for the flourishing condition of Judæa at this time, Is. ii. 7-16.)

7. *They buried him with his fathers.*] Not, however, in the tombs of the kings, or general catacomb of the royal house, but in another part of the same burial-ground (2 Chr. xxvi. 23).

8. *In the thirty and eighth year.*] According to the previous numbers (ch. xiv. 23, xv. 2), Zachariah should have begun to reign in the 27th year of Azariah. We must either read 27 for 38 here, or suppose an interregnum between Jeroboam and Zachariah, which, however, is very improbable.

10. *Before the people.*] Rather, "**before people**." Openly and publicly, that is, as Jehu, the founder of the dynasty, had slain his own predecessor Joram (2 K. ix. 24). The slaughter of Zachariah fulfilled the prophecy of Amos, that "God would rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword" (Am. vii. 9), and also that of Hosea, that Jehovah would "avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. i. 4). See note on 2 K. x. 30. The LXX. make the actual assassin a certain Keblaam, whose name they find in the words above translated "before the people." Ewald and Dean Stanley maintain the existence of this person, whom they regard as the real successor of Azariah. The only ground for this belief, beside the misinterpretation of the LXX., seems to be a statement in the late prophet, Zechariah, that God once "cut off three shepherds in one month" (xi. 8). These "three shepherds" are supposed to be Zachariah, Keblaam or Kobolam, and Shallum.

12. *This was the word of the Lord.*] This loss of the kingdom in the person of his fourth descendant was in exact accordance with the prediction of a prophet, probably Elisha, to Jehu, that his children should keep the throne *until* the fourth generation. (See 2 K. x. 30.)

13 ¶ Shallum the son of Jabesh began to reign in the nine and thirtieth year of [e] Uzziah king of Judah; and he reigned [†] a full month in Samaria.

14 For Menahem the son of Gadi went up from Tirzah, and came to Samaria, and smote Shallum the son of Jabesh in Samaria, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.

15 And the rest of the acts of Shallum, and his conspiracy which he made, behold, they *are* written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

16 ¶ Then Menahem smote Tiphsah, and all that *were* therein, and the coasts thereof from Tirzah: because they opened not *to him*, therefore he smote *it*; *and* all the women therein that were with child he ripped up.

17 In the nine and thirtieth year of Azariah king of Judah began Menahem the son of Gadi to reign over Israel, *and reigned* ten years in Samaria.

18 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not all his days from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.

19 *And* [f] Pul the king of Assyria

[e] Matt. 1. 9, called *Ozias*.
[†] Heb. *a month of days*.
[f] 1 Chron. 5. 26.

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13. *A full month.*] Literally, "a month of days"—*i. e.* a month with all its days complete.

14. *Went up from Tirzah.*] Tirzah, the old capital (1 K. xiv. 17; xvi. 8, 9, 15, 17, 23), here once more appears as a place of importance, giving birth to the pretender, who alone of all these later kings died a natural death, and left the crown to his son (see verse 22). The site of Tirzah is unknown. It would seem from the present passage to have been on lower ground than Samaria.

16. *Tiphsah.*] It has been argued that this cannot possibly be the Tiphsah of Solomon (1 K. iv. 24), which was on the Euphrates, and which is almost certainly the Greek Thapsacus (see note ad loc.), since Menahem could not, it is said, have extended his conquests to so great a distance. A second Tiphsah has therefore been imagined in the neighbourhood of Tirzah, which Menahem smote on his march from Tirzah to Samaria. But against this view must be objected, first, the absolute silence, not only of Scripture, but of all antiquity, with respect to a second Tiphsah; and secondly, the meaning of the word, which is "ford," or "passage," a name only appropriate to some much used crossing-place on a great river. With respect to the supposed inability of Menahem to lead an expedition to the Euphrates, we may note in the first place that such an expedition was a natural sequel to Jeroboam's occupation of Hamath (2 K. xiv. 28); and further, that it would have been greatly facilitated by the weakness of Assyria at this time, that empire having fallen into a state of depression about B.C. 780 ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 385, 386).

from Tirzah.] Setting forth, that is, from Tirzah—making that second capital, rather than Samaria, the starting point for his expedition.

all the women . . . with child he ripped up.] On the prevalence of such atrocious cruelties in the Oriental wars of this period, see note on 2 K. viii. 12.

19. *Pul, the King of Assyria.*] This is the first distinct mention which we find in Scripture of Assyria as an aggressive power. From the native monuments we learn that she had been now for above a century pushing her conquests beyond the Euphrates, and seeking to reduce under her dominion the entire tract between that river and Egypt. One great monarch had conquered Northern Syria, and forced Phœnicia to pay him tribute; another, his son (Shalmaneser II.), had invaded Southern Syria, reduced Hamath, ravaged the territory of Damascus, and received tribute from Jehu; a third, the grandson of this last, had taken Damascus itself, and claimed authority, not only over Phœnicia and Samaria, but over Philistia and Edom. It is even doubtful whether Judæa had not acknowledged Assyrian suzerainty, and consented that her monarchs should receive their investiture from the hands of the Ninevite king. (See note on 2 K. xiv. 5.) But hitherto there had been no hostile invasion of Jewish or Israelite soil by an Assyrian army; and so the sacred historian, to whom we may ascribe the natural feelings of a patriot, had allowed himself to maintain silence with respect to the encroachments of this hated and dreaded power. At length, however, an actual invasion took place—Pul "came against the land"—and it would have been no longer honest to maintain silence. The Assyrians are therefore now at last formally introduced into the history. A series of aggressions is related in this and the four

came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand.

† Heb. *caused to come forth.*

20 And Menahem †exacted the money of Israel, *even* of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land.

21 ¶ And the rest of the acts of Menahem, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

22 And Menahem slept with his fathers; and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead.

23 ¶ In the fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah the son of Menahem began to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* two years.

24 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.

25 But Pekah the son of Remaliah, a captain of his, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria, in the palace of the king's

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following chapters, culminating, on the one hand, in the destruction of the northern kingdom, on the other, in the complete failure of Sennacherib's attempt upon Judæa and Egypt.

With respect to the present expedition, there are certain difficulties. The name of Pul does not appear among the Assyrian monumental kings. It is even absent from the copies of the Assyrian Canon, which profess to give the entire list of monarchs from about B.C. 910 to B.C. 670. Assyria Proper, moreover, appears to have been in a state of depression for some forty years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, into which period this expedition must fall. Again, it is to be noted that Berosus, who mentioned Pul, called him a *Chaldæan*, and not an Assyrian, king. (Euseb.) These circumstances render it probable that, during the depression of the Ninevite line, a second monarchy was established upon the Euphrates, which claimed to be the true Assyria, and was recognised as such by the nations of Syria and Palestine; and that Pul was one of its kings. His invasion was probably provoked by Menahem's conquest of Thapsacus, which he would view as a wanton aggression upon his territory.

Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver.] This sum is undoubtedly larger than we should have expected, more especially if we compare it with the tribute of Hezekiah soon afterwards—300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold (2 K. xviii. 14); but it is not beyond the resources of such a State as Samaria at the period. The Assyrian king who took Damascus not long before this (see the preceding note) extorted from its monarch, according to his own account, 2300 talents of silver, and 20 talents of gold.

that his hand might be with him, &c.] Menahem's gift was intended to serve a double purpose. It was to procure him pardon for the past, and also to obtain for him the position of a recognised Assyrian feudatory. The tie which had bound Samaria to Assyria from the reign of Jehu to that of Jeroboam II., had ceased to exist during the period of Assyrian depression. Menahem now renewed it, undertaking the duties of a tributary, and expecting the support and assistance which the great paramount State of Asia was accustomed to lend to her dependencies in their struggles with their neighbours. Hence the reproaches of Hosea, who sees in this submission of "Ephraim" an unfaithful reliance on "an arm of flesh," which was at once foolish and wicked. (See Hos. v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9.)

20. *Menahem exacted the money.*] The kings of Israel had no such ready resource in difficulties as that possessed by the kings of Judah in the Temple treasury. (See 1 K. xv. 18; 2 K. xii. 18; xvi. 8; xviii. 15.) Hence, in a strait like the present, it was necessary to exact a forced contribution from the people. Menahem seems to have endeavoured to diminish the odium of such a proceeding by confining his levy to the comparatively rich.

each man fifty shekels.] As the silver talent contained 3000 shekels, the levy of fifty shekels a head must have extended to 60,000 persons.

21. *The rest of the acts of Menahem.*] The Assyrian inscriptions show that Menahem was subsequently reduced to subjection by Tiglath-Pileser, who made an expedition into Syria in the early part of his reign, an expedition not noticed in Scripture. Tiglath-Pileser was king of Assyria Proper, and reigned at Nineveh.

25. *A captain of his.*] A mere "captain," a person, therefore, of very moderate rank. The low birth of Pekah is probably glanced at in Isaiah's favourite designation of him as "Remaliah's son." (Is. vii. 4, 5, 9; viii. 6.)

house, with Argob and Arieh, and with him fifty men of the Gileadites: and he killed him, and reigned in his room.

26 And the rest of the acts of Pekahiah, and all that he did, behold, they *are* written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

27 ¶ In the two and fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* twenty years.

28 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.

29 In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and

in the palace of the king's house.] Rather, "In the tower of the king's palace;" or possibly, "in the *harem* of the king's palace." See note on 1 K. xvi. 18.

with Argob and Arieh.] It is not quite clear whether Argob and Arieh were joint conspirators with Pekah, or friends of Pekahiah involved in his destruction. Perhaps it is best to take the latter view.

fifty men of the Gileadites.] The LXX. translate "fifty men of the 400," as if there had been a recognised body of troops (guards?) consisting of that number. From the fact that Pekah employed Gileadites to carry out his designs, it has been conjectured that he himself belonged to the Trans-Jordanic region.

29. *Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria.*] This is the first mention that we have in Scripture of an Assyrian king distinctly to be recognised in the monuments of the country. Hosea's "king Jareb" (v. 13; x. 6) is a doubtful personage, perhaps the produce of a mistranslation; his Shalman (x. 14) is probably Shalmaneser IV., Tiglath-Pileser's successor; Pul (as already observed) was not a king of Assyria Proper. Tiglath-Pileser thus stands among the Assyrian monarchs of Scripture where Shishak stands among the Egyptian ones—he is the first whom we can certainly identify with a known monumental king. The Assyrian Canon gives us Tiglat-pal-zira as reigning from B.C. 745 to B.C. 727; and the other monuments show us at this period an energetic and powerful prince of the name, who builds and repairs palaces, levies armies, and carries on successful wars in almost every quarter. The king in question appears to be a usurper, since (contrary to the usual practice) he never mentions his father's name. He contends with Merodach-Baladan in Babylonia, with Rezin at Damascus, with Menahem in Samaria, with a Hiram at Tyre. He wars also against the Medes, the Armenians; the natives of Northern Mesopotamia, and the Arabs who border upon Egypt. He is evidently a great monarch, one who raises his country once more into the proud position from which it had fallen about forty or fifty years before his accession. His name, which had been borne by another conquering Assyrian monarch about four centuries earlier, is composed of the elements *tiglat*, "adoration" (compare Chald. *t'kal*, "to trust in"), *pal*, "son," and *zira*, a word of uncertain meaning. It is well expressed by the Hebrew form of Kings, Tiglath-pileser; but corruptly by that of Chronicles (1 Chr. v. 6, 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 20), Tilgath-pilneser.

Ijon and Abel-beth-maachah.] On the position of these towns, see note on 1 K. xv. 20.

Janoah.] This city must not be confounded with the Janohah (or rather Janochah) of Josh. xvi. 6, which is the modern *Yanûn*, 10 or 12 miles S.E. of Nablûs. Janoah must have been in the neighbourhood of Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, and Kedesh, which are all in Northern Galilee, near the *Bahr-el-Huleh*, or Sea of Merom. From the place occupied by the name in our list, it would seem to be most probable that the town lay *between* Abel-beth-maachah and Kedesh. Exactly in this position are the remains of "an ancient fortress of great strength," and a modern village called *Hunin*. These it has been proposed to identify with Beth-Rehob (Robinson, 'Later Researches,' p. 371); but they are at least as likely to be the remains of Janoah.

Kedesh and Hazor.] On the situation of these places, see notes on Josh. xix. 36 and 37.

Gilead.] Some commentators (as Keil and Thenius) consider that the word "Gilead" is to be here taken in its widest sense, as the name of the whole Trans-Jordanic territory, since they regard this as the expedition to which reference is made in 1 Chr. v. 26. Others, as Gesenius, would limit the term in this place to a small district of Peræa, lying to the east of Lake Merom. This dis-

Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.

30 And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah.

31 And the rest of the acts of Pekah, and all that he did, behold, *they are* written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

32 ¶ In the second year of Pekah the son of Remaliah king of Israel began [a] Jotham the son of Uzziah king of Judah to reign.

[a] 2 Chron. 27. 1.

33 Five and twenty years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Jerusha, the daughter of Zadok.

34 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD: he did according to all that his father Uzziah had done.

35 ¶ Howbeit the high places were not removed: the people sacrificed and burned incense still in the high places. He built the higher gate of the house of the LORD.

36 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

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trict was in later times known as Gaulanitis; and it is remarkable that the LXX. have in this place, not Gilead (Γαλαάδ), but Galaan (Γαλαάν). The narrower acceptation seems to be rendered necessary by the concluding clause of the present enumeration, "all the land of Naphtali," which, standing as it does without a connective, must apply to all the places previously mentioned. This view requires us to suppose two expeditions of Tiglath-Pileser against Pekah, one, that mentioned here, in which he carried Naphtali into captivity; another, that recorded in Chronicles, in which he ravaged the Trans-Jordanic territory and deported its population, consisting of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh. The two expeditions seem to be mentioned, and contrasted together, by Isaiah (ix. 1). In the first the Assyrians "lightly afflicted the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali;" in the second they "more grievously afflicted" the Trans-Jordanic region. For the details of the second war, which is described at some length in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser's, see note on 2 K. xvi. 9.

30. *Hoshea, the son of Elah.*] One of Pekah's friends, according to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 13, § 1).

in the twentieth year of Jotham.] According to verse 33, which is confirmed by 2 Chr. xxvii. 1, Jotham reigned only sixteen years. It is suggested that what is here called his twentieth year was really the fourth year of his son Ahaz, and that it is called Jotham's twentieth year because Ahaz had not hitherto been mentioned. (Ussher, Keil.) But, strangely enough, this first year of Hoshea is also called, not the fourth, but the twelfth of Ahaz (2 K. xvii. 1). The chronological confusion of the history, as it stands, is striking.

Uzziah.] *I. e.* Azariah. See verses 1-4.

31. *The rest of the acts of Pekah.*] On these, see note on verse 5 of the next chapter.

32. The writer here resumes the history of Judah from verse 7, and follows it through the two reigns of Jotham and Ahaz (ch. xv. 32-38; xvi. 1-20), resuming and concluding the history of Israel in ch. xvii.

34. *He did according to all that his father Uzziah had done.*] See above, verse 3. The author of Chronicles adds, "Howbeit he entered not into the temple of the Lord;" *i. e.* he imitated his father in all respects, excepting in his impious usurpation of the priestly functions. See above, verse 5, note.

35. *He built the higher gate.*] Jotham followed the example of his father in military, no less than in religious, matters. As Uzziah "built towers in Jerusalem" (2 Chr. xxvi. 9), so Jotham "built the high gate of the Temple, and on the wall of Ophel he built much" (2 Chr. xxvii. 3). The "higher" or "upper gate" of the Temple is thought to have been that towards the north; and its fortification would seem to indicate fear of an attack from that quarter.

36. *The rest of the acts of Jotham.*] A few of these are mentioned in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvii.) "He built cities in the mountains of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers" (verse 4); here again continuing the policy of his father, who had "built towers in the desert, and digged many wells" (ib. xxvi. 10). Jotham

37 In those days the LORD began to send against Judah Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah.
38 And Jotham slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

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further put down a rebellion of the Ammonites, and punished it by the imposition of an increased tribute for the space of three years. (2 Chr. xxvii. 5.) He appears to have been engaged also in wars with Pekah and Rezin. (See the next verse, and compare 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, where the writer speaks of "all his wars.")

37. *In those days.*] It appears by this that the alliance between Pekah and Rezin was made in the reign of Jotham. It had for its object in all probability the consolidation of a power in Syria which might be strong enough to resist the further progress of the Assyrian arms. The recent invasions of Pul and Tiglath-Pileser had effectually alarmed the two northern monarchs, and had induced them to put aside the traditional jealousies which naturally kept them apart, and to make a league offensive and defensive. Into this league they were anxious that Judæa should enter; but they distrusted the house of David, which had been so long hostile both to Damascus and to Samaria. They consequently formed the design of transferring the Jewish crown to a certain Ben-Tabeal (Is. vii. 6), probably a Jewish noble, perhaps a refugee at one of their courts, whom they could trust to join heartily in their schemes. Hostilities apparently broke out before the death of Jotham; but nothing of importance was effected until the first year of his successor. (See note on 2 K. xvi. 5.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 5.

"A several house."

Gesenius gives to חפשׁ the meaning of "to be weak, feeble," and to חפשׁות or חפשׁית the meaning of "weakness, infirmity, disease;" but it is denied that there is any ground for these meanings, either in Hebrew or in the cognate Arabic (Keil). The root חפשׁ seems to have the single meaning "to be free," whence חפשׁה, or חפשׁית, "freedom," and חפשׁי, "free."

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Ahaz's wicked reign.* 5 *Ahaz, assailed by Rezin and Pekah, hireth Tiglath-pileser against them.* 10 *Ahaz, sending a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Urijah, diverteth the brasen altar to his own devotion.* 17 *He spoileth the temple.* 19 *Hezekiah succeedeth him.*

IN the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah [b] Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to reign.

[b] 2 Chron. 28. 1.

2 Twenty years old *was* Ahaz when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem, and did not *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD his God, like David his father.

3 But he walked in the way of

CHAP. XVI. 2. *Ahaz . . . did not that which was right in the sight of the Lord.*] Ahaz's apostacy seems to have commenced with the very first year of his reign. He was the worst of all the kings of Judah. We need not suppose that all the idolatrous practices enumerated in verses 3 and 4 preceded the invasion of his territory by Rezin and Pekah (verse 5); but it is plain from 2 Chr. xxviii. 5 that some were anterior to it.

3. *He walked in the way of the kings of Israel.*] The meaning is not that he set up calves, which we can scarcely suppose him to have done; but, as the writer of Chronicles explains, "he made molten images for Baalim." He imitated, *i.e.*, the worst of the Israelite kings—Ahab and Ahaziah,—by a re-introduction of the Baal worship, which had been rooted out of Israel by Jehu, and of Judah by Jehoiada.

the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of Israel.

4 And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.

5 ¶ [c]Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome *him*.

[c] Isai. 7. 1.

6 At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the

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and made his son to pass through the fire.] In Chronicles we are told that he "burnt his *children* (sons) in the fire" (2 Chr. xxviii. 3); but the plural form is perhaps only a sort of Pleonasm. The fact which seems to be certain is, that Ahaz adopted the Moloch worship of the Ammonites and Moabites, and sacrificed at least one son, probably his firstborn, according to the horrid rites of those nations. A king of Moab had once done the same when he found himself in a sore strait (2 K. iii. 27). Another had expressed his willingness so to appease his god (Mic. vi. 7). Hitherto, apparently, the Jews had been guiltless of the abomination. They had been warned against it by Moses (Lev. xviii. 21; Deut. xviii. 10); if (as some think) they had practised it in the wilderness (Ezek. xx. 26; Am. v. 26), the sin must have been rare and exceptional, for it is unnoticed in the direct narrative; from the date of their entrance into the Promised Land they had wholly put it away. Now, however, as the time of more searching trial approached, as dangers thickened, and the national existence was seen to be in peril, the awful rite seems to have exercised a fatal fascination upon them. Unnoticed among the national sins by the earlier prophets, it comes in Jeremiah and Ezekiel to be one of the offences most frequently protested against (Jer. vii. 31, 32; xix. 2-6; xxxii. 35; Ezek. xvi. 20; xx. 26; xxiii. 37, &c.). Another king besides Ahaz sacrifices the heir-apparent to the throne (2 K. xxi. 6). The people follow the example with fatal eagerness, and the Hinnom valley swims with the blood of human victims. The cruel custom is practised in both kingdoms. (2 K. xvii. 17.) It has been suggested that the cause of its sudden appearance, and great prevalence from the time of Ahaz to the close of the Jewish kingdom, is to be found in the influence of Assyria (Movers, Keil), which now first came to be much felt in Palestine. But there is no evidence that the Assyrians had any such custom as that here in question, or any human sacrifices at all. They had no god Moloch, although of course almost any god might bear the title of *melech*, "king." Moloch in Scripture is always connected with Ammon; and there seems to be no real ground for doubting that it was from this quarter—from Ammon and Moab—that the Jews and Israelites of the period to which we are now come adopted the practice of "causing their children to pass though the fire."

the heathen whom the Lord cast out.] The rite, which in later times seems peculiar to the Moabites and Ammonites, had before the exodus been common to all the Canaanite tribes. (See Deut. xii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37, 38.) It probably existed in Phœnicia, since we find it practised at Carthage. (Diod. Sic. xx. 14; Augustin. 'Civ. Dei,' vii. 19.)

4. *He sacrificed in the high places.*] Other kings of Judah had allowed their people to sacrifice and burn incense in the high places (1 K. iii. 2; xiv. 23; xv. 14; xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3; xiv. 4; xv. 4, 35). Ahaz was the first, so far as we know, to countenance the practice by his own example.

5. *Then Rezin . . and Pekah . . came up.*] Rezin and Pekah, who had already begun their attacks upon Judæa in the reign of Jotham (2 K. xv. 37), regarded the accession of a boy-king, only sixteen years of age, as peculiarly favourable to their projects, and proceeded without loss of time to carry them out. The earlier scenes of the war, omitted by the writer of Kings, are given at some length in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxviii. 5-15). The confederates, it appears, acted separately. Rezin in one quarter, Pekah in another, invaded the kingdom. A great battle was fought with each. In both engagements the Jews were defeated, and lost numerous prisoners. In the battle with Pekah the slain numbered (if the text be correct) 120,000. The country was then ravaged by Pekah, and women and children to the number of 200,000 were carried off. These, however, were, by the advice of the prophet Oded, restored. Siege was then laid to Jerusalem by the allies in common, as related in the present passage (comp. Is. vii. 1); but the siege was unsuccessful, the defences raised by Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 9) and Jotham (ib. xxvii. 3) proving too strong for the besiegers, who, probably at the close of the military season, retired.

6. *At that time Rezin . . recovered Elath to Syria.*] Either during the siege, or on breaking up from before Jerusalem, Rezin

Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day.

7 So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I *am* thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.

8 And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent *it for* a present to the king of Assyria.

9 And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against †Damascus, and took it, and carried *the people of* it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.

† Heb. *Damesek.*

10 ¶ And king Ahaz went to

made an expedition to the Red Sea coast, and driving the Jews out of Elath, became master of the city, which had belonged to Judæa since its occupation by Uzziah, about seventy years previously (2 K. xiv. 22). This conquest cannot properly be termed a "recovery" of Elath to Syria, since the Syrians had never before penetrated so far south. We must either translate "Rezin *gained* Elath for Syria," or alter the reading and render "Rezin recovered (or restored) Elath to Edom." Keil maintains that the verb *hêshib* "does not necessarily imply a previous possession," and prefers the former rendering. But most moderns (Michaelis, Dathe, Geddes, Thenius) prefer the latter.

the Syrians came to Elath.] Read, "The **Edomites** came to Elath." Here all agree that the common text must be altered and the marginal emendation (*Edomim* for *Aromim*) adopted. (On the resemblance of Aram and Edom in the original, see note on 1 K. xi. 25.)

7. *So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser.*] Ahaz had lost the flower of his troops in the two battles on which he had ventured; he was threatened on all sides, on the north by the two confederates, who might be expected shortly to renew their attack; on the south-east by Edom (2 Chr. xxviii. 17), which, having recovered its freedom, was anxious to make reprisals on its oppressor; on the south-west by the Philistines (ib. verse 18), who were bent on revenging the disasters suffered at the hands of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). To these external dangers was added the still greater peril of disaffection at home. A large party in Judah was "weary" of the house of David (Is. vii. 13), and ready to join the confederacy (ib. viii. 6, 12), and to accept for king "the son of Tabeal." Ahaz saw no hope of safety unless he could obtain a powerful protector; and, Egypt being particularly weak at this time, no protector offered himself except the king of Assyria.

8. *Ahaz took the silver and gold, &c.*] Ahaz imitated in this the example of previous kings, as of Asa (1 K. xv. 18) and Joash (2 K. xii. 18). Political necessity was always held to justify the devotion of the temple treasure to secular purposes. (See below, ch. xviii. 15, 16.)

9. *The king of Assyria hearkened unto him.*] Tiglath-pileser felt how important it was to take advantage of dissensions among the tribes over which he was anxious to extend his sway. The complete subjugation of Samaria and Damascus would be greatly facilitated by the support of Judæa. Assyria, moreover, was now feeling her way towards Egypt. The submission of Judah, which Ahaz proffered, would be of the utmost importance in connection with any projects that might be entertained of Egyptian conquests.

the king of Assyria went up against Damascus.] Naturally, Damascus was the first object of attack. It was the head of the confederacy, and it lay nearest to an army descending upon Lower Syria, as all Asiatic armies must descend, from the north. It appears from an inscription of Tiglath-pileser's, that Rezin met him in the field, was defeated, and slain. An attack upon Pekah followed. Now probably it was that the entire Trans-Jordanic region was overrun, and the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, carried into captivity (1 Chr. v. 26). Megiddo and Dor appear also to have been occupied, and the Arabs of the south chastised. Tiglath-pileser then returned to Damascus, where a son of Rezin had assumed the crown, besieged and took the city, and punished Rezin's son with death. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 398, 399.)

Kir.] Kir is mentioned by Amos (ix. 7) as the country from which the Syrians originally came. It is joined by Isaiah (xxii. 6) with Elam or Elymais. Its position can only be conjectured. Perhaps the word is a variant for *Kis* or *Kish*, another form of Kush (compare the Κισσία of Herodotus), and designates a region adjoining Elymais, in the extreme south-eastern limits of Assyria. The Assyrians constantly transported captives across the whole breadth of their empire. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 423.) This deportation of the Damascene Syrians had been prophesied by Amos (i. 5).

10 *Ahaz went to Damascus.*] Before

Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw an altar that *was* at Damascus: and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it, according to all the workmanship thereof.

11 And Urijah the priest built an altar according to all that king Ahaz had sent from Damascus: so Urijah the priest made *it* against king Ahaz came from Damascus.

12 And when the king was come from Damascus, the king saw the altar: and the king approached to the altar, and offered thereon.

13 And he burnt his burnt offering and his meat offering, and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled the blood of †his peace offerings, upon the altar.

† Heb. *which* were *his*.

14 And he brought also the brasen altar, which *was* before the LORD, from the forefront of the house, from between the altar and the house of the LORD, and put it on the north side of the altar.

15 And king Ahaz commanded Urijah the priest, saying, Upon the great altar burn the morning burnt offering, and the evening meat offering, and the king's burnt sacrifice, and

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quitting Syria Tiglath-pileser appears by one of his inscriptions to have held a court at Damascus, to which it is probable that the tributary kings of the neighbourhood were summoned to pay their tributes and do homage for their kingdoms. Among the tributes brought to him at this time, those of Judæa, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Gaza, Ascalon, Tyre, and Arvad (Aradus) are mentioned.

and saw an altar that was at Damascus.] Rather, "**The** altar." It has been generally supposed that this altar was Syrian, and that its imitation by Ahaz was connected with that worship of Syrian deities which the writer of Chronicles ascribes to him (2 Chr. xxviii. 23). But it seems more likely that the altar was really Assyrian, and was connected with that recognition of the Assyrian deities which the Ninevite monarchs appear to have required of all the nations whom they received into their empire. The Assyrian kings took altars with them on their expeditions, as is evident from some of the sculptures. (See 'Biblical Dictionary,' vol. ii. p. 54.) It was their practice to set up, wherever they extended their sway, "altars to the Great Gods." ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 531.) Sometimes they built temples, and left priests to carry on the worship; but in general they were content with some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria (such as the erection of an altar after the Assyrian pattern in the national sanctuary would have been) on the part of the subject nations.

the fashion of the altar.] Assyrian altars were not very elaborate, but they were very different from Jewish ones. They were comparatively small, and scarcely suited for "whole burnt-offerings." One type was square, about half the height of a man, and ornamented round the top with a sort of battlement. Another had a triangular base and a circular top consisting of a single flat stone. A third was a sort of portable stand, narrow, and about the height of a man. This last is the sort which the kings took with them in their expeditions. It is represented in an engraving, above referred to ('Bibl. Dict.,' vol. ii. p. 54). The other types are represented in the same work, vol. i. p. 55.

12. *The king . . . offered thereon.*] Compare above, 1 K. iii. 4, where see note; viii. 5, 62, 63; and below, verse 15.

13. *He burnt his burnt-offering.*] His "*whole* burnt-offering" (*τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν αὐτοῦ*, LXX.). The altar of Ahaz, it appears, was made on a scale sufficiently large for this purpose.

14. *The brasen altar.*] *I.e.* the altar made by Solomon, which was 20 cubits in length, 20 in breadth, and 10 in height. (See 2 Chr. iv. 1.)

which was before the Lord.] Hitherto the brasen altar had, it seems, occupied a position directly in front of the temple porch, which it exactly equalled in width. Now Ahaz removed the brasen altar from this place, and gave the honourable position to his new altar, which he designed to supersede the old for all ordinary purposes. (See verse 15.) Not venturing, however, to discard Solomon's altar altogether, he removed it to the north side of the court, placing it between his new altar and the north wall.

from between the altar.] Urijah, having received no official directions, had placed the new altar in front of the old, between it and the eastern gate of the court. Ahaz consequently on his arrival found the brasen altar "between the (new) altar and the house of the Lord."

15. *Burn, &c.*] It is evident from the

his meat offering, with the burnt offering of all the people of the land, and their meat offering, and their drink offerings; and sprinkle upon it all the blood of the burnt offering, and all the blood of the sacrifice: and the brasen altar shall be for me to enquire *by*.

16 Thus did Urijah the priest, according to all that king Ahaz commanded.

17 ¶ And king Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them; and took down the sea from off the brasen oxen that *were* under it, and put it upon a pavement of stones.

18 And the covert for the sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the LORD for the king of Assyria.

19 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Ahaz which he did, *are* they not

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injunctions here given that the new altar was to supersede the old one in all respects, all the offerings which the Mosaic law prescribed being offered upon it. (See Ex. xxix. 38-42; Num. xxviii. 3-31; xxix. 2-39.)

the brasen altar shall be for me to enquire by.] So Jarchi and Seb. Schmidt; but the bulk of modern commentators (Michaelis, De Wette, Dathe, Gesenius, Keil) translate—"As for the brasen altar, it will be for me to inquire (or consider) what I shall do with it."

16. *Thus did Urijah, &c.*] In these emphatic words the writer condemns the obsequiousness of Urijah, whose conduct was the more inexcusable after the noble example of resistance to wrongly exercised authority which had been set him by his predecessor, Azariah (2 Chr. xxvi. 17-20).

17. *Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases.*] The "bases" were the stands of the ten brasen lavers, which Hiram the smith made for Solomon, and which Solomon placed outside the temple, five on either side of the entrance. (See above, 1 K. vii. 39.) The "borders" of the bases were ornamental panels, on which were carved figures of lions, oxen, and cherubim (ib. verse 29). The detaching of these "borders" from the stands, the taking down of the lavers, and the removal of the brasen sea from off the backs of the oxen, were probably not mere wanton acts of mutilation, but steps in the conversion of these sacred objects to other uses, as to the ornamentation of a palace or of an idol temple (Keil). Neither the bases, nor the oxen, nor the sea were destroyed—they remained at Jerusalem till its final capture (Jer. lii. 17, 20). Probably they were restored to their original uses by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 19).

the sea—the oxen.] Compare 1 K. vii. 23-26.

put it upon a pavement of stones.] Either on a pavement made expressly to receive the sea, or on the floor of the court—probably the former—for the stones of the court seem to have been covered with a planking of cedar. (See 1 K. vi. 36; vii. 12.)

18. *The covert for the sabbath that they had built.*] A canopied seat for the king and his family when they attended public worship on the sabbath is probably intended.

in the house.] By "*the* house" we must understand "the temple." The "covert" stood no doubt in the inner court of the temple.

the king's entry without.] This would seem to have been a private passage by which the king crossed the outer court to the east gate of the inner court when he visited the temple. (See Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2.)

turned he from the house of the Lord for the king of Assyria.] This passage is very obscure. Ewald and Thenius translate—"altered he in the house of the Lord, because of the king of Assyria," supposing the "covert" and the "passage" to have been of rich materials, and Ahaz to have taken them to eke out his "presents to the king of Assyria" (verse 8). Others (Dathe, Maurer, Keil) render, "removed he into the house of the Lord from fear of the king of Assyria."

19. *The rest of the acts of Ahaz.*] Among other recorded acts of Ahaz are his proud and faithless refusal of "a sign," when God by the mouth of Isaiah bade him ask for one (Is. vii. 10-13); his discontinuance of the temple worship, and shutting up of the temple itself (2 Chr. xxviii. 24; xxix. 3, 7), his destruction of the sacred vessels (ib.); his erection of altars to false gods in every corner of Jerusalem, and in every several city of Judah (ib. xxviii. 25); and his sacrificing to

written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

20 And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

the gods of Damascus that they might help him (ib. verse 23). The first and last of these offences belonged to the early part of his reign; the others were among his latest practices, and had to be reversed by his successor in the kingdom. (2 K. xviii. 4; 2 Chr. xxix. 3, 19.)

20. *Ahaz . . . . was buried with his fathers.*] Not, however, in the sepulchres of the kings. (See 2 Chr. xxviii. 27.)

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Hoshea's wicked reign.* 3 *Being subdued by Shalmaneser, he conspireth against him with So king of Egypt.* 5 *Samaria for their sins is captivated.* 24 *The strange nations, which were transplanted in Samaria, being plagued with lions, make a mixture of religions.*

IN the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah began Hoshea the son of Elah to reign in Samaria over Israel nine years.

2 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, but not as the kings of Israel that were before him.

3 ¶ Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and †gave him ‖presents.

† Heb. *rendered.* ‖ Or, *tribute.*

4 And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt,

CHAP. XVII. The history of the kingdom of Israel is in this chapter brought to a close. The chapter divides itself into three portions: 1. (verses 1 to 6) The reign of Hoshea, terminating in the captivity of Israel; 2. (verses 7 to 23) A justification by the writer of the ways of God in this matter; 3. (verses 24 to 41) An account of the new colonists brought by the Assyrians into the Samaritan country.

1. *In the twelfth year.*] Compare ch. xv. 30, and note ad loc.

2. *Not as the kings of Israel that were before him.*] The repentance of a nation, like that of an individual, may be "too late." God is long-suffering; but after national sins have reached a certain height, after admonitions and warnings have been repeatedly rejected, after lesser punishments have failed, the fiat seems to go forth. Judgment begins to fall; calamity comes in like a flood; the case is desperate. Attempted repentances, shallow and half-hearted, do not serve to arrest punishment. Forces have been set in motion, which nothing but a miracle could stop; and God does not see fit to work a miracle in such a case. (Compare Butler, 'Analogy,' Pt. I. ch. ii. sub fin.)

3. *Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.*] The reign of Shalmaneser follows that of Tiglath-pileser in the Assyrian Canon, but we know little of him from Assyrian sources, since his records have been mutilated by his successors, the Sargonids, who were of a wholly different family. From Menander we learn that the archives of Tyre contained a distinct mention of him as contemporary with a Tyrian king named Elulæus, and as having been engaged in certain wars with that monarch. ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 14, § 2.)

gave him presents.] Or, "**rendered him tribute**" (marg.) The marginal translation is to be preferred, as appears distinctly by the next verse. (Compare 1 K. iv. 21, and note ad loc.) This expedition was probably in the first year of Shalmaneser, which seems to have been B.C. 727. Its main object was the reduction of Phœnicia, which had reasserted its independence, but (except the island Tyre) was once more completely reduced. (Menand. ap. Joseph. l. s. c.) Shalmaneser probably passed on from Phœnicia into Galilee, where he attacked and took Beth-arbel (Arbela of Josephus, now *Irbid*), treating it with great severity (Hos. x. 14), in order to alarm Hoshea, who forthwith submitted, and became tributary. Shalmaneser then returned into Assyria.

4. *He had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt.*] So, king of Egypt, is generally identified with Shebek, the Sabaco of Herodotus. The Hebrew name is not so different from Shebek as it appears, since by a different pointing it might be read as *Savah*, or *Seveh*. (See note A at the end of the chapter.) It is objected to the identification, that Sabaco did

and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as *he had done* year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison.

5 ¶ Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years.

6 ¶ [a]In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor [a] ch. 18. 10.

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not reign so early, since Manetho places him but twenty-four years before Tirhakah, whose first year is proved by the Apis *stelæ* to be B.C. 690, or a very little earlier. But the Apis *stelæ* show us that Manetho's numbers are sometimes wrong; and it is not at all improbable that one or both of the two reigns which precede Tirhakah's were longer than Manetho stated. If we allow average reigns (say of twenty years) to Shebek and his successor, the accession of the former would be B.C. 730. Hoshea's application in this quarter was a return to a policy which had been successful in the reign of Jeroboam I., but had not been resorted to by any other Israelite monarch. Egypt had for many years been weak, and seemed to have relinquished the idea of exercising any influence in Syria. But Sabaco's accession may well have inaugurated a new policy. He was a conqueror, who at the head of the swarthy hordes of Ethiopia had invaded Egypt and made himself master of the country. (Herod. ii. 137.) Like other founders of dynasties, as Shishak and Psammetichus, he would be likely to revive the old Egyptian claims on Syria, and to take advantage of any opening that offered, in order to reassert those sovereign rights, which Egypt never forgot, though she had often to let them remain in abeyance. In the inscriptions of Shebek he boasts to have received tribute from "the king of *Shara*" (Syria), which is probably his mode of noticing Hoshea's application. References to the Egyptian proclivities of Hoshea are frequent in the Prophet Hosea (vii. 11; ix. 3, 6; xii. 1; &c.)

and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year.] Rather, "and **sent not up his tribute** to the king of Assyria year after year." Simultaneously with his reception as a vassal by Sabaco, Hoshea ceased to pay tribute to Shalmaneser, thus openly rebelling, and provoking the chastisement which followed.

5. *The king of Assyria came up throughout all the land.*] The second invasion of Shalmaneser, which fell in B.C. 723, Shalmaneser's fifth year, is here contrasted with the first, as extending to the *whole* country, whereas that had afflicted only a part.

three years.] From the fourth to the sixth of Hezekiah, and from the seventh to the ninth of Hoshea (2 K. xviii. 9, 10); two years, therefore, according to our reckoning, but three, according to the inclusive reckoning of the Hebrews. This was a long time for so small a place to resist the Assyrians; but Samaria was favourably situated on a steep isolated hill, and was no doubt defended with desperation. It is also possible that Sabaco may have made some attempts to relieve his vassal, which may have helped to prolong the siege. And the war with the island Tyre, which was certainly going on at the time (Menand. ap. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 14, § 2), must have distracted Shalmaneser's efforts and prevented the siege from being properly pressed. Moreover, there is reason to believe that before the capture was effected a revolt broke out at Nineveh (see the next note), which must have claimed Shalmaneser's chief attention, though it did not induce him to abandon his enterprise.

6. *The king of Assyria took Samaria.*] The king of Assyria who took Samaria appears by the Assyrian inscriptions not to have been Shalmaneser, but Sargon. At least this monarch claims to have captured the city in the first year of his reign, which was B.C. 721 according to the Canon of Ptolemy, the very year of this capture, according to the Hebrew numbers. It will be observed that the writer of Kings does not say that Shalmaneser took Samaria, but only that "the king of Assyria" did so; and in ch. xviii. 10 he is still more cautious; for, having stated that "Shalmaneser came up against Samaria and besieged it," he adds, that "at the end of three years *they* took it."

carried Israel away into Assyria.] At first Sargon carried off from Samaria no more than 27,280 prisoners ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 410), and was so far from depopulating the country that he assessed the tribute on the remaining inhabitants at the same rate as before the conquest. But there is reason to believe that later in his reign he effected the wholesale deportation here mentioned. It was a practice familiar to him in all his wars (ibid. p. 423); and that he exercised it on Samaria seems to be implied in a statement contained in his inscriptions, that he settled a number of Arabians in that country. (Ibid. p. 415.) He was also, so far as we know, the only Assyrian monarch who colonized Media. (See the last note on this verse.)

Halah.] The connection of Halah, both here and in 1 Chr. v. 26, with Gozan and

by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

7 For *so* it was, that the children of Israel had sinned against the LORD their God, which had brought them up out of the land of Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and had feared other gods,

8 And walked in the statutes of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of Israel, and of the kings of Israel, which they had made.

9 And the children of Israel did secretly *those* things that *were* not right against the LORD their God,

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the Habor, shews almost beyond a doubt that it is the tract which Ptolemy calls Chălcitis ('Geograph.' v. 18) and which he places on the borders of Gauzanitis (Gozan) in the vicinity of the Chaboras, or *Khabour*. In this region is a remarkable mound called *Gla* (Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 312, note), which probably marks the site, and represents the name, of the city Chălach, whence the district Chalcitis was so called.

in Habor by the river of Gozan.] Rather, "**on the** Habor, the river of Gozan." The great affluent of the Euphrates, the western Khabour, is no doubt intended. This stream, which is often mentioned under the same name in the Assyrian inscriptions, is pre-eminently "the river of Gozan" (Gauzanitis), all the waters of which it collects and conducts to the Euphrates.

Gozan.] Gozan is mentioned, not only in three passages in combination with Halah and the Habor (comp. 2 K. xviii. 11 and 1 Chr. v. 26), but also in a fourth in combination with Haran (2 K. xix. 12). Its identity with Gauzanitis follows almost necessarily from the fact that in this region only are all the four names combined.

in the cities of the Medes.] Sargon relates that he overran Media, seized and "annexed to Assyria" a number of the towns, and also established in the country a set of fortified posts or colonies.

7. *For so it was, that.*] Rather, "**And** so it was, **because**." The writer proceeds to assign the reasons for which God suffered the Israelites to be deprived of their land and carried into captivity. He finds them—1, in their idolatries; 2, in their rejection of the law; and 3, in their disregard of the warning voices of prophets and seers, whom God had raised up from time to time in order to recall them, if possible, from their evil ways.

which had brought them up, &c.] This is mentioned as aggravating their guilt. Idolatry was worse in the Israelites than in other nations, since it argued not merely folly and a gross carnal spirit, but also black ingratitude. Compare the first commandment —"I am Jehovah thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me." (Ex. xx. 2, 3.)

8. Here the writer subdivides the idolatries of the Israelites into two classes, heathen and native—those which they adopted from the nations whom they drove out, and those which their kings imposed on them. Under the former head would come the great mass of their idolatrous usages—the "high places" (verses 9 and 11), the "images" and "groves" (verse 10), the causing of their children to "pass through the fire" (verse 17), the "worship of the host of heaven" (verse 16), and the use of "divination and enchantments" (verse 17); under the latter would fall the desertion of Jehovah (verse 21), the setting up of the calves (verses 12, 16), and the worship of Baal (verse 16), which, though an old Canaanite practice (Judg. ii. 13; iii. 7; x. 6; &c.), had been wholly laid aside before the separation of the two kingdoms, and was re-introduced among the Israelites by Ahab.

walked in the statutes of the heathen.] Contrary to the express commands of God to them in Lev. xviii. 3; Deut. xii. 4, 31; xviii. 9; &c. The exact words of Lev. xvii. 3 are followed.

whom the Lord cast out.] As God had "cast out" the Canaanites from their land on account of those very abominations which the Israelites adopted from them (see Lev. xviii. 25; xx. 23; Deut. ix. 4; &c.), the latter could not complain if they were "cast out" in their turn.

which they had made.] "Which" refers to "statutes." The Israelites had "walked in the statutes of the heathen, and in those of the kings of Israel, which (statutes) they (the kings) had made."

9. *The children of Israel did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord.*] The signification of this passage is somewhat doubtful. Literally the words run thus—"And the children of Israel concealed (or 'dissembled') words which were not so concerning the Lord their God." This has been taken to mean (1) treachery (Gesenius); (2) secret blasphemy (Grotius);

and they built them high places in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.

† Heb. *statues.*

10 And they set them up †images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree:

11 And there they burnt incense in all the high places, as *did* the heathen whom the LORD carried away before them; and wrought wicked things to provoke the LORD to anger:

12 For they served idols, whereof the LORD had said unto them, [b]Ye shall not do this thing. [b] Deut. 4. 19.

13 Yet the LORD testified against Israel, and against Judah, †by all the prophets, *and by* all the seers, saying, [c]Turn ye from your evil ways, and † Heb. *by the hand of all.* [c] Jer. 18. 11. & 25. 5. & 35. 15.

(3) secret sins of various kinds (A. V.); but probably the true meaning is, (4) that the Israelites cloaked or covered their idolatry with pretences that it was a worship of Jehovah, so glossing it over and dissembling towards God, instead of openly acknowledging their apostacy.

they built them high places in all their cities.] Compare above 1 K. xiv. 23; and see also Ezek. xvi. 24—"Thou hast made thee an high place *in every street.*"

from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.] This phrase recurs in the next chapter (verse 8). It was probably a proverbial expression for universality, meaning strictly "alike in the most populous and in the most desolate regions." "Towers of watchmen" were built for the protection of the flocks and herds which were pastured in waste and desert places. (See 2 Chr. xxvi. 10; xxvii. 4.)

10. *Images and groves.*] See notes on 1 K. xiv. 23.

in every high hill.] Rather, "On every high hill."

11. *They burnt incense . . . as did the heathen.*] The burning of incense was a common religious practice among ancient nations. The Egyptians burnt incense to the sun of three several kinds. (Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. v. p. 315.) The Babylonians burnt a thousand talents' weight of frankincense once a year to Bel. (Herod. i. 183.) The same spice was used by the Nabathæans in their sun-worship (Strab. xvi. 4, § 26), and in their offerings generally by the Greeks and Romans. We may gather from the present passage that the Canaanitish nations practised the burning of incense as one of their ordinary sacred rites. The Israelites are frequently reproached with burning incense to false gods by the prophets. (Hos. ii. 13; iv. 13; xi. 2; Is. lxv. 3, 7; &c.)

13. *Yet the Lord testified.*] God might in justice have been content with the giving of the Law, and the plain denunciations therein contained of such sins as those into which the Israelites fell. But in mercy He did more. He raised up a succession of prophets and seers, who repeated and enforced the warnings of the Law by word of mouth, breathing into the old words a new life, applying them to the facts of their own times, urging them on the consciences of their hearers, and authoritatively declaring to them that the terrible threatenings of the Law were directed against the very sins which they habitually practised. Among this succession were in Israel, Ahijah the Shilonite (1 K. xiv. 2), Jehu the son of Hanani (ib. xvi. 1), Elijah, Micaiah the son of Imlah (ib. xxii. 8), Elisha, Jonah the son of Amittai (2 K. xiv. 25), Oded (2 Chr. xxviii. 9), Amos, and Hosea; in Judah, up to this time, Shemaiah (2 Chr. xi. 2; xii. 5), Iddo (ib. xii. 15; xiii. 22), Azariah the son of Oded (ib. xv. 1), Hanani (ib. xvi. 7), Jehu his son (ib. xix. 2), Jahaziel the son of Zechariah (ib. xx. 14), Eliezer the son of Dodavah (ib. verse 37), Zechariah the son of Jehoiada (ib. xxiv. 20), another Zechariah (ib. xxvi. 5), Joel, Micah, and Isaiah, besides several whose names are not known. Some of these persons are called "prophets," others "seers." Occasionally the same person has both titles (as Iddo, 2 Chr. xii. 15 and xiii. 22, and Jehu the son of Hanani, 1 K. xvi. 7 and 2 Chr. xix. 2), which seems to shew that there was no very important distinction between them. (See the next note but one.)

against Judah.] The writer, while primarily engaged in justifying God's treatment of the Israelites, is led to glance at the similar treatment, similarly provoked, of the Jews, and to justify by anticipation the fate of the Two Tribes no less than that of the Ten. (See below, verses 19 and 20.)

all the seers.] The word translated "seer" in this place is the common one, *chôzeh*, not the rarer, *rôeh*. It would scarcely have been added here, if it had been exactly equivalent to "prophet" (*nâbi*), or if it had not been applicable to some persons who were not, strictly speaking, "prophets" (*nabi'im*). Probably the conjecture of Hävernick is right that *nâbi* in strictness designates the official members of the prophetical order only, while *chôzeh* is applicable to all, whether members

keep my commandments *and* my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets.

14 Notwithstanding they would not hear, but hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers, that did not believe in the LORD their God.

15 And they rejected his statutes, and his covenant that he made with their fathers, and his testimonies which he testified against them; and they followed vanity, and became vain, and went after the heathen that *were* round about them, *concerning* whom the LORD had charged them, that they should not do like them.

16 And they left all the commandments of the LORD their God, and [d] made them molten images, *even* two calves, and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal.

17 And they caused their sons and

[d] Ex. 32. 8. 1 Kin. 12. 28.

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of the order or not, who receive a prophetical revelation. ('Einleitung,' i. 1, § 56.)

turn ye from your evil ways.] That this was the general burthen of the prophetical utterances is sufficiently plain from such of their writings as have come down to us. (See Hos. xii. 6; xiv. 1; Joel ii. 12; Am. v. 4-15; Is. i. 16-20; &c.)

14. *They . . . hardened their necks.*] To "harden" or "stiffen the neck" is a common Hebrew expression significative of unbending obstinacy and determined self-will. It is found in the Pentateuch (Deut. x. 16), in Proverbs (xxix. 1), Chronicles (2 Chr. xxx. 8; xxxvi. 13), Nehemiah (ix. 16, 17, 29), and Jeremiah (vii. 26; xvii. 23; xix. 15.)

like to the neck of their fathers.] The Israelites are called "a stiff-necked people" in Ex. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 3, 5; xxxiv. 9; Deut. ix. 6, 13; and xxxi. 27.

15. *They followed vanity.*] As an idol is "nothing in the world" (1 Cor. viii. 4), mere weakness and impotence, the sacred writers give to idols and idolatry a variety of names denoting this emptiness and nothingness. Such are *âven, shav, ephes, elîl;* and such is the word here used, *hebel.* Literally, *hebel* seems to mean "breath" or "vapour"—a familiar image for nonentity. Rarely used by the historical writers, it occurs frequently in the prophets, and especially in Jeremiah. (See Jon. ii. 8; Ps. xxxi. 6; Jer. ii. 5; viii. 19; xiv. 22; &c.)

and became vain.] As idols are "vanity" and "nothingness," so idolaters are "vain" and impotent. Their energies have been wasted, their time misspent; they have missed the real object of their existence; their whole life has been a mistake; and the result is utter powerlessness. (Compare Ps. cxv. 8; cxxxv. 18; Is. xliv. 9-20; Rom. i. 21.)

the Lord had charged them.] See Ex. xxiii. 24; Lev. xviii. 3, 24-30; xx. 23; Deut. xii. 4, 30, 31.

16. *They . . . made a grove.*] The "grove" (*ashêrah*) here urged as a special offence must be different from the "groves" (*ashêrim*) of verse 10, which were set up "on every high hill and under every green tree." Probably the former passage is a reference to the old high-place worship, which was professedly a worship of Jehovah, but with unauthorised rites and emblems; while the present is a reference to Ahab's setting up a grove to Baal in the city of Samaria (1 K. xvi. 33).

and worshipped all the host of heaven.] Astral worship had not hitherto been mentioned as practised by the Israelites. Moses had warned against it (Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3), so that it no doubt existed in his day, either among the Canaanitish nations or among the Arabians, by whom it seems to have been practised from a very ancient date. (Job xxxi. 26-28; Strab. xvi. 4, § 26; &c.) Perhaps it was involved to some extent in the Baal worship of the Phœnicians, for Baal and Astarte were probably associated in the minds of their worshippers with the Sun and Moon. The Syrians, moreover, worshipped the Sun as Hadad (Macrob. 'Sat.' i. 23). Later in the history we shall find a very decided and well-developed astral worship prevalent among the Jews, which is probably Assyro-Babylonian. (See 2 K. xxi. 3, and note ad loc.) This form of the cult may perhaps have been introduced among the Israelites also during the later period of their monarchy.

17. *They caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire.*] On the true character of this practice, and the quarter from which it was derived, see note on 2 K. xvi. 3. There is no sufficient ground for the belief that it was a mere *februatio*, or "lustration by fire"—a passing *between* two great pyres, which did no injury to life. Jeremiah (vii. 31; xix. 5), Ezekiel (xvi. 20, 21), and the author of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxviii. 3) distinctly state that the children were "devoured," "slain," "burnt." (Compare Diod. Sic. xx. 14; Augustin, 'Civ. Dei,' vii. 19.)

their daughters to pass through the fire, and used divination and enchantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.

18 Therefore the LORD was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight: there was none left but the tribe of Judah only.

19 Also Judah kept not the commandments of the LORD their God, but walked in the statutes of Israel which they made.

20 And the LORD rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight.

21 For he rent Israel from the house of David; and they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king: and Jeroboam drave Israel from following the LORD, and made them sin a great sin.

22 For the children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did; they departed not from them;

23 Until the LORD removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day.

24 ¶ And the king of Assyria brought *men* from Babylon, and from

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used divination and enchantments.] Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

and sold themselves.] See note on 1 K. xxi. 20.

18. *The tribe of Judah only.*] See above, 1 K. xi. 13, 32, 36; xii. 20.

19. *Also Judah, &c.*] This verse and the next are parenthetical. Here again, as in verse 13, the writer is led on from his account of the sins and punishment of the Israelites to glance at the similar sins and similar punishment of the Jews. His thoughts pass from the fate of the sister kingdom to that of his own, and he acknowledges that both people equally provoked and equally deserved their ruin.

the statutes of Israel.] It seems to be always regarded as the worst reproach which can be urged against any Jewish king, that he "walks in the way of the kings of Israel." (See 2 K. viii. 18; xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xxi. 6; xxviii. 2.) The Baal worship is generally the special sin at which the phrase is levelled; but the meaning here seems to be wider. (Compare Mic. vi. 16.)

20. *All the seed of Israel.*] The Jews, *i.e.*, as well as the Israelites.

delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until, &c.] God's dealings with both kingdoms were alike. Both had abundant warning of the coming catastrophe. "Spoilers" were sent against each, time after time, before the final ruin came on them—against Israel, Pul and Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 19, 29; 1 Chr. v. 26); against Judah, Sennacherib (2 K. xviii. 13-16), Esar-haddon (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11), and Nebuchadnezzar thrice. It was only when these warnings failed to produce any real repentance or reformation that God's favour was wholly withdrawn, and the kingdom's destruction allowed.

21. *For he rent Israel, &c.*] The connection of this verse is with verse 18. Translate—"For he had rent."

Jeroboam drave Israel from following the Lord.] The strong expression "drave Israel" is an allusion to the violent measures whereto Jeroboam had recourse in order to stop the efflux into Judea of the more religious portion of his subjects (2 Chr. xi. 13-16), the calling in of Shishak, and the permanent assumption of a hostile attitude towards the southern kingdom.

23. *As he had said by all his servants the prophets.*] The writer refers not only to the extant prophecies of Moses (Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. iv. 26, 27; xxviii. 36; &c.); Ahijah the Shilonite (1 K. xiv. 15), Hosea (ix. 3, 17), and Amos (vii. 17), but also to the entire series of warnings and predictions which prophet after prophet in a long unbroken succession had addressed to the disobedient Israelites, unfolding to them the necessary consequences of their apostacy, and so leaving them wholly "without excuse." (See note on verse 13.)

unto this day.] See note B at the end of the chapter.

24. *The king of Assyria brought men.*] Sargon is probably the king of Assyria intended, not (as generally supposed) either "Shalmaneser" or "Esar-haddon." Esar-haddon no doubt sent colonists into the country, from whom the new Samaritans were in part descended (Ezr. iv. 2). But the question to be considered is, whether there was not also

Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed *them* in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.

25 And *so* it was at the beginning of their dwelling there, *that* they

a previous colonisation by the conqueror of the country, who (as already shewn) was not Shalmaneser, but Sargon. In favour of such a colonisation are, (1) the *nexus* of the present passage with verse 6; (2) the *à priori* probability that the monarch who transplanted the old population would introduce a new one; (3) the peculiar partiality of Sargon for such transfers; (4) the fact that Sargon mentions his placing of Arabs in Samaria; and, (5) the localities of the colonists here mentioned, which *differ in every name but one* from those of Ezra iv., and which point, in three names out of the five, to a transfer made *before the time of Sennacherib*, who mentions Hamath, Ava or Ivah, and Sepharvaim among recent conquests (2 K. xviii. 34; xix. 13).

Cuthah.] Cutha is frequently mentioned as an important city of Babylonia in the Assyrian inscriptions; and it retained its name down to the Arab conquest. Its ruins have been discovered, about fifteen miles north-east of Babylon, at a place which is called Ibrahim, because it is the traditional site of a contest between Abraham and Nimrod. The name of Cutha is found on the bricks of this place, which are mostly of the era of Nebuchadnezzar. The Assyrian inscriptions show that the special god of Cutha was Nergal, whose worship the men of Cutha are declared below to have carried with them into their new homes. (See verse 30, and note ad loc.)

Ava.] Ava is probably the same as Ivah (2 K. xviii. 34; xix. 13); and both are reasonably enough identified with Ahava (Ezr. viii. 15), which was on the route followed by the Jews who returned with Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem. This would necessarily be the route of the Euphrates; and it is with cities known to have lain on that river (Sepharvaim and Hena) that Ivah seems to have been politically united (2 K. xix. 13). Now, on the Euphrates, between Sippara (Sepharvaim) and Hena (Anah) there was in ancient times a city called *Ibi, Aia* (LXX.), or Is (Herod.), an important place, famous for its bitumen springs, possessing a "river" (Ezr. viii. 15)—probably a branch of the Euphrates—which bore the same name. This city, which is thought to obtain mention in an Egyptian monument of about B.C. 1450, possesses a claim to be considered the Ivah or Ava of Kings, beyond any other place which has yet been suggested. Still, the identification is perhaps not quite certain.

Hamath.] On Hamath, see note to 1 K. viii. 65.

Sepharvaim.] The identity of Sepharvaim with the Sipphara of Ptolemy (v. 18), the πόλις Σιπαρηνῶν of Abydenus (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 10, § 1), and the "oppida Hipparenorum" of Pliny ('H. N.' vi. 30), is now generally allowed. (Winer, Keil, Rosenmüller, Thenius, &c.) This place is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions under the name of *Tsipar*. (Compare note on verse 31.) The dual form of the Hebrew name, and the plural form used by Pliny, are explained by the fact that the town lay on both sides of the river. Its position is marked by the modern village of *Mosaib*, about twenty miles from the ruins of Babylon up the course of the stream.

Sepharvaim and the other Babylonian towns with which it is here joined—Babylon itself, Cutha, and Ava—were conquered by Sargon in his twelfth year, B.C. 709; and it cannot have been until this time, or a little later, that the transplantation here recorded took place. Hamath had revolted, and been conquered by Sargon in his first year, shortly after the conquest of Samaria. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 410.)

instead of the children of Israel.] It has been argued from this phrase that the *whole* population of Samaria was carried off by the conqueror, and none left, as in Judah, "to be vine-dressers and husbandmen" (2 K. xxv. 12); but this seems to be a needless straining of the words. No forcible removal ever sweeps out an entire population; and we hear afterwards of a "remnant of Israel" as still continuing in the country (2 Chr. xxxiv. 9). Even in the present passage, the writer, by expressly confining the new comers to the "*cities* of Samaria," seems to imply that the country districts were in other hands.

25. *Therefore the Lord sent lions among them.*] Lions, which had been common in the early times (Judg. xiv. 5; 1 S. xvii. 34; 2 S. xxiii. 20; Prov. xxii. 13; xxvi. 13, &c.), had gradually grown rare, and we have but little trace of them between the time of Solomon and the ruin of Samaria. (1 K. xiii. 24; xx. 36.) Now, however, the depopulation of the country, insufficiently remedied by the influx of foreigners, had the natural consequence of multiplying the wild beasts and making them bolder. Probably a certain number had always lurked in the jungle along the course of the Jordan (Jer. xlix. 19; l. 44); and these now ventured into the hill country, and perhaps even into the cities. (See the

feared not the LORD: therefore the LORD sent lions among them, which slew *some* of them.

26 Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast removed, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land: therefore he hath sent lions among them, and, behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the land.

27 Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land.

28 Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the LORD.

29 Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put *them* in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.

30 And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima,

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passages of Proverbs above quoted.) The colonists regarded their sufferings from the lions as a judgment upon them from "the god of the land" (see the next verse); and according to our version the author of Kings might seem to endorse this view. There is, however, no "therefore" in the Hebrew text. The verse runs simply—"And so it was in the beginning of their dwelling there that they did not fear Jehovah; and Jehovah sent lions among them, &c."

26. *They know not the manner of the God of the land.*] Compare 1 K. xx. 23 and note ad loc.

27. *One of the priests whom ye brought from thence.*] It has been asked, Why could not the colonists learn the "manner" of the old worship from "the remnant of Israel," if any were left in the land? The answer seems to be that the *arcana* of the worship would be known to none excepting the priests who had ministered at the two national sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel; and that these, as being important personages, had been carried off. The expression, "one of the priests *whom ye brought from thence*," shews that the colonisation had taken place, the affliction from the lions been suffered, and the embassy sent, while the original captives were still living—therefore, long before Esarhaddon.

let them go and dwell there, and let him teach.] The double change of number is curious; but the text needs no emendation. The plural is to be explained by the consideration that the priest would require to be accompanied by assistants (*subministri*, Keil), who would "go and dwell," but would not be qualified to "teach."

28. *Taught them how they should fear the Lord.*] It must not be supposed that the priest sent to the colonists was a true Jehovah-priest, who instructed them in the pure worship of God. The whole context makes it clear that he was one of those who had been attached to the calf-worship at one of the two national shrines — probably at Bethel. Hence, he would be willing to wink at the mixed religion, which a true Jehovah-priest would have unsparingly condemned.

29. *The houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made.*] The "Samaritans" here are the Israelites. They had commonly built temples at the high places where they worshipped (1 K. xii. 31; xiii. 32), and these had remained standing at the time of their departure. They were now occupied by the new comers, who set up their own worship in the old sanctuaries.

30. *The men of Babylon made.*] After "made" we must supply "their god" from the last verse.

Succoth-benoth.] It has been usual to regard this expression as pure Hebrew, and to translate it "tents of daughters." But the name probably represents a Babylonian goddess called Zirbanit, the wife of Merodach. She and her husband were next to Bel and Beltis, the favourite divinities of the Babylonians. The name Zir-*banit*, it will be seen, has one element in common with Succoth-*benoth*. The other element it was, apparently, attempted to render by a translation. Here, however, a mistake was made. *Zir* or *zirat*, "lady," was confounded with the Babylonian word for "tents," which was *zarat*; and *succoth*, the proper equivalent of this latter term, was made to represent the former. Thus Zirbanit, "the creating lady," became Succoth-benoth, "tents of daughters." The Rabbinical statement that this goddess was worshipped in Samaria under the emblem of a hen and chickens is entitled to no attention.

31 And the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim.

32 So they feared the LORD, and made unto themselves of the lowest of them priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places.

33 [e]They feared the LORD, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations [f]whom they carried away from thence.

34 Unto this day they do after the former manners: they fear not the

[e] Zeph. 1. 5.

[f] Or, *who carried them away from thence.*

Nergal.] Nergal, etymologically "the great man," or "the great hero," was the Babylonian god of war and hunting. His name forms an element in the Babylonian royal appellation, Nergal-shar-ezar or Neriglissar. It may be recognised with a slight corruption in the Mendean name for the planet Mars at the present day, which is Nerig. The Assyrian inscriptions connect Nergal in a very special way with Cutha, of which he was evidently the tutelary deity.

Ashima.] The conjecture that Ashima was Esmûn, one of the Cabiri, or "great gods" of the Phœnicians, is ingenious, though, in the present state of our knowledge with regard to the religion of ancient Syria, it is impossible to say how far the Phœnician and Syrian religious systems resembled each other. Esmûn was the eighth son of Sadyk (justice), and derived his name from the fact, *esmûn* meaning "eight." (Compare the Hebrew *shĕmônah.*) He is said by Damascius (ap. Phot. 'Bibl.,' p. 1074) to have corresponded to the Grecian Æsculapius.

31. *Nibhaz and Tartak.*] Nibhaz and Tartak are more obscure than even Ashima. They are either gods of whom not another notice has come down to us in all the remains of antiquity, or else extraordinary corruptions of certain known Babylonian names, corruptions so gross that they can scarcely have been unintentional. There seems to be some reason for believing that the Jews occasionally, in their scorn and contempt of polytheism, purposely altered, by way of derision, the names of the heathen deities. Succoth-benôth may not have been a wholly unconscious perversion of Zir-banit. Nibhaz, "the barker," may be Nebo, the great god of Borsippa, who was the tutelar deity of so many Babylonian kings. Tartak may be the same divinity turned to ridicule in his name Tir, under which he was known as early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Anammelech is also a probable instance of the same contemptuous play upon words.

Adrammelech.] Adrammelech is literally either *adir-melek*, "the glorious king," or *edir-melek*, "the arranging king," and no doubt signifies the sun, as commentators generally have suggested. Berosus calls Sepharvaim (Sippara) a "city of the sun" (Ἡλίου πόλιν, Fr. 7), and the Assyrian inscriptions commonly designate it as *Tsipar sha Shamas* or "Sippara of the Sun." The title "Adrammelech" has not been found in the inscriptions hitherto; but it would plainly be a fitting epithet of the great luminary.

Anammelech.] The sun-god of the Babylonians, Shamas, was united at Sippara and elsewhere with a sun-goddess, Anunit, whose name would seem to be represented in the Anammelech of the text. Taking enough of this name to show what they meant, the Hebrews assimilated the termination to that of the male deity, thus producing a ridiculous effect, regarded as insulting to the gods in question. Compare the Crophi and Mophi of the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 28), and the practice of modern Orientals alluded to by Wilkinson in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus' (vol. ii. p. 31, 2nd edition). There is no connection between Anunit and the Persian Anahit or Anaïtis, who represented Ishtar, called Nana by the Babylonians.

32. *Of the lowest of them.*] Rather, "**from all ranks.**" See note on 1 K. xii. 31.

33. *Whom they carried away from thence.*] Neither this, nor the marginal rendering, "who carried them away from thence," is correct. Translate, "**from whom they carried them away;**" and understand the passage thus: "They (the colonists) served their own gods after the manner of the nations from which they (the government) removed them," *i.e.* after the manner of their own countrymen at home.

34. Some commentators regard this verse, and those that follow down to the end of the 40th, as parenthetic, the writer turning in verse 34 from the consideration of the foreign colonists to speak of the expelled Israelites, and returning in verse 41 to the former. But it seems better to regard the whole as said of the colonists.

they fear not the Lord.] The verbal contradiction between these words and those of verses 33 and 41 is easily explained. The new comers in one sense feared Jehovah. They acknowledged his name, admitted him

LORD, neither do they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or after the law and commandment which the LORD commanded the children of Jacob, [a] whom he named Israel;

[a] Gen. 32. 28. 1 Kin. 18. 31.

35 With whom the LORD had made a covenant, and charged them, saying, [b] Ye shall not fear other gods, nor bow yourselves to them, nor serve them, nor sacrifice to them:

[b] Judg. 6. 10.

36 But the LORD, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt with great power and a stretched out arm, him shall ye fear, and him shall ye worship, and to him shall ye do sacrifice.

37 And the statutes, and the ordinances, and the law, and the commandment, which he wrote for you, ye shall observe to do for evermore; and ye shall not fear other gods.

38 And the covenant that I have made with you ye shall not forget; neither shall ye fear other gods.

39 But the LORD your God ye shall fear; and he shall deliver you out of the hand of all your enemies.

40 Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner.

41 So these nations feared the LORD, and served their graven images, both their children, and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day.

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among their gods, and kept up his worship at the high place at Bethel according to the rites instituted by Jeroboam (see verse 28). But in another sense they did not fear him. To acknowledge Jehovah together with other gods is not really to acknowledge him at all.

their statutes.] Either the statutes and ordinances of the law are regarded as having become theirs—*i.e.* the new Samaritans—by their adoption of Jehovah among their gods; or perhaps "their" may refer by anticipation to the "children of Jacob" mentioned towards the end of the verse.

35. *Ye shall not fear other gods.*] Probably the writer here (and in verse 38) refers rather to the many passages where polytheism is denounced than to the single place in the older Scriptures (Judg. vi. 10), where the Israelites had been expressly told not to "fear" other gods.

nor bow yourselves to them nor serve them.] Here the exact words of Ex. xx. 5, repeated in Deut. v. 9, are followed.

nor sacrifice to them.] Sacrifice to false gods was specially forbidden. (Ex. xxxiv. 15; Lev. xvii. 7; &c.)

36. *With a stretched out arm.*] For this phrase see Ex. vi. 6; Deut. iv. 34; v. 15; vii. 19; &c.

him shall ye fear.] See Deut. vi. 13; x. 12; xiii. 4; &c.

37. *Which he wrote for you.*] It is worth observing here, first, that the author regards the whole law as given to the Israelites in a written form; and secondly, that he looks on the real writer as God.

38. *The covenant . . . ye shall not forget.*] Compare Deut. iv. 23.

41. *Their graven images.*] The Rabbins declare that Nergal was worshipped under the form of a cock, Ashima under the form of a goat, Nibhaz under the form of a dog, Tartak under that of an ass, while Adrammelech and Anammelech were represented by a mule and a horse respectively. (See Jarchi and others.) But there is no reason to believe any of these statements. They are probably calumnies, arising from a bitter spirit of animosity, almost on a par with the story gravely told by Tacitus, that the Jews had the image of an ass in the Holy of Holies. ('Hist.' v. 4.) The Babylonians appear to have made a very sparing use of animal forms among their religious emblems. They represented the male Sun, Shamas, by a circle, plain or crossed; the female Sun, Anunit, by a six-rayed or eight-rayed star; Nebo by a single wedge or arrow-head, the fundamental element of their writing; the god of the atmosphere by a double or triple thunderbolt. The gods generally were represented under human forms (Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5 and 6). A few of them had, in addition, animal emblems—the lion, the bull, the eagle, or the serpent; but these seem never to have been set up for worship in temples. There was nothing intentionally grotesque in the Babylonian religion, as there was in the Egyptian and Phœnician.

so do they unto this day.] Compare verse 34. The mixed worship, the union of professed reverence for Jehovah with the grossest idolatry, continued to the time of the composition of this book, which must have been as late as B.C. 561, or, at any rate, as late as B.C. 580 (xxv. 27.) It did not, however, to all

appearance, continue much longer. When the Samaritans would fain have joined the Jews in rebuilding the temple (about B.C. 537), they showed that inclination to draw nearer to the Jewish cult which henceforth marks their religious progress. Long before the erection of a temple to Jehovah on Mount Gerizim (B.C. 409) they had laid aside all their idolatrous rites, and, admitting the binding authority of the Pentateuch, had taken upon them the observance of the entire law.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 4 and 23.

NOTE A on verse 4. On the identity of "So" with "Sabaco."

The Egyptian name represented as Sabaco by Herodotus, is composed of three letters, which are respectively *sb*, *b*, and *k*. The final *k*, Eg. , represents the peculiar guttural of the Ethiopians. In Hebrew, the three elements would be naturally expressed as follows: the *sb* by ס or ם, the *b* by ב or ו, and the *k* by ק or the attenuated כ. Manetho in one place represents Shebek by Σευεχος, or Sevechus, a rendering which approaches very nearly to the Hebrew סֵוֵא.

NOTE B, verse 23. On the ultimate fate of the Ten Tribes.

The words "unto this day," taken in combination with the rest of the chapter, distinctly shew that the Israelites had not returned to their land by the time of the composition of the Books of Kings. They shew nothing as to their ultimate fate. Yet a few words on this interesting subject may be here added. There has been a wide-spread belief among modern Christians that the Ten Tribes, having never returned to their native country, must still exist somewhere in a collected body. Travellers have thought to discover them in Malabar, in Kashmir, in China, in Turkistan, in Affghanistan, in the Kurdish mountains, in Arabia, in Germany, in North America. Books have been written advocating this or that identification, and the notion has thus obtained extensive currency, that somewhere or other in the world the descendants of the Ten Tribes must exist, and that when found they might be recognised as such by careful and diligent inquiry. It seems to have been forgotten, that, in the first place, they were scattered over a wide extent of country (Harran, Chalcitis, Gozan or Mygdonia, and Media) by the original conqueror; that, secondly, in the numerous conquests and changes of population which are known to have taken place in these regions they would naturally become more scattered; that, thirdly, a considerable number of them probably returned with the Jews under Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezr. vi. 17; viii. 35; 1 Chr. ix. 3); that, fourthly, those who remained behind would naturally either mingle with the heathen among whom they lived, or become united with the Jews of the dispersion; and that, fifthly, if there had been anywhere in this part of Asia at the time of Alexander's conquests or of the Roman expeditions against Parthia and Persia a community of the peculiar character supposed, it is most improbable that no Greek or Roman historian or geographer should have mentioned it. Against these arguments there is nothing to be set but a statement of Josephus, in the first century of our era, that the Ten Tribes still existed beyond the Euphrates (he does not say in a collective form) at his day ('Ant. Jud.' xi. 5, § 2), and a similar declaration of Jerome, in the fifth. Neither writer has any personal acquaintance with the countries or speaks from his own knowledge. Both may be regarded as relating rather what they supposed must be than what they knew actually was the case. Again, neither may mean more than that among the Hebrews of the dispersion (Acts ii. 9; Philo, 'Leg. ad Cai.' p. 1031), in Parthia, Media, Elam, and Mesopotamia, were many Israelites. On the whole, therefore, it would seem probable (1) that the Ten Tribes never formed a community in their exile, but were scattered from the first; and (2) that their descendants either blended with the heathen and were absorbed, or returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel and Ezra, or became inseparably united with the dispersed Jews in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries. No discovery, therefore, of the Ten Tribes is to be expected, nor can works written to prove their identity with any existing race or body of persons be regarded as anything more than ingenious exercitations.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 Hezekiah's good reign. 4 He destroyeth idolatry, and prospereth. 9 Samaria is carried captive for their sins. 13 Sennacherib invading Judah is pacified by a tribute. 17 Rab-shakeh, sent by Sennacherib again, revileth Hezekiah, and by blasphemous persuasions soliciteth the people to revolt.

[c] 2 Chron. 28. 27. & 29. 1. He is called *Ezekias*, Matt. 1. 9.

NOW it came to pass in the third year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, *that* [c] Hezekiah the son of Ahaz king of Judah began to reign.

2 Twenty and five years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was* Abi, the daughter of Zachariah.

3 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father did.

4 ¶ He removed the high places, and brake the [†] images, and cut down

[†] Heb. *statues.*

CHAP. XVIII. The sacred writer, having now completed the history of the joint kingdom, and having cast his glance forward over the religious history of the mixed race which replaced the Israelites in Samaria, proceeds to apply himself uninterruptedly to the remaining history of the Jewish kingdom, which he has to trace through the eight reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. The history of Hezekiah occupies him through three chapters (ch. xviii.-xx.).

1. *In the third year.*] As the fourth year of Hezekiah is called the seventh of Hoshea, and his sixth year the ninth of Hoshea (verses 9 and 10), and as Hoshea is said to have ascended the throne in the twelfth year of Ahaz (2 K. xvii. 1), who is assigned a reign of sixteen years (2 K. xvi. 2), it has been proposed to read "fourth" here instead of "third." (So Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' ix. 13, § 1.) But if Hoshea ascended the throne towards the close of Ahaz's twelfth year, and if Ahaz reigned not much more than fifteen years, the first of Hezekiah might synchronise *in part* with Hoshea's third year. Thus, no change is necessary.

Hezekiah.] The name given by our translators follows the Greek form, Ἐζεκίας, rather than the Hebrew, which is *Hizkiah*. Its meaning is "strength of Jehovah."

2. *Twenty and five years old was he.*] It has been observed that this statement, combined with that of 2 K. xvi. 2, that Ahaz was only twenty at his accession, and reigned but sixteen years, would make it necessary that Ahaz should have married at the age of ten, and have had a child born to him when he was eleven. Bochart and Keil have perhaps shown that this is not impossible. But its improbability is so great, that most commentators suggest a corruption in some of the numbers.

his mother's name was Abi.] In 2 Chr. xxix. 1, the name is given as Abijah. Her father, Zachariah, was perhaps the "faithful witness" of Isaiah (viii. 2).

3. *He did that which was right, &c.*] This is said without qualification of three kings of Judah only, Asa (1 K. xv. 11), Hezekiah, and Josiah (2 K. xxii. 2). Hezekiah commenced his reign by re-opening and purifying the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 3), which his father, Ahaz, had in his later years shut up (2 Chr. xxviii. 24) and allowed to become polluted. He restored the vessels which Ahaz had cut in pieces (2 Chr. xxix. 19), and solemnly renewed the worship of God in the Temple according to the old forms (ib. 21-35), offering sin offerings and burnt offerings, restoring the sacred music, and re-establishing the chanting of David's Psalms. He then held a grand passover-feast, to which he invited not only his own subjects, but all pious persons in the sister kingdom (ib. xxx. 1-26). It is thought that his reformation was preceded, and perhaps caused, by the prophecy of Micah, recorded in Jer. xxvi. 18; Mic. iii. 12.

4. *He removed the high places.*] From Chronicles we learn that this religious reformation was effected in a violent and tumultuary manner. "*All Israel* that were present" at the great Passover "went out to the cities of Judah, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin—in Ephraim also and Manasseh—until they had utterly destroyed them." The spirit of the more religious part of the nation was roused; and enthusiastic bands of men, excited by a week of devotional exercise, poured forth from Jerusalem in all directions over the surrounding country, bent on obliterating all traces of the idolatrous and even of the questionable rites which had long prevailed in the land. The "high places," though forbidden in the Law (Deut. xii. 2-4 and 11-14; compare Lev. xxvi. 30), had practically received the sanction of Samuel (1 S. vii. 10; ix. 12-14), David (2 S. xv. 32), Solomon (1 K. iii. 4), and others, and had long been the favourite resorts of the mass of the people. (See 1 K. iii. 2; xiv. 23; xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3; xiv. 4;

the groves, and brake in pieces the [d] brasen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn ¶incense to it: and he called it Nehushtan.

5 He trusted in the LORD God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor *any* that were before him.

6 For he clave to the LORD, *and* departed not †from following him, but kept his commandments, which the LORD commanded Moses.

7 And the LORD was with him; *and* he prospered whithersoever he went forth: and he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not.

[d] Num. 21. 9.

† Heb. *from after him.*

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xv. 4, 35.) They were the rural centres for the worship of Jehovah, standing in the place of the later synagogues, and had hitherto been winked at, or rather regarded as legitimate, even by the best kings. Hezekiah's desecration of these time-honoured sanctuaries must have been a rude shock to the feelings of numbers, and could perhaps scarcely have been carried into effect except by large bodies of men, who were at once armed with the royal authority, and animated by an almost fanatical spirit of religious enthusiasm. Indications of the popular discontent which the proceeding provoked may be traced in the appeal of Rab-shakeh (infra, verse 22), and in the strength of the reaction under Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 2-9; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 3-17).

the images . . . the groves.] See notes on 1 K. xiv. 23.

the brasen serpent that Moses had made.] On the making of this serpent, see Num. xxi. 9. Its history from the time when it was set up to the date of Hezekiah's reformation is a blank. Some suppose that it was left in the wilderness, and only transferred to Jerusalem by Ahaz (Ewald, Plumptre). Others imagine that it had always been preserved in the tabernacle, and had been brought by Solomon from Gibeon and placed in the Temple (Stanley). The present passage favours the latter supposition; for it implies a long continued worship of the serpent by the Israelites generally, and not a mere recent worship of it by the Jews.

the children of Israel did burn incense to it.] We need not suppose that this idolatry, though ancient and long continued, was more than occasional. The remembrance of the old cures wrought might induce those bitten by venomous reptiles to seek help in this quarter. A leaning to ophiolatry, such as is found widely spread through the East, may have led others to turn their devotion hitherward.

and he called it Nehushtan.] Rather, "And it was called Nehushtan;" this was its popular name down to the time of its destruction. (See note A at the end of the chapter.) The people called it, not "the serpent" (*nachash*), but "the brass," or "the brass thing" (*nechushtan*). Probably they did not like to call it "the serpent," on account of the dark associations which were attached to that reptile. (Gen. iii. 1-15; Is. xxvii. 1; Ps. xci. 13; &c.)

5. *After him was none like him.*] Exactly the same is said, in a later chapter, of Josiah (xxiii. 25). We may explain the verbal contradiction by supposing either that the writer here copies an older document, written before the reign of Josiah; or, more probably, that the phrase was proverbial, and was not taken to mean more than we mean when we say that a king was one of *singular* piety. It is a mistake to conclude from the present passage that "when the merits of the kings were summed up after the fall of the monarchy, Hezekiah was, by a deliberate judgment, put at the very top." (Stanley.)

6. *He clave to the Lord.*] Other good kings, as Solomon, Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx. 35), Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 17-25), and Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 14-16), had fallen away in their later years. Hezekiah remained firm to the last. The phrase "cleaving to God" is frequent in Deuteronomy (iv. 4; x. 20; xi. 22; xiii. 4; xxx. 20), rare elsewhere.

7. *The Lord was with him.*] This had been said of no king since David (2 S. v. 10), not even of Solomon, of whom we are only told that the "wisdom of God was in him" (1 K. iii. 28). The phrase is very emphatic.

whithersoever he went forth.] Not only "in all his *expeditions*," though perhaps these are specially alluded to (see verse 8); but "in all his *goings*." ("in cunctis ad quæ procedebat," Vulg.) The general prosperity of Hezekiah is set forth at some length by the author of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxii. 23, 27-29). He appears to have possessed a considerable share of authority in the northern kingdom (2 Chr. xxxi. 1-5), to have been enormously wealthy (ib. xxxii. 27-29), and to have had great influence among the neighbouring nations (ib. verse 23). The first expedition of Sennacherib against him was caused, in part, by this influence—the Ekronites having ex-

8 He smote the Philistines, *even* unto †Gaza, and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.

† Heb. *Azzah.*

9 ¶ And *e* it came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah, which *was* the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, *that* Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it.

e ch. 17. 3.

10 And at the end of three years they took it: *even* in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that *is* *f* the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel, Samaria was taken.

f ch. 17. 6.

11 And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor *by* the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes:

12 Because they obeyed not the voice of the LORD their God, but transgressed his covenant, *and* all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded, and would not hear *them*, nor do *them*.

13 ¶ Now *g* in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did †Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.

g 2 Chr. 32. 1. Isai. 36. 1. Ecclus. 48. 18.
† Heb. *Sanherib.*

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pelled an Assyrian viceroy from their city, and delivered him to Hezekiah for safe keeping. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 433, 434.)

he rebelled against the king of Assyria.] Ahaz appears to have continued to his death an obedient vassal of Assyria, paying his tribute successively to Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. Hezekiah also, it may be suspected, paid tribute for some years to the latter, and also to Sargon, who seems to have been never compelled to enforce subjection upon him by hostilities. Once during Sargon's reign he was apparently on the verge of revolt, when he received favourably the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan (2 K. xx. 13); but the warning of Isaiah (verse 17) probably induced him to draw back. The "rebellion" here spoken of was no doubt from Sennacherib, and did not very long precede the expedition of verse 13, which fell (as we shall find) towards the close of Hezekiah's long reign.

8. *He smote the Philistines even unto Gaza.*] Sargon had established the complete dominion of Assyria over the Philistines, chastising such as revolted, either in person or by his generals. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 411-417; Is. xx. 1; and perhaps xiv. 29-31.) Hezekiah's Philistine campaign would by itself have constituted an act of rebellion against his suzerain. Its object was not so much conquest as opposition to the Assyrian power. How successful it was is indicated in the Assyrian records by the number of towns in this quarter which Sennacherib recovers before he proceeds against Jerusalem. Among them are Ascalon, Joppa, Hazor, Ekron, Bene-berek, Beth-Dagon, Tamna (Thimnatha), and Eltekeh. The conquests of Hezekiah are alluded to in 1 Chr. iv. 41.

from the tower of the watchmen, &c.] They smote, *i.e.* all the dwelling-places of the Philistines, from the least to the greatest. (See above, note on 2 K. xvii. 9.)

9-12. These verses contain a repetition of the account already given (2 K. xvii. 5-8) of the capture of Samaria by the Assyrians, with the mere addition of the Jewish dates for the commencement and termination of the siege. The extreme importance of the event may account for the double insertion.

13. *In the fourteenth year.*] See note B at the end of the chapter.

Sennacherib.] This form of the name is derived from the later Greek writers. The Hebrew form is *Sanchêrib*, the Assyrian *Sinakh'-irib*, the earliest Greek *Sanacharib*. There can be no doubt of the identity of the monarch to whom we are here introduced with the Σαναχάριβος of Herodotus (ii. 141), and the Sinakhirib of the inscriptions. This prince is found to have been the son of Sargon, and his immediate successor in the monarchy. His successful expedition against Hezekiah is related at length in his annals. It fell into his fifth year, which seems to have been B.C. 701. The death of Sargon in B.C. 705 had been followed, as the demise of an Assyrian monarch usually was, by a number of revolts. Elulæus, the former antagonist of Shalmaneser, who reigned at Sidon, but ruled also over Tyre, Ecdippa, Sarepta, and Akko, had declared himself independent. Hezekiah, as we have seen, had rebelled, had invaded Philistia, and had helped the national party in that country to throw off the Assyrian yoke. The aid of Egypt and Ethiopia, now united under one head (Shebek), was invoked, if not as yet by Hezekiah, at any rate by the Philistine rebels, the inhabitants of Ekron, Ascalon, and their dependent towns. The nations of these parts had evidently determined on making a vast effort to check

14 And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.

15 And Hezekiah gave *him* all the silver that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house.

16 At that time did Hezekiah cut off *the gold from* the doors of the temple of the LORD, and *from* the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave †it to the king of Assyria. † Heb. *them.*

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the further progress of Assyria in the south-west, and thought the accession of an untried monarch a favourable time for the experiment.

come up.] The sacred writer, studious of brevity, omits to give an account of the line of march, or of the plan of the campaign. It has been supposed that we might gather the first of these from a passage of Isaiah (x. 28-32); but that description appears to be "ideal, not actual" (Pusey, Stanley). From Sennacherib's inscriptions we learn that, having reduced Phœnicia and recovered Ascalon, he proceeded against Ekron, which was protected by a numerous and well appointed army of Egyptians and Ethiopians. In a great battle he defeated this host, took Ekron with its dependencies, and from this point commenced his march against Jerusalem. Spreading his army over a wide space, and capturing on his way a vast number of small towns and villages, whose inhabitants he carried off to the number of 200,000 (comp. Is. xxiv. 1-12), he proceeded towards the Holy City, and encamping on its northern side, where alone it was readily assailable, formally commenced the siege. The ground occupied by his main host outside the modern Damascus gate was thenceforth known to the Jews as "the camp of the Assyrians." How long the siege lasted we cannot say. Details connected with it may be gathered from Isaiah, especially from ch. xxii. It is certain that after a while Hezekiah resolved on submission. Sennacherib, it appears from verse 14, had left his army to continue the siege, and gone in person to Lachish. The Jewish monarch sent his embassy to that town. Terms were granted him, and he resumed his position of vassal; after which Sennacherib, according to his own account, returned to Nineveh.

against all the fenced cities.] So 2 Chr. xxxii. 1, and Isaiah xxxvi. 1. Sennacherib reckons the number of the "strong-fenced cities" taken by him at "forty-six."

14. *Hezekiah sent to the king of Assyria.*] Hezekiah had taken all the measures for his defence that circumstances permitted. He had "stopped the waters of the fountains which were without the city" (2 Chr. xxxii. 3), concealing the sources and conducting the precious fluid to the reservoirs and conduits beneath the Holy City (Is. xxii. 9, 11), thus at once improving his own supplies and straitening the enemy. He had "strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers," using as material the houses in the vicinity; and he had built "another wall without, and repaired Millo, and made darts and shields in abundance" (2 Chr. xxxii. 5; Is. xxii. 10). He had also done his best to raise the spirits of the besieged by addressing them with words of encouragement. (2 Chr. xxxii. 7, 8.) But the temper of his people was unpromising. Half despondent, half reckless, they trembled as the towers and mounds of the besiegers arose, not believing that they could escape destruction (Is. xxix. 2-4), while some, shutting their eyes to the future, determined to enjoy the present, and made the city resound with a ghastly and ill-timed merriment (Is. xxii. 13). Under these circumstances, some of Hezekiah's councillors —Shebna, more especially, who was "treasurer," and (as it would seem) chief minister —appear to have advised submission (Is. xxii. 15-19). Isaiah urged trust in the Lord, but in vain. Hezekiah sent his mission, humbling himself in the abject terms of the text, and with the result indicated.

return from me.] Or "retire from me," *i.e.* "withdraw thy troops."

the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah.] According to Sennacherib's own account, the terms of peace were as follows—1. A money payment to the amount of 800 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold. 2. The surrender of the Ekronite king. 3. A cession of territory towards the west and the south-west, which was apportioned between the kings of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza.

three hundred talents.] When Sennacherib says that he received 800 talents of silver, perhaps he exaggerates; perhaps he counts all the silver which he obtained from Judæa in the whole of his expedition. Or the regular tribute may have been fixed at 300

17 ¶ And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rab-shakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a †great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which *is* in the highway of the fuller's field.

† Heb. *heavy.*

18 And when they had called to the king, there came out to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which

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talents, and the ransom of the city may have amounted to 500 more.

16. *At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold, &c.*] Unable to make up the sum demanded of him in any other way, since Ahaz had exhausted the treasuries when he purchased the protection of Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xvi. 8), Hezekiah was compelled to undo his own work, and to strip off from the doors and pillars of the Temple the precious metal with which he had adorned them. "Gold" is not expressly mentioned; but it is probable that, like Solomon (1 K. vi. 20-22, 28, 30, 32, 35), he had used for the ornamentation of God's house no meaner metal. (Compare the ἐχρύσωσεν of the LXX.)

17. *And the king of Assyria sent.*] There can be no doubt that an interval of time, longer or shorter, must be placed between this verse and the last. Sennacherib *cannot*, directly after his demands had been all granted and the tribute paid him, have turned on Hezekiah with the insulting message in the text. He must have received fresh provocation; and it is not difficult to see what the provocation was. Content with his successes, Sennacherib had returned to Nineveh with his spoil and his numerous captives. Hezekiah, left to himself, repented of his submission. Perhaps he received overtures from the Ethiopian monarch, who, from the distant Meroë, bore sway, not only over Ethiopia, but over Egypt. (So Stanley conjectures.) At any rate, he cast his eyes in this direction, and commenced negotiations with the great kingdom on his southern borders (Is. xxx. 2-6; xxxi. 1), which implied treason against his Assyrian suzerain. An earnest request was made for an auxiliary force of horse and chariots (infra, verse 24), by help of which it was hoped that Sennacherib might be effectually resisted. The aid asked was promised; and Hezekiah, in reliance upon this support, threw off the mask, and openly spoke of war (verse 20). It was under these circumstances that Sennacherib appears to have made his second expedition into Palestine very soon after the first. Following the usual coast route he passed through Philistia on his way to Egypt, bent on chastising the power to which he rightly attributed the renewal of disturbances in this quarter. He left Jerusalem on one side, despising the efforts of so puny a state, and knowing that the submission of Egypt would involve that of her hangers-on. While, however, he was besieging Lachish on his way to encounter his main enemy, he determined to try the temper of the Jews by means of an embassy, which he accordingly sent.

Tartan and Rabsaris and Rab-shakeh.] None of these are proper names. "Tartan" was the ordinary title of an Assyrian general, and may be compared with the *Surena* of the Parthians. "Rab-saris" is "chief eunuch," always a high officer of the Assyrian court ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 113). Rab-shakeh is probably "chief cup-bearer." (Compare *mashkeh*, "cup-bearer" or "butler," Gen. xl. 1.)

with a great host.] A body of troops sufficient to form a strong escort is probably intended—not an army, since there was no intention of engaging in hostilities.

against Jerusalem.] Rather, "to Jerusalem."

by the conduit of the upper pool.] Keil understands by this the conduit leading from the reservoir called *Birket-el-Mamilla* to the lower pool, *Birket-es-Sultan*, a conduit on the west side of the city, in the valley of Hinnom. But it is at least as likely that a conduit on the north side of the city, near the "camp of the Assyrians," is intended. At any rate, the spot was the same as that on which Isaiah had met Ahaz and warned him of the danger that impended over Judah from the Assyrians whom he was bent on calling to his aid. (Is. vii. 3.)

18. *When they had called to the king.*] The ambassadors summoned Hezekiah, as if their rank were equal to his. Careful of his dignity, he responds by sending officers of his court.

Eliakim . . which was over the household.] Shebna, who had held this position at the time of the previous invasion, and had incurred the anger of Isaiah, probably by the advice which he then gave, had, according to Isaiah's prophecy (Is. xxii. 19), been degraded from his station, while, equally in accordance with the same seer's prediction, Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, had been promoted to fill his place (ib. verses 20-22).

was over the household, and Shebna the ‖scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder.

‖ Or, *secretary.*

19 And Rab-shakeh said unto them, Speak ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence *is* this wherein thou trustest?

20 Thou ‖sayest, (but *they are but* †vain words,) ‖*I have* counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me?

‖ Or, *talkest.* † Heb. *word of the lips.* ‖ Or, *but counsel and strength are for the war.*

21 Now, behold, thou †trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, *even* upon Egypt, on which if a man lean,

† Heb. *trustest thee.*

The Comptroller of the Household, whose position (if we may judge by his place in the list of "princes," 1 K. iv. 6) must have been a subordinate one in the time of Solomon, appears to have now become the chief minister of the crown. He wore a peculiar "robe" and "girdle" (Is. xxii. 21), and perhaps carried as a badge of office a key which rested on his shoulder (ib. verse 22). Eliakim was a man of high character. God terms him, by the mouth of Isaiah, "his servant" (ib. verse 20). He was to be "a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah" (ib. verse 21); and "a glorious throne to his father's house" (ib. verse 23). His deportment in the scene now described well befits his reputation.

Shebna the scribe.] Or "secretary" (marg.) On the duties and rank of the royal "secretary," see note on 1 K. iv. 3. Shebna, when he lost the high position of chief minister, undertook this subordinate office, according to the common practice of Oriental courts, where the displaced vizier is always ready to accept an inferior employment. He was probably a man of mean birth, since neither here nor in verse 37, nor again in Is. xxii. 15, is his father's name mentioned.

Joah, the son of Asaph, the recorder.] Joah is otherwise unknown to us. On the office of "recorder," or "remembrancer," see note on 1 K. iv. 3.

19. *And Rab-shakeh said.*] The reason why the Rab-shakeh, the *third* in rank of the three Assyrian ambassadors, took the prominent part in the conference (so that he alone is mentioned by Isaiah, xxxvi. 2-22), must undoubtedly have lain in the circumstance that he could speak Hebrew (infra, verse 26) whereas the Tartan and the Rab-saris could not do so. We cannot, however, conclude from this with certainty that the Rab-shakeh was a renegade Jew (Prideaux, Milman). Hebrew is so like Assyrian that an Assyrian would acquire it with great facility. And (as Thenius observes) there must always have been some officer or officers of the Assyrian court whose business it was to know foreign languages, for the purpose of communicating with foreigners who came to court, to bring tribute, crave help, and the like. The chief cup-bearer may well have been the ordinary introducer of such persons, a sort of "master of the ceremonies" at the court of Assyria.

the great king.] This favourite title of the Achæmenian monarchs was inherited by them, with the Empire of Asia, from the old monarchs of Assyria. It is found in use as early as B.C. 1120. Like the title, "King of kings," the distinctive epithet "great" served to mark emphatically the vast difference between the numerous vassal monarchs and the suzerain of whom they held their crowns.

20. *Thou sayest.*] Either actual words of Hezekiah had been reported to Sennacherib, or the general tenor of his thoughts was correctly enough interpreted by the Assyrian. Hezekiah no doubt believed that in the "counsel" of Eliakim and Isaiah, and in the "strength" promised him by Egypt, he had resources which justified him in provoking a renewal of the war.

vain words.] Literally, "a word of the lips" (marg.)—*i.e.* a *mere* word, to which the facts do not correspond.

21. *This bruised reed.*] This was a happy metaphor, which inspiration itself did not disdain to adopt (Ezek. xxix. 6, 7), and which stamps Rab-shakeh (or Sennacherib, if the phrase was really his) as a man of keen observation and apt speech. The "tall reed of the Nile bulrush" fitly symbolised the land where it grew. Apparently strong and firm, it was quite unworthy of trust. Let a man lean upon it, and the rotten support instantly gave way, wounding the hand that stayed itself so insecurely. So it was with Egypt throughout the whole period of Jewish history. Hoshea leant upon Sabaco, and in consequence lost his kingdom (2 K. xvii. 4-6), without receiving the slightest help. Hezekiah obtained no real relief from Tirhakah. Nor did Apries strike a blow for Zedekiah. The true policy of Egypt would have been to support with all her power the gallant struggles of the little Syrian states. Her actual practice was to pretend friendship, to hold out hopes of support, and then to fail in time of need.

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it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so *is* Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him.

22 But if ye say unto me, We trust in the LORD our God: *is* not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?

23 Now therefore, I pray thee, give [1] pledges to my lord the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.

[1] Or, *hostages.*

24 How then wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?

25 Am I now come up without the LORD against this place to destroy it? The LORD said to me, Go up against this land, and destroy it.

26 Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rab-shakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand *it:* and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that *are* on the wall.

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22. *Is not that he whose high places . . . Hezekiah hath taken away?*] As Rab-shakeh did not know the requirements of the Jewish law (see note on verse 4), it might seem to him, naturally enough, that the destruction of numerous shrines and altars where Jehovah had been worshipped was conduct calculated, not to secure the favour, but to call forth the anger of the god. At any rate, it was conduct which he knew had been distasteful to many of Hezekiah's subjects, and an allusion to it might serve the cause of his master by causing dissensions among his enemies.

23. *Give pledges.*] It is difficult to say what was the exact proposal here made. The Assyrian did not mean it seriously, and consequently did not care to speak very definitely. He was simply intent on ridiculing the notion that Hezekiah had any sufficient "strength for the war" (verse 20). The phrase translated "give pledges" or "hostages" (marg.) may perhaps be best understood as meaning "make an agreement." If you will "bind yourself to find the riders," we will "bind ourselves to furnish the horses."

riders.] *I.e.* trained horsemen. The suggestion is that in all Judæa there are not 2000 men accustomed to serve as cavalry.

24. *How wilt thou turn away the face, &c.*] *I.e.* "If this is the case—if thou hast not 2000 horsemen—how wilt thou meet and defeat one single inferior Assyrian captain—to say nothing of the whole Assyrian host under its great king, which is coming against thee?"

and put thy trust.] This should be made a distinct sentence. "And **thou trustest** in Egypt, &c."

25. *The Lord said to me.*] Literally, "Jehovah said to me." These words are startling in the mouth of an Assyrian. Are we to suppose that Rab-shakeh identifies Jehovah with Asshur? Or has he some knowledge of the prophecies wherein Isaiah has threatened the land with desolation at the hand of the Assyrians? (Is. vii. 17-24; x. 5-12.) Or, finally, does he merely try the effect of a bold assertion, which has no basis of fact to rest upon? Perhaps of these three suppositions the last is the most probable.

26. *Speak . . to thy servants in the Syrian language.*] Rab-shakeh had spoken in Hebrew, either simply to make himself intelligible to the Jewish officers, whom he might naturally suppose to be unacquainted with any other tongue, or perhaps with the further object of making an impression on the people who were within earshot. Eliakim and his companions, fearing the effect of his words upon the listeners—perhaps perceiving that they were having an effect—suggested to him that he should speak, not in Hebrew, but in Aramaic, which they told him that they could understand. The Aramaic which they intended was probably the dialect of Damascus, a Semitic language nearly akin to their own, but sufficiently different to be unintelligible to ordinary Jews. They presumed that, as Rab-shakeh knew Hebrew, he would know Aramaic also, which was a language more widely spoken than Hebrew, and prevalent in regions that had long been included in Assyria.

the people that are on the wall.] The conference must have been held immediately outside the wall for the words of the speakers to have been audible. Even then, we must remember the loudness and shrillness of Oriental voices to understand the uneasiness

27 But Rab-shakeh said unto them, Hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee, to speak these words? *hath he* not *sent me* to the men which sit on the wall, that they may † Heb. *the water of their feet?* eat their own dung, and drink † their own piss with you?

28 Then Rab-shakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and spake, saying, Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria:

29 Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand:

30 Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying, The LORD will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.

31 Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, ‖ † Make *an agreement* with me by a present, and come out to me, and *then* eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his ‖ cistern: ‖ Or, *Seek my favour.* † Heb. *Make with me a blessing.* ‖ Or, *pit.*

32 Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die: and hearken not unto Hezekiah,

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of the Jewish officers. Rab-shakeh had perhaps spoken intentionally loud.

27. *Hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall?*] In no state of society can the law of nations have permitted an appeal of this kind—an appeal from the government to the people, from the commander to the common soldiery. But the Assyrians in their intense pride scorned to be bound by ordinary usage, and assumed the right of making their own will law. Hence the reproach of Isaiah—"He hath broken the covenant; he hath despised the cities; he regardeth no man" (xxxiii. 8).

that they may eat, &c.] This clause is to be connected closely with the preceding words, "who sit on the wall." "Hath not my master sent me," Rab-shakeh says, "to these men, whom I see stationed on the wall to defend the place and bear the last extremities of a prolonged siege—these men on whom its worst evils will fall, and who have therefore the greatest interest in avoiding it by a timely surrender?" He expresses the evils by a strong coarse phrase, suited to the rude soldiery, and well calculated to rouse their feelings. The author of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxii. 11) has softened down the words to "dying by famine and thirst."

29. *Out of his hand.*] Rab-shakeh, like many an ill-educated modern, confuses persons when he is reporting the speech of another. He should have said, "out of my hand." The corresponding passage of Isaiah (xxxvi. 14) omits the phrase altogether.

30. *Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord.*] There were two grounds, and two only, on which Hezekiah could rest his refusal to surrender, (1) ability to resist by his own natural military strength and that of his allies; and (2) expectation of supernatural assistance from Jehovah. Rab-shakeh argues that both grounds of confidence are equally fallacious. We may gather from his dwelling so much on the second ground, that it had already been put forward. Isaiah had no doubt uttered some of those many prophecies which spake mysteriously of a great deliverance from the Assyrians (as xxx. 31; xxxi. 4-9); and Hezekiah, trusting in their truth, assured his subjects that "Jehovah would certainly deliver them, and the city would not be surrendered into the hand of the king of Assyria." Compare 2 Chr. xxxii. 11.

31. *Make an agreement with me by a present.*] Rather, "Make **peace** with me." The word *b'rakah*, which primarily means "blessing," and secondarily "a gift," has also the meaning, though more rarely, of "peace" (Gesenius). Probably it acquired this meaning from the fact that a peace was commonly purchased by presents.

come out to me.] *I.e.* "Surrender yourselves—quit the protection of your walls." The "peace" of which Sennacherib spoke was to be absolute and entire submission.

eat—drink.] In contrast with the latter part of verse 27. The mention of the "vine" and "fig-tree" recalls 1 K. iv. 25; and equally points to a time of quiet and prosperity, a time when each man might enjoy the fruits of his land, without any fear of the spoiler's violence. Compare below, xix. 29.

cistern.] Or "pit" (marg.). Rather "well," as in Deut. vi. 11. Each cultivator in Palestine has a "well" dug in some part of his ground, from which he draws water for his own use. "Cisterns," or reservoirs for rain-water, are comparatively rare.

32. *Like your own land.*] Compare Num. xiii. 27; xiv. 7; Deut. i. 25; viii. 7-9; xi. 11, 12.

when he [1]persuadeth you, saying, The LORD will deliver us.

33 Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?

34 Where *are* the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where *are* the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?

35 Who *are* they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?

36 But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not.

37 Then came Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which *was* over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder, to Hezekiah with *their* clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

[1] Or, *deceiveth.*

33. *Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land?*] This boast is natural. The Assyrians had had an uninterrupted career of success, and might well believe that their gods were more powerful than those of the nations with whom they had warred. Nor was there anything in the history of the Jews, so far as they knew it, to induce them to separate this people in their minds from others. They had utterly overrun and destroyed the kindred tribes of Galilee, Gilead, and Samaria. They had for years exercised lordship over Judæa; and, on the recent occasion of a rebellion, they had easily enforced submission, and the very king who now defied them had purchased his safety by the payment of a heavy fine. It is not surprising that they did not understand that their successes hitherto had been allowed by the very God, Jehovah, against whom they were now boasting themselves. (Compare Is. x. 5-19.)

34. *Arpad.*] This city, which in Scripture is always connected with Hamath (2 K. xix. 13; Is. x. 9; xxxvi. 19; xxxvii. 13; Jer. xlix. 23), must have been situated somewhere in southern Syria; but it is impossible to fix its exact position. Sargon mentions it in an inscription as joining with Hamath in an act of rebellion, which he chastised ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 410). It was probably the capture and destruction of these two cities on this occasion which caused them to be mentioned here (and in ch. xix. 13, and again in Isaiah x. 9) together. Sennacherib adduces late examples of the inability of the nations' gods to protect their cities. On the other cities mentioned in this verse, see notes on 2 K. xvii. 24.

36. *The people held their peace.*] Rabshakeh had hoped to hear seditious murmurs, if not even to witness a popular outbreak, of which he might have taken advantage to make himself master of the town. The ambassadors had come with an armed escort of some strength (supra, verse 17), which might have been sufficient to effect the capture under such circumstances; but they were far from possessing a force capable of undertaking the siege. Sennacherib was at this time engaged before Lachish, and "all his power" was "with him" (2 Chr. xxxii. 9).

37. *With their clothes rent.*] See note on ch. v. 7.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 4 and 13.

NOTE A. on verse 4. "And he called it Nehushtan."

The verb יִקְרָא is probably used here indefinitely, as in Gen. xxv. 26; xxxviii. 29, 30, and should be translated "they called," or "it was called." The name Nehushtan (נְחֻשְׁתָּן) seems to be a derivative, not of נָחָשׁ, "a serpent," but of נְחֹשֶׁת, "brass." The suffix ן is probably *diminutive.*

NOTE B. on verse 13. "In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah."

This note of time, which places the invasion of Sennacherib eight years only after the capture of Samaria, is hopelessly at variance with the Assyrian dates for the two events, the first of which falls into the first of Sargon, and the second into the fourth of Sennacherib, twenty-one years later. We have therefore to choose between an entire rejection of the Assyrian chronological data, preserved to our times in the original contemporary documents, and confirmed in numerous minute points by the Canon of Ptolemy, and an emendation of the present passage. Three emendations have been proposed. 1. It has been suggested that the words of this verse originally stood thus—

"Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did the king of Assyria come up against Judah;" that then followed the whole of the twentieth chapter, after which the writer resumed as follows:—"And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." (Dr. Hincks in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature' October, 1858.) In that case the expedition in the fourteenth year would have been one conducted by Sargon. 2. Another mode of solving the difficulty is simply to remove the note of time altogether, regarding it as having crept in from the margin. Notice of the regnal year of an ordinary invasion is not in the manner of the writer of Kings. He dates the last attack on Samaria (K. xviii. 9) and its capture (2 K. xvii. 6; xviii. 10); the last attack on Jerusalem (xxv. 1) and its capture (xxv. 3). But he does not date the invasions of Shishak, or Benhadad, or Hazael, or Pul, or Tiglath-pileser, or the first attack of Shalmaneser, or the invasion of Neco, or the first or second attack of Nebuchadnezzar. What should have induced him to date this attack, which, if it were distinct from the Libnah and Lachish expedition of ch. xix. 8-36, was one of no special importance? But if he did not date it, a scribe, noticing the dates in verses 9 and 10, may have wished to supply what seemed to him an omission. Taking the first words of ch. xx. ("in those days") strictly, and confounding together the two expeditions of Sennacherib, he may have thought to obtain the correct date from ch. xx. 6. 3. The knot may be cut by a substitution of "seven and twentieth" for "fourteenth" (שבע ושׁרים for ארבע עשׂרה) in the present passage, and a supposition that ch. xx. comes out of its proper chronological order.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *Hezekiah mourning sendeth to Isaiah to pray for them.* 6 *Isaiah comforteth them.* 8 *Sennacherib, going to encounter Tirhakah, sendeth a blasphemous letter to Hezekiah.* 14 *Hezekiah's prayer.* 20 *Isaiah's prophecy of the pride and destruction of Sennacherib, and the good of Zion.* 35 *An angel slayeth the Assyrians.* 36 *Sennacherib is slain at Nineveh by his own sons.*

AND [a] it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard *it*, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the LORD. [a] Isai. 37. 1.

2 And he sent Eliakim, which *was* over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests,

CHAP. XIX. 1. *He rent his clothes.*] Hezekiah, like his officers, probably rent his clothes on account of Rab-shakeh's blasphemies. He seems to have put on sackcloth, however, not for this reason, but in self-humiliation and in grief. "A day of trouble" had come (verse 3), fearful threats had been uttered, dreadful calamities seemed impending. The king of Assyria might at any moment break up from before Lachish and march with his whole force against Jerusalem. The siege might re-commence, might be pressed to extremity, might terminate in horrors of which he would not willingly think. The only hope left was in Jehovah; for Egypt could not be trusted to effect anything of importance. Hezekiah therefore turned to God with the outward signs of sorrowful penitence, and no doubt with earnest inward prayer. He "went into the house of the Lord" for this purpose apparently, since he does not seem to have gone for sacrifice. Rab-shakeh's boldness had told upon him. He was dispirited, dejected. He perhaps began to doubt whether he had done right in yielding to the bolder counsels of Eliakim and Isaiah. He had not lost his faith in God; but his faith was being severely tried. He wisely went and strove by prayer to strengthen it.

2. *Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz.*] Isaiah is here for the first time introduced into the history. His own writings show us how active a part he had taken in it for many years previously. This was the fourth reign since he began his prophesyings, and during two reigns at least, those of Ahaz and Hezekiah, he had been a familiar counsellor of the monarch. But the necessary brevity of the narrative in Kings has prevented his appearing before. This is not the place for any estimate of Isaiah's character. It is sufficient to remark that, since the disgrace of Shebna and the advancement of Eliakim, he had probably been one of Hezekiah's main advisers, had counselled the revolt from Assyria, and encouraged the king and people to persevere in their resistance. The exact date of prophecies can seldom be fixed with any certainty; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding chs. x. xxx. and xxxi. as written about the time of Hezekiah's second revolt. In these chapters the promise is clear that Jerusalem will be preserved, and the Assyrian baffled and laid low. Hence, when despondency seizes

covered with sackcloth, to Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz.

3 And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day *is* a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and [1]blasphemy: for the children are come to the birth, and *there is* not strength to bring forth.

4 It may be the LORD thy God will hear all the words of Rab-shakeh, whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God; and will reprove the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up *thy* prayer for the remnant that are [†]left.

5 So the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah.

6 ¶ And [b]Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me.

7 Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

8 ¶ So Rab-shakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish.

9 And when he heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee: he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah, saying,

[1] Or, *provocation.*

[†] Heb. *found.*

[b] Luke 3. 4, called *Esaias.*

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on him, Hezekiah sends for Isaiah, hoping to be cheered and sustained by some fresh assurance of the merciful intentions of God.

3. *A day of rebuke.*] Rather, "of **chastisement**," a day on which we are chastised for our sins at the hand of God.

and blasphemy.] Or "provocation" (marg.). Rather, "**of reproach**"—a day on which we suffer reproach at the hands of man. These two facts constitute the "trouble" which is mentioned previously.

the children are come to the birth, &c.] *I.e.* "we are in a fearful extremity—at the last gasp—and lack the strength that might carry us through the danger."

4. *Will hear.*] *I.e.* "will shew that he has heard—will notice and punish."

the living God.] This is not a common phrase. It is found only once in the 'Pentateuch' (Deut. v. 26), once in Joshua (iii. 10), once in Samuel (1 S. xvii. 26), twice in the Psalms (xlii. 2; lxxxiv. 2), once in Hosea (i. 10), once in Daniel (vi. 26), and twice in Jeremiah (x. 10; xxiii. 36). It is generally used, as here, where there is a contrast, open or implied, between the real God and the gods of the heathen, the "living" maker of the universe, and "dead" idols.

and will reprove the words.] Rather, "will reprove **him**" (or "will **punish him**") "**for** the words." (Gesenius, Maurer, &c.)

for the remnant that are left.] *I. e.* for the kingdom of Judah, the only remnant of God's people that was now left, after Galilee and Gilead and Samaria had all been carried away captive.

7. *I will send a blast upon him.*] Rather, "I will **put a spirit in** him"—*i.e.* I will take from him his present pride and will put in him a new spirit, a spirit of craven fear—"he shall hear **tidings**"—(*i.e.* men shall tell him of the destruction that has come upon his host in the night) and he shall straightway "return to his own land," and trouble Judæa no more.

I will cause him to fall by the sword.] See below, verse 37.

8. *He had heard.*] The Assyrian envoys had been despatched to Jerusalem while Sennacherib was at Lachish (2 K. xviii. 17). They would naturally have rejoined him there; but intelligence reached them that he had moved his camp to Libnah, whither, consequently, they directed their steps. On the probable position of Lachish and Libnah, see notes on 2 K. viii. 22 and xiv. 19. The phrase "he was departed from Lachish" is compatible either with the capture or with the successful resistance of that city; but it is perhaps rather suggestive of successful resistance.

9. *Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia.*] This monarch seems to be rightly identified with the Tarcus or Taracus of Manetho, the Tearcon of Megasthenes (Fr. 20), and the *Tehrak* or *Teharka* of the hieroglyphics. He was the last king of the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty, which commenced with *Shebek* or Sabaco. Manetho assigned him a reign of 18 (Afric.) or 20 (Euseb.) years; but the monuments prove him to have reigned longer, since they mention his 26th year. The Assyrian inscriptions shew that he still ruled in Egypt

10 Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.

11 Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered?

12 Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed; *as* Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which *were* in Thelasar?

13 Where *is* the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivah?

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as late as B.C. 667, when Esarhaddon died and his son Asshur-bani-pal succeeded him. He probably therefore ascended the Egyptian throne about B.C. 692, which is five years later than the last year of Hezekiah according to the present Hebrew numbers. It seems, however, not improbable that Tirhakah ruled over Ethiopia before he became king of Egypt. He is called here and by Isaiah (xxxvii. 9) "king of Cush," not "king of Mizraim;" and an Egyptian Pharaoh is mentioned by the same prophet (xxx. 2), apparently as contemporary with Tirhakah. Herodotus, too, makes the expedition of Sennacherib synchronize with the reign of Sethos, a native king, in Egypt. The best way of reconciling these various authorities is to regard Tirhakah as reigning *in Ethiopia* at the time of Sennacherib's expedition, while Sethos and perhaps other secondary monarchs bore rule over Egypt. Sennacherib's attack threatened Sethos especially; but Tirhakah also, either as an ally or as lord paramount, put himself in motion to resist it. He may have been bound by treaty engagements to help Hezekiah (Is. xviii. 1-7); but this is uncertain.

when he heard . . . he sent messengers again.] It seems to be implied in these words that, if Tirhakah had not begun to stir, Sennacherib would have sent no second embassy, but would have marched in person against the Jewish king. As it was, he felt it necessary to set his troops in motion against the Ethiopians, and consequently to march southwards, in the opposite direction from Jerusalem.

10. *Jerusalem shall not be delivered.*] See note on ch. xviii. verse 30.

11. *All lands.*] This boast is in strict accordance with the general tenor of the Assyrian inscriptions. The monarchs declare that "the terror of their name has overwhelmed *all regions*"—that they "have subjugated *all the earth*"—that they "rule *over all lands*, from the rising up of the sun to the going down of the same." Hyperbole is the general language of the East; and in this instance it was not so extreme as in some others. The Assyrians under Sargon and Sennacherib had enjoyed an uninterrupted series of military successes, and succeeded in establishing their sway, or at least their pre-eminence, from the Median desert to the banks of the Nile, and from the shores of Lake Van to those of the Persian Gulf.

12. *Haran.*] Here, as elsewhere, Haran is undoubtedly *Harrán*, the Carrhæ (Κάρραι) of the Greeks and Romans. (See Gen. xi. 31.) This place must have been among the earliest conquests of the Assyrians, for it appears as already subject to them in a historical inscription, which is believed to date from the 12th century ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 318). Its conquest would have naturally followed that of Gozan (Gauzanitis), which lay between it and Assyria proper.

Rezeph.] The Assyrian inscriptions contain frequent mention of a city called Razappa, which was in the neighbourhood of Haran, and which is probably the Rezeph of this passage. We have no account of the time at which it became subject to Assyria, and no mention of it in the classical writers.

the children of Eden.] Or, "the Beni-Eden." Many Arab tribes have names of this character, as the Beni-Lam, the Beni-Khaled, the Beni-Sâle, the Beni-Temîm, &c. The people intended appear from the Assyrian inscriptions to have inhabited the country on the east bank of the Euphrates, about the modern Balis. Here they had a city called Beth-Adina, which was taken by the Assyrians about B.C. 880. This is probably the "Eden" of Ezek. xxvii. 23, which is joined with Haran and Canneh, and is said to have carried on an important trade with Tyre.

which were in Thelasar.] Or, "which are in Telassar." The king of Assyria, who conquered the people of Beth-Adina, states that he built a city on the Euphrates in their immediate vicinity, which he called after the name of the god Asshur. It is not unlikely that this is the city here mentioned. The name Tel-Assar would signify "the Hill of Asshur."

14 ¶ And Hezekiah received the letter of the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up into the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD.

15 And Hezekiah prayed before the LORD, and said, O LORD God of Israel, which dwellest *between* the cherubims, thou art the God, *even* thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth.

16 LORD, bow down thine ear, and hear: open, LORD, thine eyes, and see: and hear the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent him to reproach the living God.

17 Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have destroyed the nations and their lands,

18 And have †cast their gods into the fire: for they *were* no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone: therefore they have destroyed them.

† Heb. *given.*

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13. *Where is the king of Hamath, &c.*] A king of Hamath, who had revolted from Sargon about twenty years earlier than this, had been defeated, captured, and *beheaded* ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 411). The king of Arpad, who joined in the revolt, was also put to death (ibid.). A king of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah (*i.e.* of Sippara, Anah, and Is or Hit) had probably rebelled and been reduced subsequently. Of him the inscriptions tell us nothing. The revolt, however, of Sepharvaim and Ivah is implied in the transportation of their inhabitants to Samaria, related in ch. xvii. 24, from which passage we may gather that this revolt also fell into the reign of Sargon. Thus verse 12 refers to ancient Assyrian successes ("them which my fathers have destroyed"), verse 13 to comparatively recent ones.

14. *Hezekiah received the letter.*] Sennacherib was not now content to send messengers with instructions as to what they were to say, but made them carry their message in a written form, and ordered them to deliver the writing to the Jewish king. The inscriptions show that scribes accompanied the Assyrian armies, with the materials of their craft, so that such a dispatch might be easily drawn up. As Hezekiah himself "read" the letter, we may presume that it was in the Hebrew tongue.

and spread it before the Lord.] Some have supposed that Hezekiah entered into the Holy of Holies, and in that dark recess spread the writing before the Divine presence. But there is nothing in the narrative to imply that he was guilty of any such profanation.

15. *Which dwellest between the cherubims.*] The reference is to the *shechinah*, or miraculous glory, which from time to time appeared above the mercy-seat from between the two cherubims whose wings overshadowed the ark of the covenant. (See above, 1 K. vi. 23-27; and compare Ex. xxv. 22; xxix. 43; Lev. xvi. 2; &c.)

thou art the God, even thou alone.] This is the protest of the pure theist against the intense polytheism of Sennacherib's letter, which assumes that gods are only gods of particular nations, and that Hezekiah's God is but one out of an indefinite number, no stronger or more formidable than the rest.

thou hast made heaven and earth.] Compare Gen. i. 1. The God who has made heaven and earth cannot be the God of a particular land or nation only, but must be the God "of all the kingdoms of the earth."

16. *Which hath sent him.*] Rather, "which **he hath sent**" (οὗς ἀπέστειλεν, LXX.). The mistranslation has arisen from an inaccuracy of expression in the Hebrew, where the pronoun is in the singular instead of the plural, because the writer forgets that he has used the expression "words," and writes as if he had said "letter" or "speech."

the living God.] See note on verse 4.

18. *Have cast their gods into the fire.*] In general the Assyrians seem to have carried off the images of the gods from the temples of the conquered nations, and to have deposited them in their own shrines, as at once trophies of victory and proofs of the superiority of the Assyrian deities over those of their enemies. Occasionally, however, we find indications of a different mode of treatment. The gods are sometimes said to have been "destroyed" or "burnt with fire." This was probably the course pursued, (1), when the idols were of rude workmanship or coarse material; and (2), when it was inconvenient to encumber an army with spoils so weighty and difficult of transport.

wood and stone.] Wooden images of the gods (ξοάνα) were common among the Greeks; and Pausanias says that the most ancient images were almost all of this kind (viii. 17, § 2). The Assyrians seem not to have employed them; but they are mentioned as in use at Babylon (Dan. v. 4), in Syria ('Inscriptions'), among the idolatrous Jews (Is. xliv. 13-19; xlv. 20), and among the heathen

19 Now therefore, O LORD our God, I beseech thee, save thou us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou *art* the LORD God, *even* thou only.

20 ¶ Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, *That* which thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria I have heard.

21 This *is* the word that the LORD hath spoken concerning him; The virgin the daughter of Zion hath despised thee, *and* laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.

22 Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted *thy* voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? *even* against the Holy *One* of Israel.

23 †By thy messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, † Heb. *By the hand of.*

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generally (Ezek. xx. 32). The silver and golden images of which we hear so frequently (Deut. vii. 25; xxix. 17; Ps. cxv. 4; cxxxv. 15; Is. ii. 20; xlvi. 6; Hos. viii. 4; &c.), were probably of wood, plated over with the precious metals. Excepting for such images, stone gradually superseded wood as a material, until in later Greece and Rome it came to be employed almost to the exclusion of any other substance.

19. *Out of his hand.*] *I.e.* "out of the hand of Sennacherib." The antecedent, though remote (verse 16), is readily supplied, since there is no other third person mentioned in the entire prayer.

that all the kingdoms of the earth may know, &c.] If the mighty army of the great Assyrian king were successfully defied by a petty monarch like Hezekiah, it could not but draw the attention of the surrounding nations, who would be forced to confess that the escape was owing to the protecting hand of Jehovah, and would thus be taught, in spite of themselves, that He, and He alone, was the true God. The sentiment is exactly parallel to that uttered by David on occasion of the great confederacy against him (Ps. lxxxiii.; 2 S. x. 6-16)—"Let them be confounded and troubled for ever: yea, let them be put to shame and perish; *that men may know* that thou, whose name alone is Jehovah, art the most high over all the earth." Thus Hezekiah, the true follower of David (2 K. xviii. 3), rises in his distress to the same height of self-abnegation, desiring the Divine help, not for his own sake, not even for the sake of his people, but for the glory of God—that His honour may be vindicated among surrounding nations.

21. *Concerning him.*] *I.e.* "concerning Sennacherib." The second section of Isaiah's answer, commencing here and terminating in verse 28, is addressed to the great Assyrian monarch himself, and is God's reply to the proud boastings of that haughty prince, whether as expressed in his letter (verses 10-13) or by his messengers (ch. xviii. 22-25, 29-35).

the virgin, the daughter of Zion.] Rather, "**the virgin daughter, Zion.**" Zion, the holy eastern city, is here distinguished from Jerusalem, the western one, and is given the remarkable epithet "virgin," which is not applied to her sister. Bishop Patrick has probably given the real reason of this when he conjectures (note ad loc.) that the true Zion, the city of David, had remained inviolable from David's time, having never been entered by an enemy. Jerusalem, on the other hand, had been taken, both by Shishak (1 K. xiv. 26) and by Joash (2 K. xiv. 13). The personification of cities as females is a common figure. (Comp. Is. xxiii. 10, 12; xlvii. 1; lii. 2; Lament. ii. 13; iv. 21; Micah iv. 10; &c.)

hath shaken her head at thee.] This was a gesture of scorn with the Hebrews. (Compare Ps. xxii. 7; cix. 25; Matt. xxvii. 39.)

22. *The Holy One of Israel.*] This is a favourite phrase with Isaiah, in whose prophecies it is found twenty-seven times, while it occurs five times only in the rest of Scripture (Ps. lxxi. 22; lxxviii. 41; lxxxix. 18; Jer. l. 29; li. 5). Its occurrence here is a strong proof—one among many—of the genuineness of the present passage, which is not the composition of the writer of Kings, but an actual prophecy delivered at this time by Isaiah, bearing all the characteristic marks of that prophet's fervent and highly poetic style.

23. *And hast said.*] Isaiah clothes in words the thoughts of Sennacherib's heart—the real thoughts that were present there when he wrote, or dictated, his letter, and which underlay the letter itself, so that he might be considered to have actually said them by implication. These thoughts are thoughts of the extremest self-confidence. Sennacherib believes that by his own power and might he can trample down all opposition, overcome all obstacles, and conquer whatever countries

With the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down †the tall cedar trees thereof, *and* the choice fir trees thereof: and I will enter into the lodgings of his borders, *and into* ‖the forest of his Carmel.

24 I have digged and drunk strange waters, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of ¶besieged places.

25 ‖Hast thou not heard long ago *how* I have done it, *and* of ancient times that I have formed it? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities *into* ruinous heaps.

26 Therefore their inhabitants were †of small power, they were dismayed and confounded: they were *as* the grass of the field, and *as* the green herb, *as* the grass on the house tops, and *as corn* blasted before it be grown up.

† Heb. *the tallness*, &c.

‖ Or, *the forest* and *his fruitful field.*

¶ Or, *fenced.*

‖ Or, *Hast thou not heard* how *I have made it long ago*, and *formed it of ancient times? should I now bring it to be laid waste*, and *fenced cities* to be *ruinous heaps?*

† Heb. *short of hand.*

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he pleases. Compare Is. x. 7-14, where, probably at an earlier date, the same overweening pride is ascribed to this king.

with the multitude of my chariots.] There are two readings here, which give, however, nearly the same sense. The more difficult and more poetical of the two is to be preferred. (See note at the end of the chapter.) Literally translated it runs—"With **chariots upon** chariots am I come up, &c."

to the sides of Lebanon.] "Lebanon," with its "cedars" and its "fir-trees," is to be understood here both literally and figuratively. Literally, the hewing of timber in Lebanon was an ordinary feature of an Assyrian expedition into Syria, and was no doubt included among the actual designs of Sennacherib. Figuratively, the mountain represents all the more inaccessible parts of Palestine, and the destruction of its firs and cedars denotes the complete devastation of the entire country from one end to the other by the Assyrian armies—the ruin of the trees, the houses, and the inhabitants.

the lodgings of his borders.] Literally, "the lodge of its (Lebanon's) end;" by which some understand an actual habitation situated on the highest point of the mountain-range (Vitringa, Gesenius, Rosenmüller); while others consider the expression to be merely a poetical periphrasis for the highest point itself. (Keil, Geddes.)

the forest of his Carmel.] Or "the forest of its garden"—*i.e.* "its garden forest"—"its forest which is like a garden." (Compare Is. xxix. 17, where the word translated "fruitful field" is *carmel.*)

24. *I have digged and drunk . . . and dried up.*] Or, "I dig and drink . . . and . . . dry up." The meaning seems to be—"Mountains do not stop me—I cross them even in my chariots. Deserts do not stop me—I dig wells there, and drink the water. Rivers do not stop me—I pass them as easily as if they were dry land."

the rivers of besieged places.] Rather, "the rivers of **Egypt**." The singular form, *Mazor* (compare the modern *Misr* and the Assyrian *Muzr*), is here used instead of the ordinary dual form, *Mizraim*, perhaps because "Lower Egypt" only is intended. In Upper Egypt there was but one river, the Nile. Lower Egypt was so cut up with canals and branches of the Nile, natural and artificial, that it was regarded as impassable for chariots and horses (Herod. ii. 108). Sennacherib, however, thought that these many streams would prove no impediments to him; he would find a way of crossing them, and would advance as fast as if they were "dried up."

25. *Hast thou not heard long ago, &c.*] Rather, "Hast thou not heard, **that from long ago I did** this, from ancient times I fashioned it? Now have I brought it to pass, that fenced cities **are to be laid waste** into ruinous heaps." The former part of the verse refers to the secret Divine decrees, whereby the affairs of this world are determined and ordered from the very beginning of things. Sennacherib is asked, "Hast thou not heard"—*i.e.* "Dost thou not know this? Art thou not aware, either by the light of nature or by traditional teaching, that God governs the world in this way, determining beforehand from a remote period the fates of nations and of cities—decreeing the period of their fall, and then making use of this or that people to bring His decrees to pass?" All this, being a part of the idea of God, implied in His combined foreknowledge and providence, ought to be known to every one. Sennacherib's boasting, however, proved that he did not know it, that he did not recognise himself simply as God's instrument—"the rod of His anger" (Is. x. 5)—but regarded his victories as gained by his own strength and wisdom (ib. verse 13).

26. *Therefore, &c.*] The weakness of the nations exposed to the Assyrian attacks was as much owing to the Divine decrees as the strength of the Assyrians themselves—

27 But I know thy [1]abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me.

28 Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

29 And this *shall be* a sign unto thee, Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof.

30 And [†]the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall yet again take root downward, and bear fruit upward.

31 For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and [†]they that escape out of mount Zion: the zeal of the LORD *of hosts* shall do this.

[1] Or, *sitting.*

[†] Heb. *the escaping of the house of Judah that remaineth.*

[†] Heb. *the escaping.*

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their dismay and confusion, which worked out the Divine counsels, were foreseen and even decreed.

the grass on the house tops.] Compare Ps. cxxix. 6. The vegetation on the flat roofs of Oriental houses is the first to spring up and the first to fade away.

27. *Thy going out and thy coming in.*] *I.e.* "all thy doings." See note on 1 K. iii. 7.

28. *Thy tumult.*] Rather, "thy **arroganoe**."

I will put my hook in thy nose.] Rather, "my **ring**." It appears from the Mesopotamian sculptures that the kings of Babylon and Assyria were in the habit of actually passing a ring through the flesh of their more distinguished prisoners, of attaching a thong or a rope to it, and of thus leading them about as with a "bridle." In Assyria the ring was, at least ordinarily, passed through the lower lip ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 304); while in Babylonia it appears to have been inserted into the membrane of the *nose.* (Ibid. vol. iii. p. 436.) Thus Sennacherib would be here threatened with a punishment which he was perhaps in the habit of inflicting; and, if intelligence of the prophecy reached him, would not know whether he was to understand it figuratively or literally.

29. *And this shall be a sign unto thee.*] The prophet now once more addresses Hezekiah, and gives him a "sign," or token, whereby he and his may be assured that Sennacherib is indeed bridled, and will not trouble Judæa any more. His people, whose land has been devastated by the march of the Assyrian army, shall find enough to eat during the remainder of the current year from the grain which has sown itself; in the ensuing (probably sabbatical) year they shall also be nourished sufficiently by the same means; in the third year, when they resume their agricultural labours, they shall be undisturbed in them, and reap their fruits in peace. This promise could not, of course, be a sign of the immediate relief of the city from the threatened attack, which relief took place before the promise began to be fulfilled (see verse 35); but it was a sign of what was of far greater importance, viz., the continued freedom of the land from attack during the whole of the remainder of Sennacherib's reign—a space of seventeen years.

30. *The remnant that is escaped.*] This phrase occurs here somewhat to our surprise, since we have not heard in the previous narrative of Judæa having suffered much from Sennacherib. But, in fact, terrible ravages seem to have been committed in the first attack (xviii. 13). Sennacherib himself says that he carried off from Judæa at this time more than 200,000 prisoners; and the Jewish historian, Demetrius, spoke of the event as a "captivity." (Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' i. p. 403.) Isaiah probably describes the desolation in ch. xxiv. 1-12. And though the second invasion was comparatively harmless, yet it probably fell heavily on the cities of the west and the south-west. Thus the "escaped" were but "a remnant."

bear fruit upward.] The flourishing time of Josiah is the special fulfilment of this prophecy. We find Josiah exercising dominion, not only over his own proper kingdom, but over the whole of Samaria. (2 K. xxiii. 15-20.)

31. *Out of Jerusalem . . . out of Mount Zion.*] Here again, as in verse 21, Jerusalem and Mount Zion are distinguished. It is prophesied that a "remnant" shall go forth out of each, which shall spread over the land and restore its ancient glories. We may conclude that, in expectation of an attack, the inhabitants of the country districts had flocked into the town from all quarters, as they did in the last Roman war, and were still remaining there when Isaiah spoke this prophecy. The retirement of Sennacherib and his force would be the signal to them to quit Jerusalem, and "go forth" to their own homes.

the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do

32 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it.

33 By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the LORD.

34 For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

35 ¶ And [a] it came to pass

[a] Is. 37. 36. Tob. 1. 21. Ecclus. 48. 21. 1 Mac. 7. 41. 2 Mac. 8. 19.

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this.] Compare Is. ix. 7. The word *sabaoth*, which is found in all the MSS., both there and in Is. xxxvii. 32, is omitted in most copies of 2 Kings.

32. *Therefore, &c.*] Isaiah's prophecy concludes with a plain prediction concerning Sennacherib, addressed to Hezekiah. The genuineness of these verses (32-34) has been denied by writers who admit that verses 20-31 are from the pen of Isaiah; but the latest critics (Knobel, Keil, Thenius), reject their arguments as inconclusive.

he shall not, &c.] Hezekiah receives four clear promises, each one more comforting than the last. 1. Sennacherib shall not "enter into the city"—*i.e.* it shall not be taken. 2. He shall not "shoot an arrow there"—*i.e.* he shall not order the assault. 3. He shall not "come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it"—*i.e.* there shall not even be the commencement of a siege. And 4. "By the way that he came, by the same shall he return"—*i.e.* he shall not even approach the city, but shall return to Assyria by the same route by which he came, through the low country of the *Shephêlah*, thus avoiding not only Jerusalem, but even Judæa.

nor shoot an arrow.] The arrow was the main weapon of the Assyrians in their grand sieges. Forts were sometimes taken by escalade, and in this case those who mounted the ladders were chiefly spearmen; but in a prolonged siege, such as every well-fortified city required, the archers always played the principal part. For weeks together they galled the besieged with their arrows, protected the formation of the mounds, defended the battering-rams, or drew the attention of the enemy while the miners were engaged in their work. A few slingers seconded their efforts; but this was regarded as a very inferior arm.

nor come before it with shield.] The "shields" of the Assyrians are very conspicuous in the sculptures, and were of great importance in a siege, since the assailing archers were in most instances defended, as they shot their weapons, by a comrade, who held before himself and his friend a shield of an enormous size. It was made of a framework of wood, filled in with wattling, and perhaps lined with skin; it was rested upon the ground, and it generally curved backward towards the top; ordinarily it somewhat exceeded the height of a man. From the safe covert afforded by these large defences the archers were able to take deliberate aim, and deliver their volleys with effect.

nor cast a bank against it.] "Mounds" or "banks" were among the most common of the means used by the Assyrians against a besieged town. They were thrown up against the walls, and consisted of loose earth, trees, brushwood, stones, and rubbish, the mass rising from the plain by a gradual incline, and reaching its greatest height where it abutted upon the wall. Sometimes the surface of the mound was regularly paved with several layers of stone or brick, which formed a solid road or causeway capable of bearing a great weight. The intention was not so much to bring the mounds to a level with the top of the walls, as to carry them to such a height as should enable the battering-ram to work effectively. Walls were made very solid towards their base, for the purpose of resisting the ram; half-way up their structure was comparatively weak and slight. The engines of the assailants, rams and catapults, were therefore far more serviceable if they could attack the upper and weaker portion of the defences; and it was to enable them to reach these portions that the "mounds" were raised. (For representations of the Assyrian "mounds," see Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Second Series, Pls. 18 and 21; 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 81. Further references to the use of siege mounds will be found in 2 S. xx. 15; Is. xxix. 3; xxxvii. 33; Jerem. vi. 6; xxxii. 24; xxxiii. 4; Ezek. iv. 2; xvii. 17; xxi. 22; xxvi. 8; Dan. xi. 15.)

33. *By the way that he came.*] Compare verse 28; and see the second note on verse 32, ad fin.

34. *For mine own sake.*] God's honour was concerned to defend His own city against a heathen assailant, especially against one who denied His power in direct terms, as did Sennacherib (2 K. xviii. 35; xix. 10-12). His faithfulness was also concerned to keep the promise made to David. (Ps. cxxxii. 12-18.)

35. *And it came to pass that night.*] "That night" can only mean "the night following the day on which Isaiah's prophecy

that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they *were* all dead corpses.

36 So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh.

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was delivered." God's word "runneth very swiftly" (Ps. cxlvii. 15). The decree having gone forth, that the proud king of Assyria was to be "bridled" and "turned back," its accomplishment followed immediately. That very night the angel of the Lord went forth.

in the camp of the Assyrians.] Which was now moved to Pelusium, if we may trust Herodotus (ii. 141); or which, at any rate, was at some considerable distance from Jerusalem.

an hundred fourscore and five thousand.] The Assyrian kings do not often mention the size of their armies. Where such mention occurs, the numbers are usually between 100,000 and 200,000. We may conclude, therefore, that only a small remnant, not more than 10,000 or 15,000 men, escaped.

when they arose early in the morning, behold, &c.] These words form the only trustworthy data that we possess for determining to any extent the *manner* of the destruction now wrought. They imply that there was no disturbance during the night, no alarm, no knowledge on the part of the living that their comrades were dying all around them by thousands. Hence we may at once put aside several of the conjectures of commentators—as those of a nocturnal attack by Tirhakah (Ussher, Preiss, Michaelis), of a terrible storm (Vitringa, Stanley), of the plague (Gesenius, Dathe, Maurer, Winer, &c.), of the simoom (Prideaux, Milman)—none of which would have left the survivors wholly unconscious of evil till morning came. On the whole it would seem that all mere natural causes must be rejected, and God must be regarded as having slain the men in their sleep without causing disturbance, either by a peculiar pestilence called into being for the occasion, or by that "visitation" of which English Law speaks. The most nearly parallel case is the destruction of the first-born, which (it may be observed) is also ascribed to a destroying angel (Ex. xii. 23).

The disguised form in which the story of the destruction reached Herodotus is curious and interesting. His informants were the priests of Memphis, who naturally enough twisted the circumstances to the glorification of their own caste and country. According to them, on the approach of Sennacherib the priest-king Sethos was bewailing his danger in the great temple of Phtha, when he suddenly fell asleep and saw in a vision the god himself draw near, and promise him a sure deliverance. Thus encouraged, he marched out to Pelusium, and encamped opposite his enemy; whereupon, during the night, silently and secretly, an innumerable multitude of field-mice spread themselves through the Assyrian host, and gnawed their quivers, bows, and shield-straps, so as to render them useless. Discovering this when morning broke, the Assyrians hastily fled, and the Egyptians pursuing put a vast number to the sword. (Herod. ii. 141.) It will be observed that, while so much is changed, the following features of the history are kept:—1. The *promise* of deliverance, consequent upon a special appeal; 2. The coming of the deliverance *in the night;* 3. Its miraculous, or at least its *extraordinary*, character; 4. Its *silence and secrecy*, which caused it to create no disturbance at the time; and 5. Its discovery *when morning came*, and its immediate consequence, *flight*. (On the symbolical origin of the "mice" in the Egyptian story, see Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' vol. i. p. 394, note 7.)

36. *Sennacherib . . . departed, and went and returned.*] The Hebrew expresses more of haste and eagerness, being exactly similar in construction to 1 K. xix. 3. (See note ad loc.)

and dwelt at Nineveh.] The meaning seems to be, not that Sennacherib made no more expeditions at all, which would be untrue, for his annals show us that he warred in Armenia, Babylonia, Susiana, and Cilicia, during his later years; but that he confined himself to his own part of Asia, and did not invade Palestine or threaten Jerusalem anv more. Nineveh appears here unmistakably as the Assyrian capital. It has previously been mentioned, so far as the historical books are concerned, only in Genesis (x. 11, 12). No doubt it was a very ancient city; but it seems not to have become the seat of the Assyrian government till towards the close of the ninth century B.C. Sennacherib was the first king who made it his permanent residence. Previous monarchs held their court there only occasionally. Its great size and large population are marked in the description of Jonah (iii. 2, 3; iv. 11), whose visit probably fell about B.C. 760. The ruins opposite Mosul, which have always been regarded traditionally as marking the site, have been found in modern times to be the

37 And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of †Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

† Heb. *Ararat.*

actual remains of the Assyrian town, which has never been built upon to any important extent. (For descriptions of ancient Nineveh, see 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 310-327, and Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. pp. 553-555. Its actual extent is still a subject of controversy.)

37. *And it came to pass.*] The death of Sennacherib, which took place many years afterwards (B.C. 680), is related here, as, from the divine point of view, the sequel to his Syrian expeditions. The arrogant blasphemer is punished doubly—first, by the destruction of his host, and then, *memori Dei ira*, by death at the hands of his sons. The statement in Tobit (i. 21) that only fifty-five days elapsed between his return and the murder, is unhistorical.

Nisroch his god.] Nisroch has not been as yet identified with any known Assyrian deity. The name in the Hebrew text is somewhat doubtful, since the copies of the LXX. vary between Esdrach, Esorach, Asarach, Meserach, and Nasarach. The word *may* not be the name of a god at all, but the name of the temple, as Josephus understood it (*ἀνῃρέθη ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ Ἀρασκῃ λεγομένῳ*, 'Ant. Jud.' x. 1, § 5). Assyrian temples were almost all distinguished by special names. If this be the true solution, the translation should run—"As he was worshipping his god in the house Nisroch."

Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons.] The murder of Sennacherib by one of his sons was related by Polyhistor, who drew his knowledge from Berosus. He called the murderer Ardamuzanes, which seems to be a corruption of Adrammelech. Abydenus, on the other hand, preserved the true name (Adrammeles), but made him murder, not Sennacherib himself, but his successor, whom he called Nergilus. Sharezer is called Sanasar by Moses of Chorêne.

smote him with the sword.] Compare the prophecy of Isaiah (xxxi. 8)—"Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man; and the sword, not of a mean man, shall devour him."

they escaped to the land of Armenia.] Literally, "the land of Ararat," or the north-eastern portion of Armenia, where it adjoined on Media. The Assyrian inscriptions show that Armenia was at this time independent of Assyria, and might thus afford a safe refuge to the rebels. According to Moses of Chorêne the local tradition of the country pointed out certain regions as those where the Assyrian princes had settled and left descendants ('Hist. Armen.' i. 22).

Esar-haddon his son.] Esar-haddon, or Esar-chaddon, as the name should properly be written, is beyond a doubt the Asshur-akh-iddin of the inscriptions, who calls himself the son, and appears to be the successor of Sin-akh-irib. He has long been recognised as the Asaridanus of Ptolemy's Canon, the Asordanes of Polyhistor, the Axerdis of Abydenus, and the Sarchedonus of Tobit (i. 21). According to Abydenus, he commenced his reign by a struggle with his brother Adrammelech, a struggle of which the annals of Esar-haddon contain some trace. Esar-haddon occupied the throne for only thirteen years, when he was succeeded by his son, Sardanapalus or Asshur-bani-pal. He warred with Phœnicia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Media, and built three palaces, one at Nineveh, and the others at Calah and Babylon.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 23.

"With the multitude of my chariots I am come up."

The true reading is probably בִּרְכֶב רִכְבִּי "with chariots upon chariots," an expression which has parallels in the גֹּוב גּובי of Nahum iii. 17, and the רעת רעתכם of Hosea x. 15.

The *Keri* reading, ברב רכבי, "with the multitude of my chariots," which is found also in Isaiah xxxvii. 24, is probably the emendation of a copyist who did not understand the somewhat unusual phrase of the original writer.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Hezekiah, having received a message of death, by prayer hath his life lengthened.* 8 *The sun goeth ten degrees backward for a sign of that promise.* 12 *Berodach-baladan sending to visit Hezekiah, because of the wonder, hath notice of his treasures.* 14 *Isaiah understanding thereof foretelleth the Babylonian captivity.* 20 *Manasseh succeedeth Hezekiah.*

b 2 Chr. 32. 24. Isai. 38. 1. IN b those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, † Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.

† Heb. *Give charge concerning thine house.*

2 Then he turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the LORD, saying,

3 I beseech thee, O LORD, remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done *that which is* good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept † sore.

† Heb. *with a great weeping.*

4 And it came to pass, afore Isaiah was gone out into the middle ‖ court, that the word of the LORD came to him, saying,

‖ Or, *city.*

5 Turn again, and tell Hezekiah the captain of my people, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy

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CHAP. XX. 1. *In those days.*] This note of time is very ambiguous. As it stands, it should (apparently) refer to the period of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esar-haddon, or B.C. 680. But Hezekiah seems to have died B.C. 697; and his illness, if the number 15 is correct in verse 6, must really belong to B.C. 713 or 714, a date which falls early in the reign of Sargon. We may conjecture that the writer of Kings found the narrative of this chapter, which has a unity of its own, altogether separate from the other records of Hezekiah, and added it in the state in which he found it, without intending to fix its date by the opening words. Its true chronological place in the narrative is prior to all the other facts related of Hezekiah except his religious reforms.

sick unto death.] Sick of a malady, *i.e.* which in the natural course of things would have proved fatal.

the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz.] This full description of Isaiah, by the addition of his father's name and of his office, marks the original independence of this narrative. Compare ch. xix. 2.

set thine house in order.] Literally, "Give charge concerning thy house" (marg.)—"give such directions," *i.e.* "with respect to thy family as thou mayest think best."

thou shalt die and not live.] In this history, as in that of Jonah (Jon. iii. 4-10), and to some extent in that of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 21-29), we see that the prophetic denunciations were often not absolute predictions of what was certainly about to happen, but warnings or menaces, designed primarily to prove, or to lead to repentance, those against whom they were uttered, and only obtaining accomplishment if this primary design failed.

2. *He turned his face to the wall.*] The words remind us of Ahab, who "turned away his face" when Naboth refused to sell his vineyard (1 K. xxi. 4). But the spirit is altogether different. Ahab turned in sullenness, because he was too angry to converse; Hezekiah in devotion, because he wished to pray undisturbed (Gesenius, Keil).

3. *Remember now.*] The old covenant promised temporal prosperity, including length of days, to the righteous. Hezekiah, conscious of his faithfulness and integrity, feels that he has not deserved the sentence which cuts him off in middle life, at an age little (if at all) beyond that which was attained by his wicked father. He ventures, therefore, to expostulate; he prays God to call to remembrance his life and conduct, as if it could only be through forgetfulness that God had determined evil against him. According to the highest standard of morality up to this time revealed, there was nothing unseemly in the self-vindication of the monarch, which has many parallels in the Psalms of David (Ps. vii. 3-10; xviii. 19-26; xxvi. 1-8; &c.).

I have done that which is good.] See above, ch. xviii. 3-6.

Hezekiah wept sore.] Literally, "with a great weeping" (marg.)

4. *The middle court.*] Or, "the middle city" (marg.), according to another reading. (See note at the end of the chapter.) "Court," which is sanctioned by the Septuagint (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῇ μέσῃ) and the ancient versions generally, seems preferable. Understand, the middle court of the royal palace.

5. *The captain of my people.*] This phrase (which does not occur elsewhere in Kings) is remarkable, and speaks for the authenticity of the full narrative here given, which is not a mere ornamental expansion of the briefer narrative in Isaiah (xxxviii. 1-8), but a report of the actual words of the prophet's message, words which Isaiah xxxviii.

father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up unto the house of the LORD.

6 And I will add unto thy days fifteen years; and I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria; and I will defend this city for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

7 And Isaiah said, Take a lump of figs. And they took and laid *it* on the boil, and he recovered.

8 ¶ And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What *shall be* the sign that the LORD will heal me, and that I shall go up into the house of the LORD the third day?

9 And Isaiah said, This sign shalt thou have of the LORD, that the LORD will do the thing that he hath spoken: shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees?

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sets forth in an abbreviated form. The title, "Captain (*negid*) of God's people," commonly used of David, is now applied to Hezekiah, because he was David's true follower (2 K. xviii. 3). The same acknowledgment of Hezekiah's faithful following of David appears in the expression, "The God of David thy father."

on the third day thou shalt go up.] Hezekiah is comforted, not merely with a general assurance of recovery, but with a promise marking at once the completeness of the cure ("thou shalt go up"), and its rapidity ("on the third day," *i.e.* the day after the morrow).

unto the house of the Lord.] It is assumed, from the known piety of Hezekiah, that his first act, when he has recovered, will be to return thanks to Almighty God in the Temple.

6. *Fifteen years.*] So also in Is. xxxviii. 5. The date of the illness is fixed by this to Hezekiah's 14th or 15th year, B.C. 714 or 713. See the first note on verse 1.

I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria.] The king of Assyria in B.C. 714 and 713 was Sargon, who began to reign B.C. 721—the year of the capture of Samaria—and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, B.C. 705. If then the Biblical and Assyrian chronologies, *which agree exactly in the year of the taking of Samaria*, are to be here depended on, the king of Assyria from whom deliverance is now promised must have been Sargon. Sargon, who warred with Ashdod (Is. xx. 1), Egypt, and north-western Arabia, may have taken offence at something in the conduct of Hezekiah, and have threatened Jerusalem about this time. Such a threat seems to be implied in Is. xx. 6. But we have no evidence of any actual hostilities between Judæa and Assyria in Sargon's reign.

7. *A lump of figs.*] It is usual in the East, even at the present day, to employ a poultice of figs as a remedy for ordinary boils. But such a remedy would not *naturally* cure a dangerous tumour or carbuncle. Thus the means used in this miracle may be compared with those adopted by Elisha when he raised the Shunammite's child (2 K. iv. 34), or by our Lord when He satisfied the hunger of the multitudes, means having a tendency towards the result wrought by them, but insufficient of themselves to produce that result.

the boil.] Hezekiah's malady was evidently a *single* inflammatory boil, ulcer, or tumour, not an eruptive disorder.

8. *And Hezekiah said.*] Not after his recovery, but probably after the application of the poultice. The writer, anxious to express the rapid working of the remedy, has followed up his statement of its application by an immediate mention of the effect—"and he recovered." But the recovery was not till the third day; and meanwhile Hezekiah, who at first may have felt himself no better, asked for a "sign" that he would indeed be restored to health. He may have been led to make this request by the remembrance that his father Ahaz, when promised deliverance from a great danger, had been offered a sign (Is. vii. 11).

what shall be the sign?] Rather, "What sign is there?" Asking for a sign is a pious or a wicked act according to the spirit in which it is done. No blame is attached to the requests of Gideon (Judg. vi. 17, 37, 39), or to this of Hezekiah, because they were real wishes of the heart expressed humbly. The "evil generation" that "sought for a sign" in our Lord's days did not really want one, but made the demand captiously, neither expecting nor wishing that it should be granted.

9. *Shall the shadow go forward?*] Hezekiah is given his choice between two signs, as Ahaz his father was given his choice between two kinds of signs—"Ask it either in the height, or in the depth below" (Is. vii. 11). Apparently, it was felt that he was entitled to at least as much favour as his irreligious father.

ten degrees.] Literally, "ten steps." It is

10 And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees: nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees.

[c] Isai. 38. 8. Ecclus. 48. 23.

11 And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the LORD: and [c] he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the [†] dial of Ahaz.

[†] Heb. *degrees.*

12 ¶ [d] At that time Berodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present

[d] Isai. 39. 1.

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not, perhaps, altogether certain whether the so-called "dial of Ahaz" (verse 11) was really a dial with a gnomon in the centre, and "degrees" marked round it, or a construction for marking time by means of "steps." Sundials proper had been invented by the Babylonians before the time of Herodotus (ii. 109); but as the actual instrument now spoken of is called, both here and in Isaiah (xxxviii. 8), "Ahaz's steps," and as the shadow is said to "go *down*" it, perhaps it is best to understand, with Cyril and Jerome, an instrument consisting of a set of steps, or stairs, with an obelisk at the top, the shadow of which descended or ascended the steps according as the sun rose higher in the heavens or declined. It is not improbable that such an instrument, though not expressly mentioned, may have been invented before this time by the Babylonians, and may have been introduced into Judæa through the friendly relations established between Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xvi. 7-10). The question as to the mode whereby the return of the shadow was produced is one on which many opinions have been held. The older commentators, almost without exception, believed in an actual reversing of the earth's motion around its axis; moderns generally suppose some less violent interference with the order of nature, as either extraordinary refraction (Keil), or an alteration of the height of the obelisk or gnomon, caused by an earthquake (Lilienthal). Recently, it has been urged with a good deal of force that the true cause of the phenomenon was a solar eclipse, in which the moon obscured the entire upper limb of the sun; and it has been clearly shewn that if such an occurrence took place a little before midday, it would have had the effect described as having taken place —*i.e.* during the obscuration of the sun's upper limb shadows would be sensibly lengthened, and that of the obelisk would descend the stairs; as the obscuration passed off the reverse would take place, shadows would shorten, and that of the obelisk would once more retire up the steps (Bosanquet in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' vol. xv. pp. 286-293). If this be the true account, the *miracle* would consist in Isaiah's supernatural foreknowledge of an event which the astronomy of the age was quite incapable of predicting, and in the providential guidance of Hezekiah's will, so that he chose the "sign" which in the natural course of things was about to be manifested.

10. *It is a light thing.*] It seemed to Hezekiah comparatively easy that the shadow, which had already begun to lengthen, should merely make a sudden jump *in the same direction;* but strange indeed, wholly contrary to all experience, that it should change its direction, advancing up the steps again when it had once begun to descend them.

11. *Isaiah cried unto the Lord.*] If the natural progress of an eclipse caused the ascent of the shadow, Isaiah's prayer, it may be said, was not needed. Perhaps it was not; but he did not know that it was not. Neither did the historian, who, however, avoids stating that the prayer was the cause of the event which followed.

the dial of Ahaz.] Literally, the "degrees" (marg.), or "steps of Ahaz."

12. *Berodach-baladan.*] This is an incorrect form of the name, arising either from the mistake of a copyist, or from phonetic corruption. The correct form, Merodach-baladan, is given in Isaiah (xxxix. 1). It is a name composed of three elements, Merodach, the well-known Babylonian god (Jer. l. 2), *bal* (=*pal*) "a son;" and *iddin*, or *iddina*, "has given," the preterit of *nadan* (Heb. *nathan*) "to give." This king of Babylon is mentioned frequently in the Assyrian inscriptions, and he was not unknown to the Greeks. He finds a place in the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which gives his name in the abbreviated and corrupted form of Mardocempadus; and he is mentioned by Polyhistor (Euseb. 'Chron.' i. 5) as Marudachus-Baldanes. He had two reigns in Babylon. First of all, he seized the throne in the same year in which Sargon became king of Assyria, B.C. 721, and held it for 12 years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 709, when Sargon defeated him, and took him prisoner. Secondly, on the death of Sargon and the accession of Sennacherib, when troubles once more arose in Babylonia, he returned thither, and had another reign, which lasted six months, during a part of the year B.C. 703. On every account it is most probable that his embassy to Hezekiah fell into his first reign.

the son of Baladan.] Compare Is. xxxix. 1. Baladan has not the form of a true Babylonian name. The verb *iddin* lacks a nominative,

unto Hezekiah: for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick.

13 And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and shewed them all the house of his ‖precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and *all* the house of his ‖†armour, and all that was found in his treasures; there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not.

14 ¶ Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country, *even* from Babylon.

‖ Or, *spicery.* ‖ Or, *jewels.* † Heb. *vessels.*

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unless indeed "Bal" is for "Bel," which is not unlikely. *Bel-iddin* would be quite a possible name, being on the model of known names, like *Bel-ipni* (Belibus) and *Nabu-natsar* (Nabonassar). This, then, may be the true account of the name Baladan; or the initial element may have been wholly dropt, as the initial element of Merodach-Baladan is by Josephus, who calls him Baladas ('Ant. Jud.' x. 2, § 2).

There is a discrepancy between the statement of the present passage, that Merodach-Baladan was the son of Baladan, and the oft-repeated declaration of the inscriptions that he was the son of Yakin or Yagin. This, however, is a discrepancy which admits of easy explanation. The Assyrians are not accurate in their accounts of the parentage of foreign kings. With them Jehu is "the son of Omri." Yakin was a prince of some repute, to whose dominions Merodach-baladan had succeeded. The Assyrians would call him Yakin's son, though he might have been his son-in-law, or his grandson. Again, the Hebrews are equally inexact. Jehu, called "the son of Nimshi," is really his grandson. Baladan may possibly have been Yakin's father.

he had heard.] This shews that the embassy of Merodach-Baladan followed closely on the illness of Hezekiah. If that was in B.C. 714, the embassy would probably be in B.C. 713.

The embassy was not merely one of congratulation. The author of Chronicles informs us that its special, or at any rate its chief professed, object was to inquire with respect to the going back of the shadow, an astronomical marvel in which the Chaldæans of Babylon would be likely to feel a keen interest (2 Chr. xxxii. 31). It may be suspected, however, that behind these two openly professed motives there lurked a third, which was carefully concealed. Merodach-baladan was probably desirous of strengthening himself against Assyria by an alliance with Judæa and with Egypt. Afraid of provoking the vengeance of Sargon if he entered openly into negotiations, he cloaked his real object under such pretences as offered themselves. The political purpose of the embassy is implied in the next verse.

13. *Hezekiah hearkened unto them and shewed them.*] The Jewish king lent a favourable ear to the proposals of the ambassadors, and exhibited to them the resources which he possessed, in order to induce them to report well of him to their master. Compare the display by which Orœtes tempted Polycrates to his ruin (Herod. iii. 123). For "hearkened unto them," some MSS. have a reading which means "was glad of them" (Compare Is. xxxix. 2); and so the Septuagint (ἐχάρη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς), and most of the ancient versions.

all the house of his precious things.] Or, "of his spicery" (marg.). Literally, the expression used seems to mean "spice-house" (Gesenius, Lee); but the phrase had acquired the more generic sense of "treasure-house" from the fact that the gold, the silver, and the spices were all stored together. Compare the words which follow.

the house of his armour.] Or, "his armoury."

his treasures.] Those commentators who suppose the visit of the Babylonian ambassadors to have followed the expeditions of Sennacherib find it hard to explain how Hezekiah's treasury came to be in so flourishing a condition, when the Assyrian monarch had so recently emptied it (2 K. xviii. 15). This difficulty disappears, if we regard the embassy as prior to Sennacherib's first expedition.

14. *They are come.*] Hezekiah (it will be observed) did not answer Isaiah's first question, "What said these men?" but only his second, "From whence came they?" Probably he was unwilling to divulge the overtures which had been made to him, because he knew that Isaiah would oppose reliance on an "arm of flesh."

from a far country, even from Babylon.] It is important to bear in mind how entire the separation between Babylon and Judæa had been till this embassy. Hitherto a name, a rumour, a glorious but indistinct vision, Babylon now for the first time became revealed to the Jews as an actual power in the world, which might affect them politically. As yet even the prophets had spoken but little of the great southern city. They knew her as "the

15 And he said, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All *the things* that *are* in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them.

16 And Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of the LORD.

17 Behold, the days come, that all that *is* in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, [e] shall be carried into Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD.

[e] ch. 24. 13. & 25. 13. jer. 27. 19.

18 And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.

19 Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good *is* the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. And he said, ‖ *Is it* not *good*, if peace and truth be in my days?

‖ Or, *Shall there not be peace and truth*, &c.

20 ¶ And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the

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golden city" (Is. xiv. 4), "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency" (ib. xiii. 19), and they threatened her, as they did other proud and cruel towns, with God's vengeance for her evil deeds (ib. xiii. 1-22; xiv. 4-23; xxi. 9); but up to this time she had been little more to them than Tyre, or Tarshish, or No-Ammon, or any other rich and powerful idolatrous city. Henceforth all this was wholly changed. From her position among the outlying regions to which the eye of the prophets turned itself occasionally, she became one of the constant objects of attention and solicitude. The prophetic utterance of Isaiah on this occasion (verses 16-18) never was, never could be, forgotten. He followed it up with a burst of prophecy (chs. xl.-lxvi.), in which Babylon usurps altogether the place of Assyria as Israel's enemy, and the captivity being assumed as a matter of certainty, the hopes of the people are directed onward beyond it to the return. Other prophets took up the strain and repeated it (Habak. i. 6-11; ii. 5-8; Mic. iv. 10). Babylon thus became henceforth, in lieu of Assyria, the great object of the nation's fear and hatred.

17. *That which thy fathers have laid up.*] The temple treasures are probably especially alluded to. (See 2 K. xxiv. 13; xxv. 13-17.)

18. *Of thy sons .. shall they take away.*] This prophecy, like so many others, had two fulfilments, each complementary to the other. Manasseh, Hezekiah's *actual son*, was "carried to Babylon" (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11), but did not become a eunuch in the palace. Daniel and others, not his actual sons, but of the royal seed (Dan. i. 3), and therefore Hezekiah's descendants, did literally fulfil the latter part of the prophecy, being eunuchs in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. (See note on 1 K. xxi. 19.)

19. *Good is the word, &c.*] Hezekiah acquiesces in his sentence, perhaps (as Vitringa and Keil argue) in a true spirit of resignation and humility; perhaps (as others think) with something like a feeling of relief and satisfaction that the evil is not to come in his day. Such a feeling would be but natural, and though not according to the standard of Christian perfectness, would imply no very great defect of character in one who lived under the old dispensation. Moderns are too apt to regard the Old Testament saints as perfect, and to justify all they did or said, which the profoundest reverence for the Old Scriptures and the truest sympathy with the saints does not require us to do.

peace and truth.] Rather, "peace and continuance." The evils threatened were war and the dissolution of the kingdom. Hezekiah is content if both are deferred until he has been gathered to his fathers.

20. *How he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city.*] A natural source of water, almost the only spring water of the neighbourhood, seems always to have existed to the north of the city on the plateau outside the modern Damascus gate. Here was the "Pool of Serpents" in the time of Josephus ('B. J.' v. 3, § 2), and here seems to have been the "Upper Pool," which existed in the reign of Ahaz (Is. vii. 3), a reservoir into which the water was brought by a "conduit" from the true head of the spring. Hezekiah, when Jerusalem was threatened by the Assyrians, filled up or covered over this pool and the channel by which it was fed, conducting the water under ground to the second or "lower" pool within the city (Is. xxii. 9; compare 2 Chr. xxxii. 3, 4; and Ecclus. xlviii. 17); a pool which was evidently situated in the Tyropœon, between the walls of Zion and Jerusalem proper. (Is. xxii. 11; compare 2 Chr. xxxii. 30.) Whether Hezekiah did more than this—whether he led the water on to the reservoirs beneath the Temple area, thence to the Fountain of the Virgin, and finally to the pool of Siloam;

city, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

21 And Hezekiah slept with his fathers: and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

which is the course that the stream now takes, or whether these latter are works of later times, is uncertain. (See on this interesting subject Williams's 'Holy City,' vol. ii. pp. 470-480; Robinson's 'Researches,' vol. i. pp. 479-516.)

21. *Hezekiah slept with his fathers.*] We learn from Chronicles that Hezekiah's funeral was marked by unusual honours. "All Judah," as well as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, followed him to the grave. (2 Chr. xxxii. 33.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 4.

"Afore Isaiah was gone out into the middle court."

The Masoretic text has לא יצא העיר התיכנה, "had not gone out into the middle *city*," while the *Keri* gives, instead of העיר, "the city," חצר, the word commonly translated "court."

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Manasseh's reign.* 3 *His great idolatry.* 10 *His wickedness causeth prophecies against Judah.* 17 *Amon succeedeth him.* 19 *Amon's wicked reign.* 23 *He being slain by his servants, and those murderers slain by the people, Josiah is made king.*

[a] 2 Chron. 33. 1.

MANASSEH [a]*was* twelve years old when he began to reign, and reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Hephzi-bah.

2 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out before the children of Israel.

3 For he built up again the high places [b]which Hezekiah his father had [b] ch. 18. 4

CHAP. XXI. 1. *Manasseh was twelve years old.*] Manasseh, therefore, was not born at the time of Hezekiah's dangerous illness; and it is probable that Hezekiah had at that time no son to succeed him. According to Josephus, this was the principal cause of his grief. ('Ant. Jud.' x. 2, § 1.)

fifty and five years.] Many chronologists have found it convenient to shorten the reign of Manasseh to thirty-five years; but there is absolutely no authority for this diminution. The number fifty-five is found not only here, but in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 1, and is retained both by the LXX. and by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' x. 3, § 2).

Hephzibah.] Jewish tradition makes Hephzibah, Hezekiah's wife, the daughter of Isaiah; but such a connection is scarcely probable. She was, however, no doubt known to the prophet, since he was on familiar terms with the king; and it may well have been in special compliment to her that the Prophet introduced her name (in ch. lxii. 4) as one that Jerusalem would bear after her restoration to God's favour. The name means, "My delight (is) in her."

2. *He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord.*] Manasseh during his minority naturally fell under the influence of the chief Jewish nobles, with whom the pure religion of Jehovah was always unpopular. (Compare 2 Chr. xxiv. 17, 18; Jer. viii. 1, 2.) They seem to have persuaded him, not only to undo Hezekiah's work, but to proceed to lengths in polytheism, magic, and idolatry, unknown before. The time had all the characteristics of reaction. All the idolatrous, licentious, cruel, and superstitious rites in use among the surrounding nations, which had been strictly prohibited during the reign of Hezekiah, came back, rushing in with a flood that carried everything before it. The sins of Manasseh's reign appear to have been those which filled up the measure of Judah's iniquity, and brought down the final sentence of doom on the last remnant of the chosen people—a sentence of which not even the piety of Josiah could obtain the reversal (2 K. xxiii. 26; compare Jer. xv. 4).

3. *The high places which Hezekiah . . had destroyed.*] See above, ch. xviii. 4. The first step in the re-establishment of idolatry

destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.

[c] Jer. 32. 34.
[d] 2 Sam. 7. 13.

4 And [c]he built altars in the house of the LORD, of which the LORD said, [d]In Jerusalem will I put my name.

5 And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD.

6 And he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the LORD, to provoke *him* to anger.

7 And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house,

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seems to have been the restoration of the nigh places where Jehovah was professedly worshipped (2 K. xviii. 22), but with idolatrous rites (1 K. xiv. 23). The next was to re-introduce the favourite idolatry of Israel, Baal-worship, which had formerly flourished in Judæa under Athaliah (2 K. xi. 18), and Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 2). After this, it only remained to go on to novelties; and Manasseh seems to have specially affected Sabaism—the worship of the heavenly bodies—which had been previously unknown in Judæa, though practised to some extent in the more northern kingdom. (See above, 2 K. xvii. 16, and note ad loc.)

and made a grove, as did Ahab.] See 1 K. xvi. 33.

and worshipped all the host of heaven.] Sabaism, or pure star-worship, without images, and without (so far as appears) any astrological superstitions, became from the time of Manasseh a favourite form of belief among the Jews. It included a reverence for the sun, the moon, the chief stars, and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. (See 2 K. xxiii. 5, and note ad loc.) The main worship was by altars, on which incense was burnt (Jer. xix. 13). These altars were placed either upon the ground (infra, verse 5), or upon the house-tops (2 K. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5). The sun was worshipped with the face towards the east (Ezek. viii. 16). Chariots and horses were dedicated to him (2 K. xxiii. 11). It has been usual to assume that this form of religion was adopted by the Jews from the Chaldæans or the Assyrians. But the stellar aspect of the Assyro-Babylonian gods is, for the most part, quite subordinate; and the star-worship of the Jews has far more the character of an Arabian than an Assyrian or Chaldæan cult. It is, no doubt, peculiar to the later period of the kingdom; but it obtains its hold at a time when Assyria and Babylonia had but little communication with Judæa—*i.e.* during the reign of Manasseh. It crept in probably from the same quarter as the Molech worship, with which it is here (and in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 3-6) conjoined.

4. *He built altars in the house of the Lord.*] The "altars" of this verse seem to be the same with those of verse 5, and consequently were not in the Temple building, but in the outer and inner courts. (Compare below, ch. xxiii. 12.)

of which the Lord said.] See 1 K. viii. 29, and ix. 3.

6. *He made his son pass through the fire.*] For "his son" the parallel passage in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiii. 6) gives "his *sons*." But the use of the plural for the singular is a sort of idiom with the writer of Chronicles. (Compare 2 Chr. xxviii. 3 and 16; xxxii. 31; &c.) On the true meaning of the phrase "passing through the fire," see notes on 1 K. xi. 5, and 2 K. xvi. 3.

observed times.] To "observe times" (if that be the true meaning of the phrase) was forbidden in the Law (Lev. xix. 26; Deut. xviii. 10), and was no doubt among the modes of divination practised by the Canaanitish nations. It has been explained as, 1. Predicting from the state of the clouds and atmosphere (Keil); 2. *βασκανία*, or fascination with the eye (Vitringa); 3. Watching and catching at chance words as ominous (Farrar).

dealt with familiar spirits.] This practice was forbidden by Moses (Lev. xix. 31) under the penalty of death (ib. xx. 27). Its nature is best learnt from Saul's visit to the witch of Endor (1 S. xxviii. 7-21).

wizards.] "Wizards"—literally, "wise men"—are always joined with those who have familiar spirits (Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6, 27; Deut. xviii. 11; 1 S. xxviii. 3, 9; 2 K. xxiii. 24; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 6; Is. viii. 19; xix. 3). Isaiah says that they "peep" and "mutter." Probably they were a sort of necromancers. (The LXX. call them *ἐπαοιδούς, τερατοσκόπους*, and *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας*.)

7. *A graven image of the grove that he had made.*] Rather, "**the carved work** of the grove." The "grove" (*ashêrah*) was an artificial construction, either of wood or metal, or of the two combined (Keil), carved or graven with tools. This grove itself (already

of which the LORD said to David, and to Solomon his son, [e] In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever:

[e] 1 Kin. 8. 29. & 9. 3. ch. 23. 27.

8 Neither will I make the feet of Israel move any more out of the land which I gave their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them.

9 But they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do more evil than did the nations whom the LORD destroyed before the children of Israel.

10 ¶ And the LORD spake by his servants the prophets, saying,

11 [f] Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these abominations, *and* hath done wickedly above all that the Amorites did, which *were* before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols:

[f] Jer. 15. 4.

12 Therefore thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Behold, I *am* bringing *such* evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of it, both [g] his ears shall tingle.

[g] 1 Sam. 3. 11.

13 And I will stretch over Jeru-

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mentioned in verse 3)—not "an image of it," as the English reader of the A. V. might suppose—Manasseh placed in the very Temple itself, whence it was afterwards taken by Josiah to be destroyed (2 K. xxiii. 6). Such a profanation was beyond anything that had been done either by Athaliah (2 K. xi. 18) or by Ahaz (ib. xvi. 14-18; 2 Chr. xxix. 5-7), who seem merely to have shut up the Temple building, and established idolatrous worship in its courts.

the Lord said.] The words which follow are not a quotation, or even a series of quotations, from recorded promises made by God to David and Solomon, but a concentration of the general spirit of the promises attaching to the Temple, expressed by the writer in his own words. The passages which he has more especially in mind are 2 S. vii. 10-13; 25-29; 1 K. viii. 29; ix. 3-9; Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14.

9. *Manasseh seduced them to do . . . evil.*] As was natural, the example of the Court proved contagious, and during the long reign of Manasseh idolatry in all manner of varied forms took a hold upon the Jewish people such as had never been known before. Altars for the worship of the host of heaven were erected on almost every roof (Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5); offerings of cakes were made in the very streets to Astarte (Jer. vii. 18); the fire of Tophet glowed, and the sacrifice of children by their parents in the valley of Hinnom became a frequent practice (Jer. vii. 31; xxxii. 35; Ezek. xxiii. 37); it was as common to swear by Molech as by Jehovah (Zeph. i. 5). The corruption of morals kept pace with the degradation of religion. The rites of the Dea Syra were restored, and the "Sodomites" once more polluted with their presence, not only Jerusalem, but even the very neighbourhood of the Temple (2 K. xxiii. 7). Cruelty and oppression increased among the upper ranks (Zeph. iii. 1-3); the prophets were "light and treacherous" (ib. verse 4), and "prophesied by Baal" (Jer. ii. 8); the priests "polluted the sanctuary and did violence to the law." (Zeph. l. s. c.) It was difficult to find in all Jerusalem one who "executed judgment" or "sought the truth." (Jer. v. 1.)

10. *The prophets.*] None of the prophets of this reign are certainly known. It has been conjectured that Habakkuk, who in the Canon immediately precedes Zephaniah, the contemporary of Amon, prophesied under Manasseh (Keil, Jahn); but the majority of critics place him later. The *Seder Olam* assigns to the same period the prophets Joel and Nahum. But of these Joel is certainly much earlier. A possible prophet of the time is the Hosai or Hozai of 2 Chr. xxxiii. 19 (marg.), who perhaps wrote a life of Manasseh.

11. *Above all that the Amorites did.*] See note on 1 K. xxi. 26.

Judah also.] *I.e.* Judah as well as Israel. (Compare 2 K. xxiii. 27.)

12. *Whosoever heareth of it, both his ears shall tingle.*] This phrase is first used in the first Book of Samuel (iii. 11). It is repeated in Jeremiah (xix. 3). In all three cases the words are spoken by Jehovah.

13. *I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, &c.*] The general meaning is plain—"I will punish Jerusalem as I punished Samaria, and her kings as the house of Ahab." But the exact force of the metaphor used is not so clear. Keil says that the plummet and the measuring line belong as much to that which has to be destroyed as to that

salem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe Jerusalem as *a man* wipeth
† Heb. *he wipeth and turneth it upon the face thereof.* a dish, †wiping *it*, and turning *it* upside down.

14 And I will forsake the remnant of mine inheritance, and deliver them into the hand of their enemies; and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies;

15 Because they have done *that which was* evil in my sight, and have provoked me to anger, since the day their fathers came forth out of Egypt, even unto this day.

16 Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem †from one end to another; beside his sin wherewith he made Judah to sin, in doing *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD.
† Heb. *from mouth to mouth.*

17 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and all that he did, and

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which has to be built, and quotes Amos vii. 7 as proof of this. But the passage of Amos is obscure; and it is difficult to see what place there is for careful measuring and ascertainment of the perpendicular when buildings are being pulled down. Perhaps Thenius is right in considering the two terms as here used to be mere "symbols of rule" or law. The meaning will then be—"I will apply exactly the same measure and rule to Jerusalem as to Samaria—I will treat both alike with strict and even justice." The idea of destruction will then not be contained directly in the words, but only indirectly, through the fact that Samaria had been destroyed.

I will wipe Jerusalem.] In this metaphor there is no ambiguity. Jerusalem is to be wholly swept away, as the food from his dish when a man wipes it and turns it upside down, that any adhering crumb may fall off.

a dish.] Literally, "*the* dish," or "*his* dish."

16. *Manasseh shed innocent blood very much.*] Manasseh's reign has been compared with some justice to that of Mary Tudor. The idolatrous party, which had remained sullen and discontented during the reforms of the preceding reign, came suddenly into power, and, burning with resentment, endeavoured to annihilate their adversaries by a furious persecution. "A reign of terror commenced against all who ventured to resist the reaction. Day by day a fresh batch of the prophetic order were ordered for execution (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' x. 3, § 1). It seemed as if a devouring lion (Jer. ii. 30) were let loose against them. From end to end of Jerusalem were to be seen the traces of their blood. The nobles who took their part were thrown headlong from the rocky cliffs of Jerusalem (Ps. cxli. 7)." (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' Part II. p. 492.) According to tradition, Isaiah was among the first to perish. Almost all the other prophets shared his fate (Jer. l. s. c.). The martyrs were killed by horrid deaths (Heb. xi. 37). Gibes and insults from the lookers-on aggravated their torments (Is. lvii. 1-4). No wonder that it was felt, more than a century afterwards, that the final judgment upon Jerusalem was in an especial way the punishment of Manasseh's bloody persecution of God's people, the guilt of which the Lord would not and could not pardon. (2 K. xxiv. 4.)

17. *The rest of the acts of Manasseh.*] The most remarkable circumstances in the history of Manasseh omitted by the writer of Kings, are his capture by the captains of the king of Assyria, his removal to Babylon, his repentance there, his restoration to his kingdom, and his religious reforms upon his return to it. These are recorded only in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11-19), on which account they have been regarded by many critics as unhistorical (Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Winer, Gramberg). The vindication of their truth will come most properly in the Comment on Chronicles. In the present place it only needs to be observed, first, that the writer of Kings must necessarily omit numerous facts of great importance in the life of this monarch, since he relates in eighteen verses the history of fifty-five years; and secondly, that though it would have been natural for him to have mentioned the repentance of Manasseh if he had viewed it as thorough and genuine, yet if he considered it a half-repentance, followed by a half-reformation, which left untouched the root of the evil to germinate and break out afresh in another reign, he might reasonably enough decline to swell his history by recording what, according to this view, was a comparatively unimportant matter.

Other facts recorded of Manasseh are,—1. His raising of a new northern wall, beginning on the west side of the valley of Gihon, and crossing the valley to the Fish-gate, which was at the north-eastern extremity of the city. 2. His completion of the fortifications of Ophel (begun by Jotham, 2 Chr. xxvii. 3), or the high ground immediately

his sin that he sinned, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

18 And [h]Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

19 ¶ Amon *was* twenty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Meshullemeth, the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah.

20 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, as his father Manasseh did.

21 And he walked in all the way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and worshipped them:

22 And he forsook the LORD God of his fathers, and walked not in the way of the LORD.

[h] 2 Chron. 33. 20.

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south of the Temple; and 3. His placing the other fortified cities of Judæa under experienced captains. On the subject of these preparations, see note on 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14.

his sin that he sinned.] To the sins of Manasseh which have been already mentioned (verses 3-7 and 16) may be added the following:—1. He called his son Amon or Ammon, after the noted Egyptian god (see note on verse 18). 2. He not only allowed the establishment of human sacrifices to Molech, but dedicated to the purpose a special place in the valley of Hinnom, probably a portion of the royal gardens ('Bib. Dict.' TOPHET), known henceforth as Tophet or Topheth, which he provided with "high places," or shrines, and probably with furnaces. 3. He allowed the establishment of the *Kĕdêshim*, or "Sodomites"—the self-mutilated votaries of Astarte—in houses immediately adjoining upon the Temple (2 K. xxiii. 7). 4. He removed the Ark of the Covenant from the Temple (2 Chr. xxxv. 3), probably intruding his own *ashêrah*, or "grove" (supra, verse 7) into its place. 5. He desecrated, by removal or injury, the altar of burnt-offerings, which stood in the Temple court, so that on his repentance he had to "restore" or "repair" it (2 Chr. xxxiii. 16). And 6. He destroyed, it would seem, all the copies of the Law that he could find, so that it was a most important discovery when a single copy was found under Josiah. (2 K. xxii. 8-13.)

18. *Was buried.*] It has been already observed that the catacomb of David was probably full, and that the later kings, from Ahaz downwards, had to find sepulture elsewhere. Ahaz was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Hezekiah found a resting-place on the way that led up to David's catacomb (ib. xxxii. 33). Manasseh and Amon were interred in "the garden of Uzza," a portion (apparently) of the royal palace-garden. Josiah was buried in "his own sepulchre" (2 K. xxiii. 30), near his father and grandfather (2 Chr. xxxv. 24). Of the four remaining kings three were made prisoners and died in captivity—Jehoahaz in Egypt (2 K. xxiii. 34); Jehoiachin and Zedekiah at Babylon; while one, Jehoiakim, was secretly buried in Jerusalem, probably with Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah. (2 K. xxiv. 6.)

the garden of Uzza.] It has been supposed that the "garden of Uzza" received its name from the Uzzah of 2 Sam. vi. But this is uncertain. Uzza was a common name among the Jews (see 1 Chr. vi. 29, viii. 7; Ezr. ii. 49; Neh. vii. 51), and "the garden of Uzza" may have been a recent purchase made by Manasseh and thrown into his own garden. (Compare 1 K. xxi. 1, 2; and for the application of a portion of a garden to the purposes of a sepulchre see John xix. 41.)

Amon, his son.] This name, which occurs only at this time and in the reign of the idolatrous Ahab (1 K. xxii. 26), is identical in form with the Hebrew representative of the great Egyptian god, Amen or Amun (Nahum iii. 8); and it is therefore probable that Manasseh selected it and gave it to his son in compliment to the Egyptians, with whom he may have wished to be on friendly terms.

19. *Jotbah.*] Jotbah is probably the Jotbath (Deut. x. 7) or Jotbathah (Num. xxxiii. 33, 34) of the wanderings, which was in the neighbourhood of Ezion-geber. Manasseh would be not unlikely to marry an Idumæan.

21. *He walked in all the way that his father walked in.*] At Manasseh's death, the idolatrous party, held in some check during his later years (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15-17), recovered the entire direction of affairs, and obtained authority from the young king Amon to make once more all the changes which Manasseh had made in the early part of his reign. Hence we find the state of things at Josiah's accession (2 K. xxiii. 4-14) the exact counterpart of that which had existed under Manasseh, as

23 ¶ And the servants of Amon conspired against him, and slew the king in his own house.

24 And the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son king in his stead.

25 Now the rest of the acts of Amon which he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

26 And he was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza: and [i] Josiah his son reigned in his stead.

[i] Matt. 1. 10, called *Josias*.

described in verses 3-7. A graphic picture of the general state of Jerusalem and Judæa at this time will be found in Zephaniah (i. 4-12; iii. 1-7), who wrote his prophecy when Amon had just ceased to be king.

23. *The servants of Amon conspired against him.*] Nothing is known of the causes or circumstances of this conspiracy. We may *suspect* that there was a popular reaction against the extreme idolatry which the young king had established, and that this encouraged some of the courtiers, who may have had their own private grounds of quarrel, to venture on the bold step of an assassination.

24. *The people of the land slew all them that had conspired.*] The blood of David was too sacred to be shed with impunity even when he in whose veins it ran was an idolater of the worst type. Amaziah had executed the murderers of his father Joash (2 K. xiv. 5). The people now did not leave it to the young Josiah to bring his father's assassins to justice after he was settled in his kingdom, but tumultuously (it would seem) arrested them and put them to death.

the people of the land made Josiah king.] The intention of the conspirators had perhaps been to declare a forfeiture of the crown by the existing line, and to place a new dynasty on the throne. This the people would not suffer. They insisted on investing with the royal authority the true heir of David, the eldest son of Amon, though he was a boy only eight years old, whose character must depend almost entirely on the guidance which it received during the next eight or ten years. Steps may perhaps have been taken to secure him proper guidance.

26. *He was buried, &c.*] See note on verse 18.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Josiah's good reign.* 3 *He taketh care for the repair of the temple.* 8 *Hilkiah having found a book of the law, Josiah sendeth to Huldah to enquire of the Lord.* 15 *Huldah prophesieth the destruction of Jerusalem, but respite thereof in Josiah's time.*

[k] 2 Chron. 34. 1.

JOSIAH [k] *was* eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath.

2 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.

3 ¶ And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, *that* the king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the house of the LORD, saying,

CHAP. XXII. 1. *Josiah was eight years old.*] As Amon was only twenty-four at his death, he must have been married as early as fifteen, and have had this son born to him in the following (his sixteenth) year. These numbers make it extremely improbable that he had any son older than Josiah.

Boscath.] Boscath (or more properly Bozcath) was a city of Judah in the low coast tract, not far from Lachish. It is mentioned in Joshua xv. 39, among "the uttermost cities of Judah towards the coast of Edom southwards." No traveller has succeeded in identifying the site.

2. *Turned not aside, &c.*] This phrase, common in the time of Moses and Joshua (see Deut. v. 32; xvii. 11, 20; xxviii. 14; Josh. i. 7; xxiii. 6), is rare in the later Scriptures. It implies an undeviating obedience to all the commandments.

3. *In the eighteenth year.*] See note at the end of the chapter.

4 Go up to Hilkiah the high priest, that he may sum the silver which is brought into the house of the LORD, which the keepers of the †door have gathered of the people:

† Heb. *threshold.*

5 And let them deliver it into the hand of the doers of the work, that have the oversight of the house of the LORD: and let them give it to the doers of the work which *is* in the house of the LORD, to repair the breaches of the house,

6 Unto carpenters, and builders, and masons, and to buy timber and hewn stone to repair the house.

7 Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand, because they dealt faithfully.

8 ¶ And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it.

Shaphan the scribe.] Shaphan is mentioned frequently by Jeremiah. He was the father of Ahikam, Jeremiah's friend and protector at the court of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxvi. 24), and the grandfather of Gedaliah, who was made governor of Judea by the Babylonians after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 22). Several others of his sons and grandsons were in favour with the later Jewish kings, as Elasah, his son, who was sent on an embassy to Babylon by Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 3), Gemariah, another son, who tried to induce Jehoiakim not to burn Jeremiah's roll (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 25), Michaiah, a grandson, who heard Baruch read the roll and reported its contents to the princes (ib. 10-12), and Jaazaniah, a son, one of the "ancients of Israel," mentioned as an idolater by Ezekiel (viii. 11). Shaphan's office was one of great importance, involving very confidential relations with the king. (See above, 1 K. iv. 3; 2 K. xii. 10; xviii. 18.)

4. *Hilkiah.*] Hilkiah was the son of Shallum (1 Chr. vi. 13) or Meshullam (ib. ix. 11), and the father (or grandfather) of Seraiah (comp. 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14 with Neh. xi. 11), high-priest at the time of the captivity (2 K. xxv. 18) and ancestor of Ezra the scribe (Ezr. vii. 1).

the silver which .... the keepers of the door have gathered.] It is evident from the expressions here used that a collection for the repairs of the Temple, similar to that established in the reign of Joash (2 K. xii. 9, 10), had been for some considerable time in progress, and the king now sent to know the result. Probably the commencement of the collection dated from the twelfth year of Josiah, when he appears to have taken the actual direction of affairs, and to have begun his reforms (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3). If so, it was now six years since the money had begun to come in.

5. *Let them deliver it into the hand of the doers.*] See above, ch. xii. 11, and note ad loc. These "doers" are the contractors, or overseers, who undertook the general superintendence, from whom a lower class of "doers"—the actual labourers, carpenters, and masons—are in the latter portion of the verse distinguished.

which is in the house of the Lord.] Rather, "**who are** in the house of the Lord"—(τοῖς ποιοῦσι τὰ ἔργα τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου, LXX.)—*i.e.* to the persons who are actually employed in the Temple.

6. *To buy timber.*] Compare 2 K. xii. 12. We learn from Chronicles that the timber was wanted for the repair of buildings (outbuildings?) "which the kings of Judah [Manasseh and Amon] had destroyed." (2 Chr xxxiv. 11.)

7. *They dealt faithfully.*] Compare 2 K. xii. 15. The names of these honest overseers are given in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiv. 12).

8. *I have found the book of the Law.*] Rationalistic criticism has concluded from this discovery, either that no "Book of the Law" had ever existed before, the work now said to have been "found" having been forged for the occasion by Hilkiah; or, at least, that all knowledge of the old "book," if such book existed, had been lost, and that a work of unknown date and authorship having been at this time found was accepted as the Law of Moses on account of its contents, and has thus come down to us under his name. But this is to see in the narrative far more than it naturally implies. Hilkiah, the high-priest, having found in the Temple a certain roll, and read it, recognises it with apparent certainty as "*the* Book of the Law"—"the Book of the Law of the Lord by the hand of Moses" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 14), and mentions his discovery to Shaphan, who communicates it to the king. Now if Hilkiah had been bold enough and wicked enough to forge, or if he had been foolish enough to accept hastily as the real "Book of the Law" a composition of which he really knew nothing, would there have been no means of detecting his error or his fraud? Four means of detection would, it is evident, have existed—1. The

9 And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said, Thy servants have † gathered the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have the oversight of the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *melted.*

10 And Shaphan the scribe shewed the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king.

11 And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes.

12 And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah a servant of the king's, saying,

13 Go ye, enquire of the LORD for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great *is* the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us.

14 So Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asahiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son

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Jewish Liturgies, which embodied large portions of the Law, just as the Romish Liturgies before the Reformation embodied large portions of the Bible; 2. The memory of living men, which in many instances may have extended to the entire Five Books, as it does now with the modern Samaritans (Grove, in 'Vacation Tourists,' 1861, p. 346); 3. Other copies, entire or fragmentary, which it cannot but be supposed would exist among the more learned Jews, or at any rate in the Schools of the Prophets; and 4. Quotations from the Law in other works, as especially in those of the Psalmists and Prophets, who refer to it almost on every page. On the whole, it may be said that fraud or mistake might as easily have imposed a new "Bible" on the Christian world in the sixteenth century, as a new "Law" on the Jews in the reign of Josiah. (See above, 'Introduction to the Pentateuch,' vol. i. pp. 10-12.)

in the house of the Lord.] The copy of the Law found by Hilkiah was no doubt that deposited, in accordance with the command of God by Moses (Deut. xxxi. 26), by the side of the ark of the covenant, and kept ordinarily in the Holy of Holies. It had been lost, or secreted, during the desecration of the Temple by Manasseh, but had not been removed out of the Temple building. (Compare 'Introduction to the Pentateuch,' p. 11.)

9. *Thy servants have gathered the money.*] Rather, "have poured out" or "emptied out." The allusion probably is to the emptying of the chest in which all the money collected had been placed. Compare 2 K. xii. 9, 10.

11. *He rent his clothes.*] Partly in grief and horror, like Reuben (Gen. xxxvii. 29) and Job (i. 20), partly in repentance, like Ahab (1 K. xxi. 27).

12. *Ahikam the son of Shaphan.*] Ahikam is known as Jeremiah's protector (Jer. xxvi. 24), and as the father of Gedaliah, governor of Judea under the Babylonians (2 K. xxv. 22), and Gemariah (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

Achbor.] Or "Abdon" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 20). He was the father of Elnathan, who was one of the "princes of Judah" in Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

Asahiah.] More probably "Asaiah," as the name is given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 20. Nothing more is known of this person.

13. *Go ye, enquire of the Lord.*] As inquiry by Urim and Thummim had ceased—apparently because it was superseded by prophecy—this order was equivalent to an injunction to seek the presence of a prophet. (Compare 1 K. xxii. 5; 2 K. iii. 11.)

because our fathers have not hearkened.] Josiah, it will be observed, assumes that preceding generations had had full opportunity of hearing and knowing the Law, but they had turned a deaf ear to it. He thus regards the loss as comparatively recent.

14. *Went unto Huldah.*] It might have been expected that the royal commissioners would have gone to Jeremiah, on whom the prophetic spirit had descended in Josiah's thirteenth year (Jer. i. 2), or five years previously to the finding of the Law. Perhaps Jeremiah was at some distance from Jerusalem at the time; or his office may not yet have been fully recognized.

the prophetess.] It was a rare, but not an unprecedented thing, for the prophetic office to be exercised by a woman. Miriam Ex.

of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper
† Heb *garments.* of the † wardrobe; (now she dwelt in
‖ Or, *in the second part.* Jerusalem ‖ in the college;) and they communed with her.

15 ¶ And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me,

16 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, *even* all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read:

17 Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched.

18 But to the king of Judah which sent you to enquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, *As touching* the words which thou hast heard;

19 Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the LORD, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a

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xv. 20; Num. xii. 2) and Deborah (Judg. iv. 4) are familiar instances of "prophetesses." An example less generally known is that of Isaiah's wife (Is. viii. 3) whose name has not been recorded. Gospel times add to the list Anna, the traditional mother of the Virgin Mary. (Luk. ii. 36.)

Tikvah.] Or "Tikvath" according to 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22.

Harhas.] Or "Hasrah" according to the same.

keeper of the wardrobe.] Literally "of the robes." Shallum had the superintendence, either of the vestments of the priests who served in the Temple, or of the royal robe-room in which dresses of honour were stored, in case of their being needed for presents. (See note on 2 K. v. 5.)

in the college.] The marginal translation "in the second part" is preferable. By "the second part," or (literally) "the second" is probably meant the new or outer city—that which had been enclosed by the wall of Manasseh, to the north of the old city (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14). Compare Zeph. i. 10.

15. *Tell the man that sent you to me.*] Compare with this somewhat rude phrase, the later one—"the king of Judah which sent you to enquire of the Lord" (verse 18). Huldah in the first outburst of the prophetic spirit thinks only of the matter in hand, forgetting the person of the inquirer; but when that is past, and the stream flows more smoothly, the thought of the person occurs to her.

16. *All the words of the book.*] The "words" here intended are no doubt the threatenings of the Law, particularly those of Levit. xxvi. 16-39 and Deut. xxviii. 15-68.

which the king of Judah hath read.] Josiah had probably only heard a portion of the "book of the Law;" but that portion had contained some of those awful denunciations of coming woe, if the nation forsook the covenant, which are scattered over the last four books of the Pentateuch, and had perhaps included one of the two chapters mentioned in the last note. Hence Josiah's rending of his clothes (verse 11) and hurried message to Huldah. Huldah now informs him that *all* the threatenings contained in the Book, of which he has heard a part, are to come upon the people and city—that there is no escape from them—God's wrath is kindled against the place, and it *shall not be quenched* (verse 17).

17. *Because they have forsaken.*] Huldah's words here follow those of Deut. xxix. 25-27 in their general tenour and in the order of the thoughts, but do not present a very close verbal agreement.

have burned incense.] In Deut. xxix. 26 the corresponding phrase is—"have served other gods, and worshipped them." Its alteration to "have burned incense" points to the fact that the favourite existing idolatry was burning incense on the house-tops to Baal (Jer. xxxii. 29) and to the host of heaven (ib. xix. 13).

and shall not be quenched.] Compare 2 K. xxiii. 26, 27; Jer. xv. 1-9. The announcement to Manasseh (ch. xxi. 12-15) is repeated with more terrible significance to Josiah, inasmuch as it is now made clear that repentance will not avail to save the guilty people—it is *too late*—the sentence has gone forth, and nothing can procure its recall—the wrath is kindled, and will not be quenched. This awful truth, now first proclaimed by Huldah, became soon afterwards the special burden of the message of Jeremiah, whose deep conviction that the sentence of condemnation is passed, and that there is no escape from it, pervades and characterizes his writings.

curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I also have heard *thee*, saith the LORD.

20 Behold therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. And they brought the king word again.

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19. *That they should become a desolation.*] The reference here is either to Leviticus (xxvi. 31-35) or to Deuteronomy (xxviii. 37), where "desolation" would be better than the "astonishment" of the A. V.

and a curse.] See Deut. xxviii. 15, where the same word (*k'lalah*) is used; and compare Jer. xxvi. 6; xliv. 22.

I also have heard thee.] Josiah had not uttered any articulate prayer, so far as appears—he had merely rent his clothes, and wept, and sent to inquire of God. God, however, had recognised his unspoken desires as prayers, and had "heard"—*i.e.* favourably received—them; and Huldah was commissioned to give him a gracious promise.

20. *I will gather thee unto thy fathers.*] Josiah, as already observed (see note on ch. xxi. 18), was the last king of Judah honourably buried in Jerusalem. (See below ch. xxiii. 30.) Two of his three sons, and his grandson, were carried into captivity, and died in the lands of their exile. On the burial of Jehoiakim, see note on ch. xxiv. 5.

in peace.] The death of Josiah *in battle* (ch. xxiii. 29) is in verbal contradiction to this prophecy, but not in real opposition to its spirit, which is simply that the pious prince who has sent to inquire of the Lord, shall be gathered to his fathers before the troubles come upon the land which are to result in her utter desolation. Now those troubles were to come, not from Egypt, but from Babylon; and their commencement was not the invasion of Necho in B.C. 608, but that of Nebuchadnezzar three years later. Thus was Josiah "taken away from the evil to come," and died "in peace" before his city had suffered attack from the really formidable enemy.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 3.

"In the eighteenth year of King Josiah."

There is an awkwardness in the occurrence here of this date, since it seems to apply to all that follows. Keil has shewn with much force the improbability that all the events related in the rest of this chapter and in the next down to verse 23 were actually crowded into the space of a single year. He regards the text as sound, but considers that the writer, intending to comprehend under one general point of view all the efforts of Josiah for the restoration of the pure worship of Jehovah, which were contiguous in time but occupied a space of several years, prefixed this heading, to give unity to his sketch, although in strictness the date was only applicable to the last event of all, the holding of the passover, which really took place in the king's eighteenth year. It is quite possible that this is the true account; but it is perhaps as probable that the date has here *crept in from the margin*. The date in ch. xxiii. 23 is no doubt genuine. A scribe observing it may have transferred that note of time to the margin of the present passage, meaning to state that the finding of the law was in the same year with the passover (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8), but not meaning to apply the date to all the various reforms of Josiah as related in verses 4-20 of the next chapter. The true chronology of Josiah's reign is to be learnt from 2 Chr. xxxiv. 3-8; xxxv. 1. From these places it appears that at least the greater part of his reforms preceded the finding of the law. He began them in the twelfth year of his reign, at the age of twenty, and had accomplished all, or the greater part, by his eighteenth year, when the Book of the Law was found.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Josiah causeth the book to be read in a solemn assembly 3 *He reneweth the covenant of the Lord.* 4 *He destroyeth idolatry.* 15 *He burnt dead men's bones upon the altar of Beth-el, as was foreprophesied.* 21 *He kept a most solemn passover.* 24 *He put away witches and all abomination.* 26 *God's final wrath against Judah.* 29 *Josiah, provoking Pharaoh-nechoh, is slain at Megiddo.* 31 *Jehoahaz, succeeding him, is imprisoned by Pharaoh-nechoh, who made Jehoiakim king.* 36 *Jehoiakim's wicked reign.*

[a] 2 Chron. 34. 30.

1 AND [a]the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem.

2 And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, [†] both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the LORD.

[†] Heb. *from small even unto great.*

3 ¶ And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all *their* heart and all *their* soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant.

4 And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of

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CHAP. XXIII. 1. *And the king sent.*] Josiah, to whom the Book of the Law was a new thing, evidently assumed that it would be equally new to his people. Despite the irreversibility of the sentence of destruction pronounced upon Jerusalem, he determined, as much as in him lay, to publish the contents of the Book to all classes of his people. If the curse could not be averted from the nation, still its consequences might be mitigated to individuals. Accordingly he summoned the "elders" of Jerusalem and the other cities of Judæa, together probably with the prophets and priests, whom we find attending in the next verse, to a solemn reading of the Law—a practice commanded in the Law itself once in seven years (Deut. xxxi. 10-13), but which had been intermitted, at least for the last seventy-five years, from the date of the accession of Manasseh.

2. *And the prophets.*] It has been said that "there were not more than two or three prophets in Jerusalem at this time, viz., Zephaniah, Urijah, and perhaps Jeremiah" (Keil), and it has been therefore proposed to regard the word "prophets" here as an error of the pen for "Levites," which occurs in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiv. 30). But although the three prophets mentioned are all that we can *name* as belonging to the Order at the time, there is no reason to doubt that Judæa contained others whom we cannot name. There were, as has been justly observed, "*hundreds* of prophets" contemporary with those whose writings we have. ('Bibl. Dict.,' vol. ii. p. 931.) "Schools of the prophets" were as common in Judah as in Israel. The prophets whose names we know are the Coryphæi of an Order which was perhaps as numerous as that of the priests.

he read.] It is assumed by some that the Jewish kings could not read (Howson, Keil), because they usually employed the services of a reader (supra, ch. xxii. 10; Jer. xxxvi. 21). But the present passage is strong evidence to the contrary.

3. *The king stood by a pillar.*] Rather, "upon the pillar." (See note on 2 K. xi. 14.)

made a covenant.] In the original it is "the covenant." The meaning seems to be that Josiah renewed *the old* covenant made between God and his people in Horeb (Deut. v. 2), so far at least as such renewal was possible by the mere act of an individual. He bound himself by a solemn promise to the faithful performance of the entire Law.

with all their heart.] Our translators have supplied the pronoun "their" rather than "his," because they viewed the king as pledging himself in his national rather than his individual capacity; as pledging, in fact, the whole nation to obedience with himself.

stood to the covenant.] *I.e.* "accepted it, came into it."

4. *And the king commanded.*] The writer now goes back to the earlier reforms of Josiah. The parenthesis lasts from this verse to the end of verse 20.

the priests of the second order.] This is a new expression. It has been interpreted to mean, (1) The Vice-high-priests, of whom, according to some of the Rabbis, there were two; (2) The heads of the twenty-four courses (the "chief priests" of the N. T.); and (3) The ordinary priests, called here "priests of the second order," in contrast with the High-priest. It is against the first interpretation that *at this time* there seems to have been

the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the LORD all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Beth-el.

† Heb. *caused to cease.* ‡ Heb. *chemarim.*

5 And he †put down ‡the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the ‖planets, and to all the host of heaven.

‖ Or, *twelve signs*, or, *constellations.*

6 And he brought out the [b]grove from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped *it* small to powder, and cast the

[b] ch. 21. 7.

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only one Vice-high-priest (2 K. xxv. 18), and against the second that the heads of the courses do not appear to have been recognised as a class until a much later age. We must therefore accept the third explanation, and regard the phrase as an indication of the growing dignity of the High-priest, of which something was said in a former note. (See note on 2 K. xii. 10.)

the keepers of the door.] Compare 2 K. xxv. 18.

all the vessels.] The word translated "vessel" is one of wide meaning. It will include the whole apparatus of worship, altars, images, dresses, utensils, &c.

for Baal, for the grove, and for all the host of heaven.] See above, ch. xxi. 3-5. These three worships had all been introduced into the Temple, using the word in its larger sense: the first and last into the Temple Courts; that of the grove, apparently, into the Temple building itself.

in the fields of Kidron.] Compare the similar conduct of Asa (1 K. xv. 13). The "fields of Kidron" are to be sought in the part of the valley which lies north-east of the city, which is much broader than that between the Temple hill and the Mount of Olives.

carried the ashes . . unto Bethel.] It has been regarded as improbable that these ashes should have been carried so far, especially when those of the grove and the altars were thrown either into the Kidron (verse 12) or on the tombs in its neighbourhood (verse 6); and it is therefore proposed to change the reading, either to Beth-Al, "house of nothingness," or Beth-Alah, "house of cursing." But no change is necessary. We must suppose that the ashes of the idolatrous objects burnt in the first instance were actually taken to Bethel, as to an accursed place, and one just beyond the borders of Judah; while those of other objects burnt afterwards were not carried so far, the trouble being great and the need not absolute, but were thrown into the Kidron, when there happened to be water to carry them away, or scattered on graves, which were already unclean.

5. *The idolatrous priests.*] Literally, "he caused to cease the idolatrous priests" (marg.)—he stopped them, *i.e.* from exercising their functions. The word here translated "idolatrous priests" (*kĕmârim*) is a rare one, occurring only in this passage, in Hos. x. 5, and in Zeph. i. 4. In Hosea it is applied to the priests of the calves at Bethel; in Zephaniah, as in this place (see verse 8), it is contrasted with *cohănim*, another class of high-place priests. The explanation of Keil seems reasonable, that the *cohănim* are "Levitical," the *kĕmârim* "non-Levitical priests of the high-places." *Kĕmârim* appears to have been a foreign term. It was, perhaps, derived from the Syriac *cûmrô*, which means a priest of any kind, and is formed from a root signifying "to be sad" (Gesenius).

whom the kings of Judah had ordained.] The consecration of non-Levitical priests by the kings of Judah (after the example set by kings of Israel, 1 K. xii. 31) had not been previously mentioned; but it is quite in accordance with the other proceedings of Manasseh and Amon.

the places round about Jerusalem.] Compare verse 13.

to the planets.] Or "twelve signs," or "constellations" (marg.). Comp. Job xxxviii. 32, where the form used, *mazzâroth*, is a mere variant from that which occurs in the present passage, viz. *mazzâloth*. Most modern commentators are agreed that the "Signs of the Zodiac" are intended, though they differ as to the derivation of the word and as to which is the earlier form. Probably the word means primarily "houses" or "stations," which was the name applied by the Babylonians to their divisions of the Zodiac. See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iii. p. 419, and for this meaning of the term *mazzal*, compare the Arabic.

6. *The grove.*] See above, ch. xxi. 3 and 7.

stamped it small to powder.] This action

powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people.

7 And he brake down the houses of the sodomites, that *were* by the house of the LORD, where the women wove † hangings for the grove.

† Heb. *houses.*

8 And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beer-sheba, and brake down the high places of the gates that *were* in the entering in of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city, which *were* on a man's left hand at the gate of the city.

9 Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the LORD in Jerusalem, but they did eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren.

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indicates that the "grove" in question was made, at least in part, either of stone or of metal. See Exod. xxxii. 20; infra, verse 15; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4 and 7.

upon the graves of the children of the people.] In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4 the powder of the idols is said to have been cast "upon the graves of them that had sacrificed unto them." But the writer perhaps scarcely means that particular graves were selected. The ashes, being polluted and polluting, were thrown upon graves, because there no one could come into contact with them, since graves were avoided as unclean places.

7. *The sodomites.*] See note on 1 K. xiv. 24. The "sodomites" of this time are probably a class analogous to the "Galli" of the Roman period, who were devotees of Cybele, self-mutilated, attached to the temples, and living with the priestesses, whom in dress and manners they imitated. See Döllinger's 'Gentile and Jew,' vol. i. pp. 428-431, E. T.

by the house of the Lord.] It aggravated the guilt of those who allowed the iniquities of the "sodomites," that the immediate neighbourhood of the temple was their scene. This, however, did not arise from intentional desecration, but from the fact that the practices in question were a part of the idolatrous ceremonial, being regarded as pleasing to the gods, and, indeed, as positive acts of worship. See Herod. i. 199; Lucian, 'De Dea Syr.,' § 6; Senec. 'De vit. beat.,' § 27; Plin. 'H. N.,' xi. 49, &c.

the women wove hangings for the grove.] These "women" are probably the priestesses attached to the worship of Astarte, which was intimately connected with that of the *asherah* or "grove." Among their occupations one was the weaving of coverings (literally, "houses"), for the grove, which seem to have been of various colours (Ezek. xvi. 16).

8 *He brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah.*] Josiah removed the Levitical priests, who had officiated at the various high-places, from the scenes of their idolatries, and brought them to Jerusalem, where their conduct might be watched. He regarded them as disqualified from engaging in the Temple service, in consequence of the defilements which they had contracted, but allowed them maintenance out of the priestly revenues. See verse 9.

from Geba to Beer-sheba.] *I. e.* from the extreme north to the extreme south of the kingdom of Judah. (Compare Zech. xiv. 10.) On the site of Geba see note on 1 K. xv. 22. The high-place of Beer-sheba had obtained an evil celebrity (Am. v. 5, viii. 14). That of Geba is not elsewhere mentioned.

the high-places of the gates, &c.] This sentence is somewhat obscure. The best rendering seems to be that of Thenius, "He brake down the high-places of the gates, **both that which was** at the entering in of the gate of Joshua, the governor of the city, **and also that** which was on a man's left hand at the gate of the city." According to this, there were only two "high-places of the gates" (or idolatrous shrines erected in the city gate-towers) at Jerusalem, one at a gate known at this time as "the gate of Joshua," the other at the (main) gate of the city. Thenius conjectures that the "gate of Joshua" was a gate in the inner wall, since the "governor of the city" would naturally live in the citadel. By the "gate of the city" he supposes the Valley-gate (modern "Jaffa-gate") to be indicated, since that must always have been the one through which passed the bulk of the traffic.

the governor of the city.] See note on 1 K. xxii. 26.

9. *Nevertheless.*] Connect this verse with the first clause of verse 8: "*Though* Josiah brought these priests to Jerusalem, *yet* he did not allow them to officiate in the Temple."

they did eat of the unleavened bread.] They were treated, that is, as if they had been disqualified from serving at the altar by a bodily blemish (Lev. xxi. 21-23). They were not secularised, but remained in the priestly order and received a maintenance from the ecclesiastical revenues. The mildness of this treatment stands in remarkable contrast with the severity exercised towards the priests of the

10 And he defiled Topheth, which *is* in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech.

11 And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the ‖chamberlain, which *was* in the suburbs, and burned the chariots of the sun with fire.

‖ Or, *eunuch*, or *officer*.

12 And the altars that *were* on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz,

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high-places in Samaria, who were sacrificed upon their own altars (verse 20). Probably the high-place worship in Judæa had continued in the main a worship of Jehovah with idolatrous rites, while in Samaria it had degenerated into an actual worship of other gods.

10. *He defiled Topheth.*] The word Topheth, or Tophet, is derived by some from *tôph*, "a drum" or "tabour," because the cries of the sacrificed children were drowned by the noise of such instruments; by others from *tûph*, "to spit," because by spitting the Jews showed abhorrence and aversion; but by Gesenius and Böttcher from a root *taph* or *toph* (perhaps of Arian origin), meaning "to burn." (Compare Gk, θάπτειν, τέφρα, Lat. *tep-i-dus*, Pers. *tâftan*, Sanscr. *tap*, &c.) Whatever the origin of the name, the character of the place at this time admits of no doubt. It was a spot in the valley of Hinnom, probably near its junction with the Kedron vale, where was a grove, watered from the Siloam pool (Jerom. 'Comment. in Jerem.' vii.), once perhaps a portion of the Royal Gardens, which were certainly in this direction. The later Jewish kings, Manasseh and Amon (or, perhaps, Ahaz, 2 Chr. xxviii. 3), had given it over to the Moloch priests for their worship. High-places had been raised (Jer. vii. 31); perhaps a temple had been built (Jerom. l. s. c.); sacrificial furnaces had been prepared and lighted; the Moloch worship had been set up. Here, probably, it was that Manasseh offered his own son (2 K. xxi. 6), or sons (2 Chr. xxxiii. 6); and here, ever since, the Moloch service had maintained its ground and flourished. See Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, 6, xxxii. 35.

the valley of the children of Hinnom.] This place is called indifferently "the valley of Hinnom," "the valley of the son of Hinnom," and (as here) "the valley of the sons of Hinnom." The origin of the name, which is at least as old as the time of Joshua (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16), is uncertain. The name attached to the valley west and south of Jerusalem, which guards the city on these two sides like a deep moat. From the horrors of its sacrificial fires, from this present pollution by Josiah, and perhaps from its being in later times the place where all the filth and offal of the town was thrown, the "vale of Hinnom," *Ge-Hinnom*, came to be regarded as the most abominable of all places, and so as a type of abomination. In this sense the term was applied by the Rabbins to the place of final punishment, and, corrupted into Ge-henna, or rather Geënna (Γεέννα), passed into the language of the New Testament.

11. *The horses.*] The custom of dedicating a chariot and horses to the Sun is mentioned elsewhere only as a Persian practice (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 3, § 12). There are no traces of it in Assyria; and it is extremely curious to find that it was known to the Jews as early as the reign of Manasseh. The idea of regarding the Sun as a charioteer who drove his horses daily across the sky, so familiar to the Greeks and Romans, may not improbably have been imported from Asia, and may have been at the root of the custom in question. The chariot, or chariots, of the Sun appear to have been used, chiefly if not solely, for sacred processions. They were white, and were drawn probably by white horses. Horses were also sacrificed to the Sun by the Persians (Xen. 'Anab.' iv. 5, § 35), and others; but there is no indication that the "horses" of the present passage were intended for any other purpose than to draw the "chariots," which are mentioned in connection with them.

the kings of Judah.] Manasseh and Amon certainly; perhaps Ahaz; perhaps even earlier monarchs, as Joash and Amaziah.

at the entering in.] Literally, "*from* the entering in of the house of the Lord *to* the chamber of Nathan-melech." The clause marks the position of the stables where the sacred horses were kept.

in the suburbs.] The expression used here (*parvârim*) occurs nowhere else. It is connected conjecturally with a somewhat similar word in 1 Chr. xxvi. 18, viz. *parbar*, a word which the A. V. does not venture to translate. The *parbar* of Chronicles seems to have been a place just outside the western wall of the temple, and therefore a sort of "purlieu" or "suburb." The *parvârim* of this passage *may* mean the same place, or it may signify some other "suburb" of the temple. In Rabbinical Hebrew the word means "suburb" generally. Its derivation is quite unknown.

12. *The upper chamber of Ahaz.*] It is argued with some force that the "upper chamber of Ahaz" must have been an erec-

which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which [c] Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the LORD, did the king beat down, and [‖] brake *them* down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron.

13 And the high places that *were* before Jerusalem, which *were* on the right hand of [‖] the mount of corruption, which [d] Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile.

14 And he brake in pieces the [†] images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men.

15 ¶ Moreover the altar that *was* at Beth-el, *and* the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made, both that altar and the high place he brake down, and burned the high place, *and* stamped *it* small to powder, and burned the grove.

16 And as Josiah turned himself,

[c] ch. ar. 5.

‖ Or, *ran from thence.*

‖ That is, the mount of Olives.

[d] 1 Kings 11, 7.

[†] Heb. *statues.*

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tion which that monarch raised *on some part of the temple*, since the writer of Kings, both before and after, is speaking of temple pollutions. Thenius conjectures that it was a chamber erected on the flat roof of one of the gateways which led into the Temple Court. It was probably built in order that its roof might be used for the worship of the host of heaven, for which house-tops were considered specially appropriate. (Compare Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5.)

the altars which Manasseh had made.] See 2 K. xxi. 5. Manasseh's repentance had not caused him to destroy these altars, but only to "cast them out of the city" (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15). Thus it was easy for Amon to restore them to their former places.

brake them down from thence.] Rather "ran from thence" (marg.), *i. e.* "hasted and cast the dust into Kidron."

13. *The high-places that were before Jerusalem.*] On the position of these high-places, see note on 1 K. xi. 7. It seems strange that they should have been allowed to remain under such kings as Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. Probably, however, they were among the old high-places where Jehovah was worshipped blamelessly, or at least without any consciousness of guilt, from the entrance of the Israelites into the Holy Land to the time of Solomon (see note on 1 K. iii. 2), and were therefore permitted to remain *as high-places for Jehovah-worship* even by such kings as those mentioned above. Manasseh or Amon would, in such case, have been likely to restore them to the condition which they had held in the reign of Solomon, and so Josiah would condemn them to a special defilement.

on the right hand of the mount of corruption.] The "mount of corruption" is undoubtedly Mount Olivet. It is suspected that the original name was *Har ham-mishchah*, "mount of anointing," and that this was changed afterwards, by way of contempt, into *Har ham-maschith*, "mount of corruption." The "right" of the mount is, according to Jewish notions, the southern portion of it, to which the name, *mons offensionis*, is still attached by ecclesiastical tradition.

Ashtoreth . . . Milcom, &c.] See notes on 1 K. xi. 5.

Chemosh.] See note on 1 K. xi. 7.

14. *The bones of men.*] The law attached uncleanness to the "bones of men," no less than to actual corpses (Num. xix. 16). A notion that human remains were impure prevailed widely in ancient times. We find it in Greece, in Rome, among the Medo-Persians ('Vendidad,' viii. p. 271, ed. Spiegel), among the Scythians (Herod. iv. 73), and elsewhere. It arose, no doubt, from the actual phenomena of animal decay and corruption, but passed everywhere into an irrational superstition. We may gather from the present passage, and others similar to it (1 K. xiii. 2; 2 K. xxiii. 20), that the Jews who rejected the law were as firm believers in the defilement as those who adhered to it.

15. *And burned the high place.*] Evidently the "high-place" here mentioned was not a mere tumulus or mound of earth, but a structure of some kind or other. It is not the altar, nor is it the grove, for from both of these it is distinguished. We can only suppose it to have been a shrine or tabernacle, either standing by itself or else covering the "grove." (See the last note on verse 7, and compare note on 1 K. xiv. 23.) As it was "stamped small to powder," it must have been made either of metal or stone.

16. *The sepulchres that were there.*] Bethel (*Beitin*) stands upon a low hill between the courses of two shallow wadys (Robinson, ii.

he spied the sepulchres that *were* there in the mount, and sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned *them* upon the altar, and polluted it, according to the [a] word of the LORD which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these words.

[a] 1 Kings 13. 2.

17 Then he said, What title *is* that that I see? And the men of the city told him, *It is* the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Beth-el.

18 And he said, Let him alone; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones [†] alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria.

[†] Heb. *to escape.*

19 And all the houses also of the high places that *were* in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke *the* LORD to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Beth-el.

20 And he [‖] slew all the priests of the high places that *were* there upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem.

[‖] Or, *sacrificed.*

21 ¶ And the king commanded all the people, saying, [b] Keep the passover unto the LORD your God, [c] as *it is* written in the book of this covenant.

[b] 2 Chron. 35. 1. [c] 1 Esd. 1. 1. Ex. 12. 3. Deut. 16. 2.

22 Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah;

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p. 125), which unite below the town and form the deep and rugged Wady-es-Suweinit. The sepulchres were probably in the rocky sides of this valley.

took the bones . . . and burned them.] As Josiah had not elsewhere "burned" the bones, but only scattered them over the idolatrous sites in order to pollute them (see verse 14), it would seem probable that at Bethel he set himself to carry out the prophecy of the "man of God" (1 K. xiii. 2), which was known to him. To burn human bones was contrary to all the ordinary Jewish feelings with respect to the sanctity of the sepulchre, and had even been denounced as a sin of a heinous character when committed by a king of Moab (Am. ii. 1), so that nothing short of a divine command, express or implied, would have been held to justify it. A conscious carrying out of the prophecy is perhaps intended in the last clause of the verse, "according to . . . these words."

17. *What title is that?*] Rather "What pillar is that?" The *tsiyun* seems to have been a *cippus* or short stone pillar, which was set up either as a way-mark (Jer. xxxi. 21), or as a sepulchral monument (Ezek. xxxix. 15). On the practice of marking tombs by pillars, see Gen. xxxv. 20.

the sepulchre of the man of God.] Compare 1 K. xiii. 30.

18. *With the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria.*] See 1 K. xiii. 31. The expression "that came out of Samaria" is not quite accurate. The writer means, "the prophet who belonged to the kingdom of Samaria;" but as he is distinguishing this prophet from the one who "came out of Judah" (verse 17), the distinguishing clause is attracted into the same form.

19. *The cities of Samaria.*] See additional note at the end of the chapter.

20. *And he slew all the priests of the high places.*] Here again, as in burning the human bones upon the altar at Bethel, Josiah was carrying out prophecy, and may have regarded himself as bound to act as he did (1 K. xiii. 2, 32). Excepting on account of the prophecy, he would scarcely have slain the priests *upon the altars.*

21. *The king commanded, &c.*] The parenthesis which commenced with verse 4, ends with verse 20, and in verse 21 the author returns to the narrative of what was done in Josiah's 18th year. Having read the Book of the Law in the ears of all the people and caused all present to join him in a solemn promise that they would keep all the commandments written in the Book, Josiah commanded that the ensuing passover should be kept with the greatest strictness and exactness, "*as* it was written in the book of the covenant." The need of the injunction was owing to the fact—not that Josiah had as yet held no passover—but that the reading of the Book had shown him differences between the existing practice and the letter of the Law—differences consequent upon negligence, or upon the fact that tradition had been allowed in various points to override the Law.

22. *There was not holden such a passover.*]

23 But in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, *wherein* this passover was holden to the LORD in Jerusalem.

24 ¶ Moreover the *workers with* familiar spirits, and the wizards, and ‖ the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of [d] the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the LORD.

‖ Or, *teraphim.*

[d] Lev. 20. 27. Deut. 18. 11.

25 And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there *any* like him.

26 ¶ Notwithstanding the LORD turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the † provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal.

† Heb. *angers.*

The details of the passover are given by the author of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxv. 1-18), who agrees with the writer of Kings that there had been no *such* passover since the days of the last Judge, Samuel (verse 18). Its superiority to other passovers seems to have consisted—(1) in the multitudes that attended it; and (2) in the completeness with which all the directions of the Law were observed in the celebration. Compare Neh. viii. 17.

24. *The workers with familiar spirits and the wizards.*] On these, see notes on 2 K. xxi. 6.

the images.] Or "teraphim" (marg.). The nature of these "images" is explained in the notes on Gen. xxxi. 19. Their employment was a usage to which the Israelites clung with peculiar pertinacity. They are mentioned in Genesis (l. s. c.), under the Judges (Judg. xvii. 5, xviii. 14-20), under the early kings (1 S. xix. 13), at this time, and again after the captivity (Zech. x. 2). Apparently they were also employed by the Babylonians (Ezek. xxi. 21).

that he might perform the words of the law.] Rather, "that he might establish the words of the law." Fully to establish the law, to bring it completely into operation, Josiah saw that it was necessary, not only to put down the open idolatry which was practised in the Temple, in its courts, in Tophet, and in the various high-places, but also to root out the *secret* practices of a similar character which were sometimes combined with the worship of Jehovah, notwithstanding that the law forbade them (Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 9-12), and which probably formed, with many, practically almost the whole of their religion. As Saul, when he had deserted God, applied to the witch of Endor, so, in all ages and countries, those who cast off the restraints of religion become addicted to superstitions of various kinds, since they cannot live without something to occupy the religious faculty.

25. *And like unto him was there no king before him.*] The same is said in almost the same words of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 5). We must not press the letter of either passage, but regard both kings as placed *among* the very best of the kings of Judah.

the law of Moses.] It is not very often that the law is expressly called "the law *of Moses*." The only other instances in the Old Testament are, Josh. viii. 32; 2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Chr. xxiii. 18, xxv. 4; Ezr. iii. 2; Dan. ix. 11, 13; Mal. iv. 4. These passages are, however, quite numerous enough, and scattered enough, to show a general *consensus* of the Jewish nation upon the subject.

26. *Because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him.*] See above, ch. xxi. 11-16, xxii. 17, and infra, ch. xxiv. 3. It is not to be supposed that a true repentance would not have averted God's anger, even after all the provocations of Manasseh. But the people had sunk into a condition in which a true repentance was no longer possible. Individuals, like Josiah, were sincere, but the mass of the nation, despite their formal renewal of the covenant (verse 3), and their outward perseverance in Jehovah-worship (2 Chr. xxxiv. 33), had feigned rather than felt repentance. The earlier chapters of Jeremiah are full at once of reproaches which he directs against the people for their insincerity, and of promises if they would repent in earnest. "Judah hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly, saith the Lord" (Jer. iii. 10. Compare iv. 3, 4, 14, v. 1-3, vi. 13, 14, &c.). "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Amend your ways and your doings . . . if ye throughly amend your ways and your doings, if ye throughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour, if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless,

27 And the LORD said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, [e] My name shall be there.

28 Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

29 ¶ [f] In his days Pharaoh-nechoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him;

[e] 1 Kin. 8. 29. & 9. 3. ch. 21. 7.

[f] 2 Chron. 35. 20.

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and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt: then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever" (ib. vii. 3-7. Compare xvii. 24-26, xxii. 4).

27. *As I have removed Israel.*] To be "removed out of God's sight" is to be cast away from His favour, to lose the light of His countenance. It added to the guilt of Judah that she had had the warning of her sister Israel's example, and had failed to profit by it. (See above, 2 K. xvii. 18-23; and compare Jer. iii. 8-11.)

My name shall be there.] See 2 S. vii. 13; 1 K. viii. 29, ix. 3.

28. *The rest of the acts of Josiah.*] Josiah lived 13 years after the celebration of his great passover; but of this period we know absolutely nothing, except that in the course of it he seems to have submitted himself to Nabopolassar. According to Berosus, Nabopolassar's power was established over Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and a part of Egypt, till almost the close of his reign, when these countries revolted from him. Probably, as soon as the result of the struggle at Nineveh came to be known (B.C. 623 or 622) Nabopolassar was accepted as the legitimate successor of the long line of Assyrian monarchs by all the nations of the western coast. Josiah, after perhaps a little hesitation between Nabopolassar and Psammetichus, of which we see signs in Jeremiah (ii. 18, 36), followed the example of his neighbours, and frankly accepted the position of an Assyro-Babylonian tributary. In this state matters remained till B.C. 608, when the great events happened which are narrated in the next verse.

29. *Pharaoh-Nechoh.*] This king is well known to us both from profane historians, and from the Egyptian monuments. Named after his grandfather (Herod. ii. 152), who was a tributary prince of Lower Egypt under the Assyrians, he succeeded his father Psammetichus (Psamatik) in the year B.C. 610, and was king of Egypt for 16 years, from B.C. 610 to 594 (Herod. ii. 159, confirmed by monuments). He married a half-sister, named Neit-akret, or Nitocris, *i.e.* "mighty Neith," (Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' pp. 248, 252), and was an enlightened and enterprising monarch. He dug a canal to connect the Nile with the Red Sea (Herod. ii. 158), caused Africa to be circumnavigated (ib. iv. 42), maintained two fleets, one in the Red Sea, the other in the Mediterranean (ib. ii. 159), and made the great expedition which is here mentioned. The expedition was an attempt to detach from the newly-formed Babylonian empire the important tract of country extending from Egypt to the Euphrates at Carchemish, which was between Bir and Balis. Such an attempt would probably have been made earlier, had Neco been upon the throne when the Assyrian empire fell. But the actual fall occurred in the reign of his father, who was of a cautious temper, and advanced in years at the time. Still Neco thought, on his accession, that it was not perhaps even then too late to attempt the enterprise. The Babylonian power may have appeared to him not yet fully established; and though Josiah can have given him no encouragement, he may have found some of the other tributary kings or governors ready to lend him support. Berosus speaks of a great revolt on the part of the "satrap of Syria" at this time. Calculating probably on the friendship or neutrality of most of the native powers, the Egyptian monarch, having made preparations for the space of two years, set out on his march, probably following the (usual) coast route through Philistia and Sharon, from thence intending to cross by Megiddo into the Jezreel (Esdraelon) plain.

went up against the king of Assyria.] It has been argued from this expression that Nineveh had not yet fallen (Clinton, Hupfeld); but evidently nothing is more probable than that the Jews, accustomed to Assyrian monarchs, who held their courts alternately at Nineveh and Babylon (2 K. xix. 36; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11), should *at first* have regarded the change that had taken place as merely dynastic, and have transferred to the new king, Nabopolassar, the title which they had been accustomed to give to their former suzerains. When Nebuchadnezzar invaded their country they found that he did not call himself "King of Assyria," but "King of Babylon," and thenceforth that title came into use; but the annalist who wrote the life of Josiah immediately upon his death, and

and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him.

30 And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. And *g* the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

g 2 Chron. 36. 1.

31 ¶ Jehoahaz *was* twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

32 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers had done.

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whom the author of Kings copied, used not unnaturally the more familiar, though less correct, designation.

Josiah went against him.] Josiah probably regarded himself as in duty bound to oppose the march of a hostile force through his territory to attack his suzerain.

he slew him at Megiddo.] Megiddo is undoubtedly the modern *El-Lejjun*, a strong position on the skirts of the hills which separate the low coast tract south of Carmel from the great plain of Esdraelon. It lies on the caravan route from Egypt to Damascus, the ordinary line for an army. (See above, vol. i. p. 457; and compare note on Josh. xii. 21.) Josiah probably took up his position here, near the point where the road over the hills debouches upon the plain, in order to assail with all his force the head of the Egyptian column as it emerged from the pass into more open ground. The battle would be fought, not at the town itself, which is on a hill, but in the valley at its foot, as the author of Chronicles notes (2 Chr. xxxv. 22). We learn from this writer that Neco was unwilling to engage, and, when he found his way blocked by Josiah's troops, sent ambassadors to him and tried to induce him to retire. Josiah refused to move, and Neco was therefore obliged to fight. According to one rendering, the Jewish king, following an unhappy precedent, that of Ahab, "disguised himself" before entering into the battle, and, like Ahab, was slain by a chance arrow. There can be little doubt that it is this battle which Herodotus mentions, as an engagement between the Egyptians under Neco, and the *Syrians*, which took place at *Magdolum* (ii. 159). Neco sent the arms which he wore in the battle to the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus, where they were probably seen by Herodotus.

when he had seen him.] *I.e.* "when he had engaged him." Compare 2 K. xiv. 8: "Come, let us look one another in the face."

30. *Dead.*] It appears from a comparison of this passage with 2 Chr. xxxv. 23, 24, that Josiah was not actually killed in the battle, but only mortally wounded. His servants removed him from his war chariot into a second (lighter?) chariot, which was in the field waiting upon him, and conveyed him to Jerusalem; but his wound proved fatal to him by the way.

buried him in his own sepulchre.] "Among the sepulchres of his fathers" (2 Chr. xxxv. 24), *i.e.* in the new cemetery made by Manasseh, wherein he and his son Amon were buried (2 K. xxi. 18, 26). The author of Chronicles adds: "And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing-men and the singing-women spake of Josiah in their lamentations *to this day*, and made them an ordinance in Israel; and, behold, they are written in the lamentations." It appears from this, that the mournful death of the last warrior-king, a death without a precedent in their annals, was not only bitterly lamented at the time, but was commemorated by an annual celebration which survived the Captivity. There are references to this solemn mourning in the words of Jeremiah, when he contrasts the unwept fates of the wicked sons of Josiah with that of their pious father (Jer. xxii. 10, 18); and there is a remarkable allusion to it in the prophet Zechariah (xii. 11). See note on 2 Chr. xxxv. 25.

the people of the land took Jehoahaz.] The original name of this prince seems to have been Shallum (1 Chr. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 11). He may have taken the name of Jehoahaz (= "the Lord possesses") on his accession. He was not the eldest son of Josiah. (See verse 36.)

and anointed him.] The mention of "anointing" here favours the view of those who regard the rite as observed only in the cases where there was some irregularity in the succession. (See note on 1 K. i. 34.)

32. *He did that which was evil.*] Ezekiel speaks of Jehoahaz as an oppressor (xix. 3). Josephus says he was "irreligious and of impure habits" (ἀσεβὴς καὶ μιαρὸς τὸν τρόπον, 'Ant. Jud.' x. 5, § 2).

33 And Pharaoh-nechoh put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, ‖that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and †put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold.

‖ Or, *because he reigned.* † Heb. *set a mulct upon the land.*

34 And Pharaoh-nechoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to [h] Jehoiakim, and took Jehoahaz away: and he came to Egypt, and died there.

[h] Matt. 1. 11, called *Jakim.*

35 And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one ac-

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33. *Pharaoh-Nechoh put him in bands.*] Neco, after his victory at Megiddo, no doubt proceeded northwards and occupied himself in bringing Phœnicia and Syria under his rule. He probably penetrated as far as Carchemish, the point whereto he informed Josiah that he was proceeding (2 Chr. xxxv. 20. Compare Jer. xlvi. 2). Thus it was not till three months had elapsed that he again found himself in Southern Syria, and learnt what had occurred at Jerusalem in his absence. On receiving the intelligence, either because the setting up of any sovereign without his sanction appeared to him an act of defiance, or because he had some special grounds for distrusting Jehoahaz, —the object of the popular choice—he appears to have sent orders to Jehoahaz to attend the court which he was holding at Riblah (so Josephus). Jehoahaz obeyed, and on his arrival found that he had fallen into a trap (Ezek. xix. 4). Neco arrested him, loaded him with chains, and carried him with him into Egypt (verse 34).

at Riblah.] Riblah still retains its name. It is situated on the Orontes, in the Cœle-Syrian valley, near the point where the valley opens into a wide and fertile plain. It is conveniently placed for communicating with Upper Mesopotamia by way of Aleppo, with Babylon by way of Palmyra, with Egypt and Phœnicia, by the route round the southern skirts of Lebanon, and with Judæa by the Cœle-Syrian valley. Neco seems to have been the first to perceive its importance. Afterwards Nebuchadnezzar made it his headquarters during his sieges of Jerusalem and Tyre (2 K. xxv. 21; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 9, 10, 26, 27).

in the land of Hamath.] On "the land of Hamath," see note on 2 K. xiv. 28.

that he might not reign.] Or, according to another reading, "when he reigned." The reading followed by our translators (which is preferred by Houbigant, Geddes, Boothroyd, Bishop Horsley, Thenius and others), seems to be preferable (compare the LXX., τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύειν).

put the land to a tribute.] Literally, "set a mulct upon the land" (marg.). But the meaning is well enough expressed by the words in the text.

34. *Pharaoh-Nechoh made Eliakim king.*] It is not necessary to suppose that Neco visited Jerusalem in order to do this. He *may* have done so, but there is no evidence that he did. The "Cadytis" of Herodotus (iii. 159) which Neco (according to him) took after the battle of Megiddo (Magdolum) is far more probably Gaza than Jerusalem (so Hitzig, Billerbeck, Heyse, Bertheau, Ewald, Thenius). Neco probably received at Riblah the various princes who had pretensions to the petty crowns of Syria and Palestine, and awarded them at his pleasure to those whom he thought most trustworthy.

in the room of Josiah his father.] We should have expected "in the room of Jehoahaz his brother;" but probably the phrase used is intended to mark the fact, that Neco did not acknowledge that Jehoahaz had ever been king.

turned his name to Jehoiakim.] It has been noticed already (note on verse 30) that the name of Jehoahaz was probably changed at his accession. A similar change is found in the case of Zedekiah the last king (ch. xxiv. 17). Keil remarks with justice that "in ancient times princes were wont to give new names to the persons who entered into their service," just as masters gave them to newly purchased slaves. He refers to Gen. xli. 45; Ezr. v. 14; and Dan. i. 7. Another illustration of the change is the probable case of Ahaz (see 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 399). In the cases of the Jewish kings, it seems likely from their purely Jewish character, that the new names, though formally imposed by the suzerain, were selected by the individuals themselves. The change now made consisted merely in the substitution of Jehovah for El, "God," as the initial element of the name, which, having meant "God will set up," came to mean "Jehovah will set up." Both names alike refer to the promise which God made to David (2 Sam. vii. 12) and imply a hope that, notwithstanding the threats of the Prophets, the seed of David would still be allowed to remain upon the throne.

cording to his taxation, to give *it* unto Pharaoh-nechoh.

36 ¶ Jehoiakim *was* twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah.

37 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers had done.

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he came to Egypt and died there.] As Jeremiah had prophesied soon after his exile began (Jer. xxii. 10-12).

36. *Twenty and five years old.*] He was therefore two years older than his half-brother, Jehoahaz (see verse 31).

Rumah.] Rumah has been identified with Arumah (Judg. ix. 41), which was near Shechem (Winer, Keil); and with Dumah (Josh. xv. 52), which was near Libnah (Grove). But it may have been a place distinct from either, and not elsewhere mentioned in Scripture. Josephus has a Rumah (Ῥουμά) in Galilee ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 7, § 21).

37. *He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord.*] Josephus says that Jehoiakim was "an unjust man and an evil doer, neither religious towards God, nor equitable towards men" ('Ant. Jud.' x. 5, § 2, ad fin.). The author of Chronicles speaks of his "abominations" (2 Chr. xxxvi. 8). Ezekiel describes him as oppressive and cruel (Ezek. xix. 5-7). We learn his character, however, chiefly from Jeremiah, who reproaches him with his covetousness, his cruelty, his injustice, his violence, and his luxury (Jer. xxii. 13-17), and gives traits which clearly exhibit his bold impiety (xxxvi. 23), his thirst for blood (xxvi. 20-23), and his selfish extravagance (xxii. 14-15).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 19.

The writer of Chronicles gives some interesting particulars of the reformation which Josiah effected in Samaria. It was carried, he tells us, through the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali. Bands of men armed with mattocks proceeded through the country, breaking down the altars and the groves, beating the idols into powder, and cutting down the sun-images (*chammânim*). This destruction was so general that it might be regarded as effected "throughout all the land of Israel." It was superintended by Josiah in person, who did not "return to Jerusalem" till it was completed (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6, 7). The fact that Josiah was able to do acts implying sovereignty throughout the whole of the northern kingdom so far as Naphtali, *i.e.* to the furthest northern limits of Galilee, indicates quite a new position of affairs, and requires for its explanation a glance at the general political history of the East during his reign. It would seem that Josiah ascended the throne B. C. 640 or 639, and reigned till B. C. 609 or 608. His reign was thus contemporary with those of Cinneladanus and Nabopolassar, at Babylon; of Asshur-bani-pal and Saracus, at Nineveh; of Cyaxares, in Media; and of Psammetichus (Psamatik I.), and Neco in Egypt. Western Asia witnessed in his day two great revolutions. About the year B.C. 632, or a little earlier, when Josiah was giving those symptoms of youthful piety which are recorded to his honour in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3), a great danger burst upon western Asia from the north. One of those terrible invasions of barbarians from the Steppe country, which in ancient times periodically desolated those fair regions of the south in which great monarchies grow up, happened at this time, and shook to their centre all the kingdoms over which it passed. Media, Assyria, Armenia, Cappadocia, even Egypt trembled at the advance of savage hordes, strange and uncouth in appearance, who had crossed the Caucasus from the distant Scythia, and had spread themselves far and wide over the neighbouring countries. These hordes not only ravaged the more northern countries of Armenia, Media, and Cappadocia, but found their way across Mesopotamia to Syria, and thence made an attempt to invade Egypt. Psammetichus met them at Ascalon and induced them to turn back; but they can scarcely have advanced so far without coming in contact with the Jewish kingdom, which must (one would think) have suffered from their ravages. The entire omission of any allusion to the Scythian invasion in the historical books is strongly indicative of their incomplete and unsecular character. As they were neither the fated enemy of Judah, nor had any hand in bringing that enemy into the country, no mention is made of them. It is only in the Prophets that we catch glimpses of the fearful sufferings of the time. Perhaps in Zephaniah (ii. 4-6), more certainly in Jeremiah (i. 13-15, vi. 2-5) and Ezekiel (xxxviii. and xxxix.), the Scythian inroad is alluded to—the coming of an enemy "out of the north parts, a great company, a mighty army, all of them riding upon horses."

(Ezek. xxxviii. 15; compare Jer. i. 14, 15.) The date of the inroad into Philistia is probably about B.C. 626. It had scarcely gone by, and matters settled into their former position, when the astounding intelligence must have reached Jerusalem that the great monarchy of the East—the chief figure in oriental history for at least six hundred years—had fallen; that Nineveh was destroyed, and that her place was to be taken, so far as Syria and Palestine were concerned, by Babylon. This event is fixed to B.C. 625, or perhaps a year or two later, which seems to be exactly the time during which Josiah was occupied in carrying out his reformation in Samaria. It is reasonable to suppose that the Scythian invasion and the troubles in Assyria before and after the great siege would tend to throw matters into confusion in these outlying provinces, and it may well be that Josiah was at this time taking advantage of the doubtful state of affairs to enlarge his own sovereignty. The Israelite population in Samaria may have favoured his pretensions, while the heathen colonists, who had been transported to these regions as a punishment, may not have cared to offer them much opposition. There is every indication that Josiah did, in fact, unite under his rule all the old "land of Israel" except the Trans-Jordanic region. It may, perhaps, even be doubtful whether he held this kingdom as a fief under the Assyro-Babylonian crown, or was an independent sovereign. On the whole, however, it seems most probable that after the fall of Nineveh he regarded himself as subject to Nabopolassar. See note on verse 28.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 Jehoiakim, first subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, then rebelling against him, procureth his own ruin. 5 Jehoiachin succeedeth him. 7 The king of Egypt is vanquished by the king of Babylon. 8 Jehoiachin's evil reign. 10 Jerusalem is taken and carried captive into Babylon. 17 Zedekiah is made king, and reigneth ill unto the utter destruction of Judah.

IN his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him.

2 And the LORD sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites,

CHAP. XXIV. 1. *In his days.*] According to Daniel (i. 1) the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar was in Jehoiakim's third year; according to Jeremiah (xxv. 1) it was not before his fourth year. By comparing Berosus with the Canon of Ptolemy, we can fix the date to B.C. 605, which was the third completed, and fourth commencing year of this king.

Nebuchadnezzar.] Jeremiah and Ezekiel use the form Nebuchadrezzar, which is closer to the original, *Nabu-kudurri-uzur*. This name, like most Babylonian names, is made up of three elements, *Nebo*, the well-known god (Is. xlvi. 1), *kudur*, of doubtful signification (perhaps "crown," perhaps "landmark"), and *uzur* "protects." (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iii. p. 528.) Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, and second monarch of the Babylonian empire, ascended the throne, according to Ptolemy's Canon, B.C. 604, and reigned forty-three years (Berosus), dying B.C. 561. He married Amuhia (or Amyitis), daughter of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and was the most celebrated of all the Babylonian sovereigns. He is perhaps alluded to by Herodotus under the name of Labynetus (i. 74). Berosus, Megasthenes, Alexander Polyhistor, and Abydenus gave accounts of his great buildings and expeditions. Menander of Ephesus spoke of his siege of Tyre (Fr. 2). No other heathen king occupies so much space in Scripture. (See, besides the present and following chapters, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6-20; Ezr. i. 7, ii. 1, v. 12-14, vi. 5; Jer. xxi. 2-10, xxii. 25, xxiv. 1-8, xxv. 1-11, xxvii. 6-22, xxviii. 3-14, xxix. 1-22, xxxii. 1-43, xxxiv. 1-22, xxxvii. 1-19, xxxviii. 2-23, xxxix. 1-14, xl. 1-11, xlvi. 2-26, lii. 3-30; Ezek. xxiv. 2, xxvi. 7-12, xxix. 17-20, xxx. 10-25, xxxii. 11-15; Dan. ii.-iv., v. 2, 11, 18-21.)

king of Babylon.] It appears from Berosus that Nebuchadnezzar was not actual king at this time, but only Crown Prince and leader of the army under his father. As he would be surrounded with all the state and magnificence of a monarch, the Jews would naturally look upon him as actual king.

came up.] Berosus gave an account of this expedition of Nebuchadnezzar's, which has fortunately been preserved to us through Josephus; and an important passage in Jeremiah also refers to it (Jer. xlvi. 1-12). It appears that Neco, having reduced to subjection the entire tract between Egypt and the Upper Euphrates, maintained a large army of Egyptians, Ethiopians, Lybians, and others, at Carchemish, which was not far from

and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, ‡ according to the word of the LORD, which he spake † by his servants the prophets.

‡ ch. 20. 17. & 23. 27.
† Heb. *by the hand of.*

3 Surely at the commandment of the LORD came *this* upon Judah, to remove *them* out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did;

4 And also for the innocent blood that he shed: for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood; which the LORD would not pardon.

5 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

6 So Jehoiakim slept with his

Bir. Nebuchadnezzar began his campaign by crossing the Euphrates and attacking this host. He succeeded in completely defeating it (Jer. xlvi. 2). He then pressed forward towards the south, overran Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, took Jerusalem, and carried off a portion of the inhabitants as prisoners (Dan. i. 1-4): after which he proceeded southwards, and had reached the borders of Egypt when he was suddenly recalled to Babylon by the death of his father.

three years.] Probably from B.C. 605 to B.C. 602. Josephus says that Jehoiakim was encouraged to rebel by the expectation of assistance from Egypt ('Ant. Jud.' x. 6, § 2). But there is nothing in Scripture to confirm this statement. On the whole it would appear that he ventured upon the step because he knew Nebuchadnezzar to be engaged in important wars in some other part of Asia.

2. *Bands of the Chaldees, &c.*] Instead of coming up in person and crushing the revolt of his vassal, Nebuchadnezzar was content to harass him by perpetual incursions, employing on the service, in part his own troops, in part those of the neighbouring nations, who were ready enough to waste and plunder the territory of their ancient enemy. (See Ezek. xix. 8.)

Syrians.] On the employment of Syrian troops by Nebuchadnezzar, compare Jer. xxxv. 11

according to the word of the Lord.] See Lev. xxvi. 17-25; Deut. xxviii. 25; Jer. iv. 29-29, v. 15-18, &c.; Hab. i. 6-10. The ravages of the Moabites and the Ammonites are specially alluded to in the following passages: Jer. xlviii. 26, 27, xlix. 1; Ezek. xxv. 3-6; Zeph. ii. 8.

3. *Surely at the commandment of the Lord.*] Man could have done nothing against Judah, if the sentence of rejection had not gone forth from God. That sentence was first distinctly pronounced in the reign of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 11-15); for whose sins the writer therefore regards all the late calamities of Judah as an especial punishment.

for the sins of Manasseh.] See note on ch. xxiii. 26.

4. *The innocent blood.*] See 2 K. xxi. 16, and note ad loc.

5. *The rest of the acts of Jehoiakim.*] The latter part of Jehoiakim's reign is a period of some obscurity. The writer of Chronicles finishes his reign by saying: "Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon" (2 Chr. xxxvi. 6). Jeremiah prophesies concerning him: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (xxii. 19; compare xxxvi. 30). Our author simply says that he "slept with his fathers" (verse 6). The most circumstantial account that we have in Scripture of his later years is that given by Ezekiel: "Then the nations set against him on every side from the provinces" (compare 2 K. xxiv. 2) "and spread their net over him; he was taken in their pit. And they put him in ward in chains, and brought him to the king of Babylon: they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel" (Ezek. xix. 8, 9). The only mode of reconciling these various statements seems to be the following:—Nebuchadnezzar must in the fifth or sixth year after Jehoiakim's revolt have determined to go in person to Syria, where matters were progressing ill, the revolt of Judæa in B.C. 602 having been followed by that of Tyre in B.C. 598. On his arrival he proceeded, probably from his head-quarters at Riblah, to direct operations, first against Tyre and then against Jerusalem. The troops which he employed against Jerusalem took Jehoiakim prisoner, and brought him in chains to Nebuchadnezzar's presence, who at first designed to convey him to Babylon, but afterwards had him taken to Jerusalem, where he was executed, and his body ignominiously treated (Jer. xxii. 19, xxxvi. 30). Afterwards, when the Babylonians had withdrawn, the remains were collected and interred in the burying-place of Manasseh, so that the king ultimately "slept with his fathers" (2 K. xxiv. 6). The expedition of Nebuchadnezzar into Syria at this time (though denied by Keil) is confirmed both by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' x. 6, § 3; 'Contr. Ap.' i. 21) and Polyhistor (Fr. 24).

6. *Jehoiachin.*] Jeremiah (except in one

fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

7 And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt.

8 ¶ Jehoiachin *was* eighteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem three months. And his mother's name *was* Nehushta, the daughter of Elnathan of Jerusalem.

9 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father had done.

10 ¶ [k] At that time the servants [k] Dan. 1. 1.

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place, lii. 31) calls this prince, either Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24, 28, xxxvii. 1) or Jeconiah (xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2). The writer of Chronicles calls him Jeconiah in 1 Chr. iii. 16, 17; Jehoiachin in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 9. The difference between Jehoiachin and Jeconiah is simply that the two elements of the name are transposed. Both forms alike mean "Jehovah will establish." In Coniah the sign of the future tense is cut off, and the meaning is "Jehovah establishes." Probably the prince was originally called Jehoiachin, his name having the same reference to the last clause of 2 S. vii. 12 ("*I will establish* his kingdom") that his father's name had to the preceding clause ("*I will set up* thy seed after thee"). When he ascended the throne, and was required to take a new name, anxious not to lose the good omen contained in his old one, he simply transposed the two elements. Jeremiah shortened this new name from Jeconiah to Coniah, thus cutting off from it the notion of futurity, to imply that that would not be which the name declared would be—"Jehovah establishes," but this prince he *will* not establish. (Hengstenberg, Keil).

reigned in his stead.] If Jehoiakim lost his life in the way which has been supposed (see note on verse 5), Jehoiachin must have been *allowed* to succeed him by Nebuchadnezzar. (See Josephus, x. 6, § 3.) On the Oriental practice of allowing sons to succeed to their fathers' thrones, even when the fathers had forfeited them through rebellion, see Herod. iii. 15.

7. *The king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land.*] Neco, *i.e.* from the time that Jehoiakim became Nebuchadnezzar's servant (verse 1)—in other words, from the year of the battle of Carchemish—confined himself to his own country and made no efforts to recover Syria or Judæa.

from the river of Egypt.] The "river of Egypt," *han-nachal Mixraim*, here, as elsewhere, is probably not the Nile, but the Wady-el-Arish. (See note on 1 K. viii. 65.)

8. *Eighteen years old.*] The parallel passage of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxvi. 9) has "eight years," which is probably the error of a copyist. That Jehoiachin was not a mere child when he ascended the throne is clearly indicated by Jer. xxii. 28.

three months.] The time is given with greater exactness in Chronicles, as "three months and ten days" (2 Chr. xxxvi. 9).

his mother's name.] It has been already observed that the "Queen Mother" occupied an important position both at the Jewish and the Israelite court. (See notes on 1 K. xv. 10; 2 K. ix. 30, &c.) Nehushta's rank and dignity are strongly marked by the distinct and express mention which is made of her in almost every place where her son's history is touched upon. (See below, verse 12, and compare Jer. xxii. 26, xxix. 2; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' x. 7, § 1.)

9. *He did that which was evil.*] Josephus describes Jehoiachin as a just and mild prince (φύσει χρηστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, l. s. c.); and some moderns have argued from expressions in Jer. xxii. that he had "excellent gifts," though he disappointed the expectations which had been raised by them. But Jeremiah's words (verses 24-30) are really quite beside the question of Jehoiachin's character. We have no trustworthy data for forming a judgment upon it beyond this verse and the corresponding verse of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxvi. 9); for Ezek. xix. 5-9, which some apply to him, refers almost certainly to Jehoiakim (see above, note on verse 5). From these we gather that at any rate he made no effort to bring about a true national repentance, but continued in the same general course as his father.

10. *The servants of Nebuchadnezzar.*] The siege of Tyre was probably regarded by Nebuchadnezzar as more important than that of Jerusalem, and as therefore more requiring his personal superintendence. Jerusalem was consequently besieged by his "servants," till such time as it appeared certain that the place must soon fall. Then intelligence was sent to him in order that the honour of the actual capture might be his. (See the next verse, and compare 2 S. xii. 26-29.)

came up against Jerusalem.] The cause and circumstances of this siege are equally

of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jerusalem, and the city † was besieged.

† Heb. *came into siege.*

11 And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came against the city, and his servants did besiege it.

12 And Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his ‖ officers: and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign.

‖ Or, *eunuchs.*

[a] ch. 20. 17. Isai. 39. 6.

13 [a] And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the LORD, as the LORD had said.

14 And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, *even* ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.

[b] 2 Chron. 36. 10. Esth. 2. 6.

15 And [b] he carried away Jehoiachin

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obscure. Josephus says that Nebuchadnezzar, after establishing Jehoiachin upon the throne, began to suspect him of an intention to revenge the ill-treatment of his father by rebelling, and therefore sent an army against him ('Ant. Jud.' x. 7, § 1); but he implies that there was no overt act of rebellion. It is perhaps more probable that the weak youth was detected in some attempt to open communications with Egypt.

12. *Jehoiachin . . . . went out.*] Jehoiachin, *i.e.* surrendered at discretion, probably seeing that resistance was hopeless.

his mother.] See note on verse 8.

in the eighth year of his reign.] Jeremiah calls it the *seventh* year (Jer. lii. 28), a statement which implies only a different manner of counting regnal years.

13. *Cut in pieces all the vessels of gold.*] A commencement of plundering the Temple had been made on the first capture of the city in the fourth (third) year of Jehoiakim (see Dan. i. 2; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7). It is conjectured that the vessels then carried off consisted of the smaller and lighter articles (Keil), or at least of some of them (compare 2 K. xxv. 15), while now the heavier articles, as the table of shew-bread, the altar of incense, the ark of the covenant, were made to contribute, the gold wherewith they were plated being stripped from off them and carried away by the conquerors. Evidently little remained in any more precious metal than brass at the time of the final capture in the reign of Zedekiah. (See 2 K. xxv. 13-17.)

as the Lord had said.] The special reference is probably to the prophecy of Isaiah (2 K. xx. 17; Is. xxxix. 6). There may also be an allusion to Jer. xx. 5.

14. *He carried away all Jerusalem.*] This phrase is limited by what follows. From that we find that the entire number of the captives did not exceed 11,000. They consisted of three classes: (1) the "princes" or "mighty of the land," including the courtiers, priests, elders, and all who had any position or dignity; these are not expressly numbered, but appear from a comparison of verse 14 with verse 16 to be reckoned at 3000. (2) The "mighty men of valour" (verse 14) or "men of might" (verse 16), *i.e.* the soldier class, who were 7000. And (3) craftsmen or artisans, who numbered 1000. These together constituted all that was important in the population of the city; the remainder were weak and insignificant—probably not only in respect of enterprise and military strength, but even in number. The population of modern Jerusalem, which seems to be nearly of the same size as the ancient city, is estimated by the most judicious of modern observers at from 10,000 to 17,000 (Robinson's 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 84-86). That of the ancient city has been calculated, from its area, at 15,000 (Fergusson). The remnant left did not, therefore, in all probability exceed 5000 or 6000. When Jeremiah (lii. 28) says that the number of captives carried off at this time was 3023, we may suspect that his text has been corrupted.

and all the craftsmen and smiths.] The word here translated "craftsmen" denotes artisans in stone, wood, or metal, and thus includes our "masons, carpenters, and smiths." The word translated "smiths" means strictly "lock-smiths." The object of carrying off these persons was twofold: (1) it deprived the conquered city of those artisans who were of most service in war—the smiths who made arms, the carpenters who constructed military engines, and the masons who repaired and strengthened walls; and (2) it gave the conqueror a number of valuable assistants in the construction of his buildings and other great works. The Assyrian monarchs frequently record their removal from a conquered country of its skilled artisans.

the poorest sort.] Compare Jer. xxiv. 1-8.

15. *And he carried away Jehoiachin.*] Thus

to Babylon, and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his ‖officers, and the mighty of the land, *those* carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon.

‖ Or, *eunuchs.*

16 And all the men of might, *even* seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all *that were* strong *and* apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon.

17 ¶ And [c]the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah.

[c] Jer. 37. 1. & 52. 1

18 Zedekiah *was* twenty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

19 And he did *that which was* evil

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was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah (2 K. xx. 18) with respect to Hezekiah's seed, and that of Jeremiah (xxii. 24-26) with respect to Jehoiachin himself.

the king's mother.] See note on verse 8. Jeremiah had prophesied her captivity also (xxii. 26). It is strongly indicative of her high rank that she is placed here before "the king's wives." She is called "the Queen" (*hag-Gebirah*) by Jeremiah (xxix. 2).

the king's wives.] The fact that Jehoiachin had a seraglio is an additional proof that he was eighteen, and not eight, at his accession (see note on verse 8). The polygamy of the later Jewish kings appears both from this passage and from 2 K. xxiii. 31 compared with 36.

the mighty of the land.] Or "the great," "the powerful." The word used is quite distinct from that translated by "mighty" in verse 14, as well as from that rendered by "might" in verse 16. It refers, not to bodily strength or fitness for war, but to civil rank or dignity. The term would include all civil and all ecclesiastical functionaries—the nobles, courtiers, and elders of the city on the one hand, the priests, prophets, and Levites on the other. Among the prophets carried into captivity at this time would seem to have been Ezekiel, whose "years" are counted from the era of "King Jehoiachin's captivity" (Ezek. i. 2). The entire number of the captives belonging to the high classes mentioned in this verse seems to have been (as already observed in a note on verse 14) 3000.

16. *The men of might.*] These are the "mighty men of valour" mentioned in verse 14, *i.e.* the soldier class, and their families.

all that were strong, &c.] Rather "all of them strong and apt for war."

17. *And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah . . . king.*] Jehoiachin, being only eighteen, would of course have no son fit to succeed him. (It is doubtful whether he had any natural son at all, since Salathiel was certainly his son only by adoption, 1 Chr. iii. 17; Matt. i. 12; Luk. iii. 27). Nebuchadnezzar was forced, therefore, to fall back upon the surviving issue of Josiah, among whom he found the prince, Mattaniah, born of the same mother as Jehoahaz, but thirteen years his junior, if we may trust the numbers in this and the next chapter. (Compare 2 K. xxiii. 31 with xxiv. 18.)

changed his name to Zedekiah.] It has been already observed that the tributary kings to whom their suzerain gave a new name, were probably allowed to suggest the name that they would prefer to take (see note on 2 K. xxiii. 34). Mattaniah, in fixing upon his, seems to have aimed at securing the blessings promised by Jeremiah to the reign of a king whose name should be *Jehovah-tsidkenu*, "Jehovah, our righteousness" (Jer. xxiii. 5-8).

18. *Twenty-one years old.*] The author of Chronicles agrees (2 Chr. xxxvi. 11). If however, Shallum (or Jehoahaz) was the fourth son of Josiah (1 Chr. iii. 15), and was twenty-three at his accession (2 K. xxiii. 31; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 2), Zedekiah should now have been at least thirty-four or thirty-five.

his mother's name was Hamutal.] He was, therefore, full brother of Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31), but half-brother only to Jehoiakim (ib. 36).

19. *He did that which was evil.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 13; Jer. xxxvii. 2, lii. 2; Ezek. xvii. 13-19 and xxi. 25. The character of Zedekiah seems to have been weak rather than wicked. In the earlier part of his reign he made a solemn sacrificial league with his people, binding them to emancipate all the Jews and Jewesses whom they were holding in bondage; but he did not enforce the performance of the pledge (Jer. xxxiv. 8-16). Afterwards, though he refused to be guided by the advice of Jeremiah, yet he sent messengers to him, to entreat his prayers (ib. xxxvii. 2, 3). During the final siege of the city, when fanaticism burst forth against the evil-boding prophet, when his life was sought, and an endeavour was made to destroy him by prison severities, if he might not be actually executed, Zedekiah, though not daring

in the sight of the LORD, according to all that Jehoiakim had done.

20 For through the anger of the LORD it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.

openly to take his part, yet befriended him secretly and saved him from his enemies' malice (ib. xxxvii. 15-21, xxxviii. 4-28). His chief recorded sins were: (1) his refusal to be guided in his political conduct by Jeremiah's counsels, while nevertheless he admitted him to be a true Jehovah prophet (2 Chr. xxxvi. 12; Jer. xxxvii. 2); and (2) his infraction of the solemn oath of subjection and allegiance which he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar, either at his accession or soon afterwards (2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 13-20).

20. *It came to pass.*] Rather "came this to pass." In our version the subject of this whole verse is made to be the last clause, Zedekiah's rebelling against the king of Babylon. But in the original that clause is wholly separate and distinct from the rest of the verse, attached to it merely by the conjunction "and." The subject of the remainder has to be sought elsewhere than in the verse itself, and is to be supplied from the preceding narrative: "Through the anger of the Lord was it that another bad king ruled in Jerusalem and in Judah."

that Zedekiah.] Rather "And Zedekiah." This chapter should conclude with the word "presence;" and the next chapter should begin with the words, "And Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon."

rebelled.] Something may be gathered from Jeremiah with regard to the relations of Zedekiah towards Nebuchadnezzar, the changes in them, and the causes of change. It seems that in his early years there was an impression, both at Jerusalem (Jer. xxviii. 1-11), and also at Babylon (ib. xxix. 5-28), that Nebuchadnezzar was inclined to relent, and would probably suffer Jehoiachin, with the other captives, and the temple treasures, to return to Jerusalem. Apparently it was in connection with this expectation, which was very confidently entertained (xxviii. 10, 11), that Zedekiah sent an embassy to Babylon (xxix. 3), in about his second or third year. This he followed up by a personal visit shortly afterwards (li. 59), when we may presume he strove hard to obtain the restoration of the captives and the holy vessels. But he found Nebuchadnezzar obdurate. Neither prisoners nor treasure were surrendered. Jehoiachin was not even released from prison (lii. 31). Zedekiah, therefore, returned to his own country greatly angered against his suzerain, and immediately proceeded to plot a rebellion. He sought, first of all, it would seem, the alliance of the petty princes in his immediate neighbourhood—the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Moab, Ammon, and Edom (xxvii. 3), and induced them to send ambassadors to his court, thus assuming a rebellious attitude. Afterwards, hearing of the death of Psamatik II., and the accession of his young and warlike son, Uaphris, or Hophra, in Egypt, he made overtures to that prince, which were favourably received (Ezek. xvii. 15), whereupon he openly revolted, apparently in his ninth year, B.C. 588. Tyre, it must be remembered, was all this time defying the power of Nebuchadnezzar, and thus setting an example of successful revolt very encouraging to the neighbouring states. Nebuchadnezzar, while constantly maintaining an army in Syria, and continuing year after year his attempts to reduce Tyre (Menand. Fr. 2; Ezek. xxix. 18) was, it would seem, too much occupied with other matters, such, probably, as the reduction of Susiana (Jer. xlix. 34-38), to devote more than a small share of his attention to his extreme western frontier, till about B.C. 588, when the new attitude taken by Egypt induced him to direct to that quarter the main force of the Empire, and to take the field in person.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *Jerusalem is besieged.* 4 *Zedekiah taken, his sons slain, his eyes put out.* 8 *Nebuzar-adan defaceth the city, carrieth the remnant, except a few poor labourers, into captivity.* 13 *spoileth and carrieth away the treasures.* 18 *The nobles are slain at Riblah.* 22 *Gedaliah, who was set over them that remained, being slain, the rest flee into Egypt.* 27 *Evil-merodach advanceth Jehoiachin in his court.*

[d] Jer. 39. 1. & 52. 4.

[d] AND it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth *day* of the month, *that* Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came, he, and all his host, against Jerusalem, and pitched against it; and they built forts against it round about.

2 And the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah.

3 And on the ninth *day* of the [e] *fourth* month the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land. [e] Jer. 52. 6.

CHAP. XXV. 1. *In the ninth year, &c.*] As the final catastrophe approaches, the historian becomes more close and exact in his dates, marking not only the year, but the *month* and the *day*, on which the siege began, no less than those on which it closed (infra, verse 3). Compare Jer. lii. 4, and Ezek. xxiv. 1, from which last passage we find that on the very day when the host of Nebuchadnezzar made its appearance before Jerusalem the fact was revealed to Ezekiel in Babylonia, and the fate of the city announced to him (verses 6-14).

all his host.] Compare Jer. xxxiv. 1, where the vastness of the host is very strongly marked—"Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and *all his army*, and *all the kingdoms of the earth of his dominion*, and *all the people*, fought against Jerusalem."

against Jerusalem.] The army seems to have at first spread itself over all Judæa. It fought, not only against Jerusalem, but "against all the cities of Judah that were left"—and especially against Lachish and Azekah (Jer. xxxiv. 7), two cities of the south (2 Chr. xi. 9), which had probably been strongly garrisoned in order to maintain the communication with Egypt. This division of the Babylonian forces encouraged the Egyptians to make an effort. After the siege of Jerusalem had continued for a certain time, news arrived that Hophra had put his troops in motion and was advancing to the relief of his Jewish allies (Jer. xxxvii. 5). On hearing this, Nebuchadnezzar, who saw the importance of concentrating his forces, broke up from before Jerusalem and marched away to the south. There he probably effected a junction with the detachments which were besieging Azekah and Lachish, thus saving them from destruction, and at the same time showing to the Egyptians his readiness to give them battle. It appears that the display was enough. The timid southerns, finding their enemy prepared to receive them, shrank back, returned into their own country (Jer. xxxvii. 7; Ezek. xvii. 17), and took no further part in the war. Nebuchadnezzar then led back his army, and once more invested the city. (It is uncertain whether the date at the beginning of this verse refers to the first or to the second investment.)

they built forts against it.] By "forts" are probably meant moveable towers, sometimes provided with battering-rams, which the besiegers advanced against the walls, thus bringing their fighting-men on a level with their antagonists. Such towers are seen in the Assyrian sculptures (Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' First Series, pl. 19).

2. *The city was besieged unto the eleventh year, &c.*] The siege lasted almost exactly a year and a half (compare Jer. lii. 4-6). Its calamities are best understood from the 'Lamentations' of Jeremiah, written probably almost immediately after the capture. (See especially ii. 20, 21, iv. 3-20, v. 9-12.)

3. *On the ninth day of the fourth month.*] In the original the date of the month is wanting, two words having fallen out, evidently through the mistake of a copyist. The verse, as written by the author, no doubt ran in the same form as the corresponding verse of Jeremiah (lii. 6): "In the fourth month, on the ninth [day] of the month, &c."

the famine.] That the city yielded only to famine—famine which brought pestilence in its train—is apparent from many passages of Jeremiah (xxi. 7, 9; xxxii. 24; xxxviii. 9, &c.). The intensity of the suffering endured may be gathered from Lamentations, Ezekiel, and Josephus. The complexions of the men grew black with famine (Lam. iv. 8, v. 10); their skin was shrunk and parched (ib. iv. 8); the rich and noble women searched the dunghills for scraps of offal (ib. iv. 5); the children perished for want, or were even devoured by their parents (ib. ii. 20, iv. 3, 4, 10; Ezek. v. 10); water was scarce, as well as food, and was sold at a price (Lam. v. 4); a third part of the inhabitants died of the famine and the plague which grew out of it (Ezek. v. 12).

there was no bread.] See Jer. xxxviii. 9, lii. 6; and compare the prophecies of Ezekiel (Ezek. iv. 16 and v. 16).

4 ¶ And the city was broken up, and all the men of war *fled* by night by the way of the gate between two walls, which *is* by the king's garden: (now the Chaldees *were* against the city round about:) and *the king* went the way toward the plain.

5 And the army of the Chaldees pursued after the king, and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and all his army were scattered from him.

6 So they took the king, and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they †gave judgment upon him. † Heb. *spake judgment with him.*

7 And they slew the sons of

4. *The city was broken up.*] Rather, "broken **into**," *i.e.* a breach was made in the walls, and the place was entered. The breach was, no doubt, in the northern wall (Ezek. ix. 2), on which side alone Jerusalem is readily assailable. The entry effected was thus into the second or lower city (2 K. xxii. 14), that which was protected by the wall of Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14). Josephus says that the capture was made about midnight (περὶ μέσην νύκτα, 'Ant. Jud.' x. 8, § 2).

all the men of war fled.] The verb "fled" is supplied by our translators. Probably the passage originally stood in the same form as the parallel passage of Jeremiah (lii. 7): "And the city was broken **into**, and all the men of war fled, **and went forth out of the city** by night by the way, &c." It appears by Jerem. xxxix., that Zedekiah fled with the "men of war" (compare the next verse), and that the precipitate flight was caused by the advance of the Babylonians to the "middle gate," or gate of communication between the upper and the lower cities, as Keil and Thenius understand. This position was only a little north of the royal palace, which the king therefore quitted, proceeding to make his escape down the Tyropœon valley to the Arabah, or lower valley of the Jordan.

by night.] So Ezekiel had prophesied (Ezek. xii. 12).

by the way of the gate between two walls.] Rather, "between **the** two walls." (Compare Jer. xxxix. 4.) The walls intended are probably those which skirted on either side the valley of the Tyropœon.

which is by the king's garden.] The royal garden was at the junction of the Hinnom and Kidron valleys, and consequently was at the mouth of the Tyropœon. (See Neh. iii. 15; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' vii. 11.)

and the king went.] Literally, "and he went." Some MSS. have the verb in the plural—"they went"—as in Jer. lii. 7. But the reading which our translators follow is probably the correct one. The writer, supposing it to be understood that the king was with the soldiers, thinks his meaning sufficiently clear without expressing the nominative.

toward the plain.] "The *Arabah*." On the identity of "the Arabah" with the great depression which bounds Palestine Proper on the east, see note on Deut. i. 1. The "way toward the Arabah" is the road leading eastward over Olivet to Bethany and Jericho.

5. *The army of the Chaldees . . . overtook him.*] Both Jeremiah (xxxviii. 23) and Ezekiel (xii. 13) had prophesied this capture; and the latter had also prophesied the dispersion of the troops (verse 14), who no doubt sought their own safety by scattering themselves to the four winds. Jeremiah, in his 'Lamentations,' seems to say that, while one body of the Chaldæans followed upon the track of the fugitive monarch, another got before him and "laid wait" for him in the Jericho plain (Lam. iv. 19). Hence the description of his capture as the "being taken in a snare" (Lam. iv. 20; Ezek. xii. 13).

6. *To Riblah.*] Nebuchadnezzar, who was at the same time conducting two great sieges, those of Jerusalem and of Tyre, found it best to fix his head-quarters at Riblah, in the Cœle-Syrian valley, whence he could most conveniently superintend the operations against both cities. On the position of this place, see above, note on ch. xxiii. 33. In the absence of the monarch, the siege of Jerusalem was conducted by a number of his officers, the chief of whom were Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, and Nergal-shar-ezer (Neriglissar), the Rab-mag (Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13).

they gave judgment.] Jeremiah says, "he gave judgment" (xxxix. 5, lii. 9). The judgment would of course be really that of Nebuchadnezzar himself; but before pronouncing it, he would probably ask the opinion of his chief officers.

7. *They slew the sons of Zedekiah.*] The sons of Zedekiah were perhaps old enough to have taken part in his rebellion. Jeremiah had warned him that they would fall into the hands of the Chaldæans if he persisted in his resistance to the besieging host (Jer. xxxviii. 23.)

before his eyes.] This refinement of cruelty seems to have especially shocked the Jews, whose manners were less barbarous than

† Heb. *made blind.*

Zedekiah before his eyes, and †put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon.

8 ¶ And in the fifth month, on the seventh *day* of the month, which *is* the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, came Nebu-

‡ Or, *chief marshal.*

zar-adan, ‡captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem:

9 And he burnt the house of the LORD, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great *man's* house burnt he with fire.

10 And all the army of the Chaldees, that *were with* the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.

11 Now the rest of the people *that were* left in the city, and the †fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon, with the remnant of the multitude, did Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard carry away.

† Heb. *fallen away.*

12 But the captain of the guard

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those of most Orientals. It is noted by Jeremiah in two places (xxxix. 6 and lii. 10).

and put out the eyes of Zedekiah.] Blinding has always been among the most favourite of secondary punishments in the East. The Philistines blinded Samson (Jud. xvi. 21). The Persians frequently blinded malefactors (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9, § 13; compare Herod. vii. 18). Sargon represents himself in the act of blinding a prisoner with a spear ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 367). Procopius ('Bel. Pers.' i. 11) and Ammianus (xxvii. 12) tell us that the usage prevailed in Persia in their day. It is only very recently that the Shahs have been prevailed upon to relinquish the practice of blinding their brothers on their accession to the throne. The blinding of Zedekiah reconciled in a very remarkable way prophecies, apparently contradictory, which had been made concerning him. Jeremiah had prophesied distinctly that he would be carried to Babylon (Jer. xxxii. 5, xxxiv. 3). Ezekiel had said that he should not "see Babylon" (xii. 13). His deprivation of sight before he was carried to the conqueror's capital fulfilled the predictions of both prophets.

with fetters of brass.] Literally (as in the margin of Jer. xxxix. 7), "with **two chains** of brass." The Assyrians' captives are usually represented as bound hand and foot—the two hands secured by one chain, the two feet by another (Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' vol. ii. p. 376).

and carried him to Babylon.] According to Jewish tradition Zedekiah was, like other slaves, forced to work in a mill at Babylon. Jeremiah tells us that he was kept in prison till he died (lii. 11).

8. *On the seventh day of the month.*] On the "tenth" day, according to Jer. lii. 12. As about a month had elapsed from the capture, we may conclude that Nebuchadnezzar had hesitated for some time before he commanded the destruction of the city.

the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar.] The 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar is B.C. 586, if we count from the real date of his accession, which was B.C. 604; but B.C. 587, if, with the Jews, we regard him as beginning to reign when he was sent by his father to recover Syria and gained the battle of Carchemish, which was in B.C. 605. (See Clinton, 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. i. p. 328.)

Nebuzar-adan, captain of the guard.] Literally, "the chief of the executioners." (See note on Gen. xxxvii. 36.)

9. *He burnt the house of the Lord.*] Compare the prophecies of Jeremiah (xxi. 10, xxxiv. 2, xxxviii. 18, 23). Psalm lxxix. must have been written soon after this destruction of the Temple.

every great man's house.] This clause limits the preceding one. The writer means to say, not that every house whatsoever was destroyed, but that all those of any pretension were set on fire.

11. *The fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon.*] Many of the Jews, either from cowardice or from regard to the warnings of Jeremiah, quitted Jerusalem in the course of the siege, and deserted to the camp of the Babylonians. It was from a fear of the treatment which he would receive at the hands of these deserters that Zedekiah persisted in defending the city to the last (Jer. xxxviii. 19).

the multitude.] Three classes of persons seem to be distinguished in this verse: (1) the remaining population of Jerusalem; (2) the deserters; and (3) the "multitude," or people of the *land*, as distinct from the dwellers in Jerusalem. That all of this last class were not carried away is stated in the next verse.

12. *The captain of the guard left of the poor.*] It was not the *very* poor only who were left. Jeremiah remained behind of his own free choice (Jer. xl. 6). And many of

left of the poor of the land *to be* vine-dressers and husbandmen.

13 And [f] the pillars of brass that were in the house of the LORD, and the bases, and the brasen sea that *was* in the house of the LORD, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon.

14 And the pots, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they ministered, took they away.

15 And the firepans, and the bowls, *and* such things as *were* of gold, *in* gold, and of silver, *in* silver, the captain of the guard took away.

16 The two pillars, [†] one sea, and the bases which Solomon had made for the house of the LORD; the brass of all these vessels was without weight.

17 [g] The height of the one pillar *was* eighteen cubits, and the chapiter upon it *was* brass: and the height of the chapiter three cubits; and the wrea-

[f] ch. 20. 17. Jer. 27. 22.

[†] Heb. *the one sea.*

[g] 1 Kin. 7. 15. Jer. 52. 21.

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the officers who had commanded portions of Zedekiah's army, and had hidden themselves from the Chaldæans after the city fell, were still in Judæa, and came forth from their hiding-places after the Chaldæans had retired. (See below, verse 23.)

to be vine-dressers and husbandmen.] Jeremiah informs us that Nebuzaradan assigned to these persons certain fields and vineyards (Jer. xxxix. 10). There was probably an intention of sending colonists into the country from some other part of the Empire, as the Assyrians had done in Samaria (2 K. xvii. 24).

13. *The pillars of brass, &c.*] All the more precious treasures had been already removed from the Temple (see 2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7, 10; Jer. xxviii. 3; Dan. i. 2, &c.). But there still remained, (1) the two pillars of brass named Jachin and Boaz, which Hiram had made for Solomon, and set up in front of the temple (1 K. vii. 15-22); (2) the brazen sea, a work of the same craftsman, which Ahaz had taken off its oxen and placed upon a pavement of stones (2 K. xvi. 17); (3) the brazen bases, or stands for the ten lavers, from which Ahaz had detached the ornamental panels or "borders" (ib.), but which had probably been restored to their original condition by Hezekiah; (4) a number of small utensils of brass, or rather bronze, belonging to the original service of Solomon (1 K. vii. 45); and (5) a certain number of gold and silver vessels which had either escaped the former plunderings, or had been made by Zedekiah to replace the vessels carried off previously. The list of articles is given in Jer. lii. 17-23 much more fully than in this place.

and carried the brass of them to Babylon.] Objects in brass, or rather bronze (for it may be doubted whether brass was as yet known to the Orientals), were frequently carried off by the Assyrians from the conquered nations. Bronze was highly valued, being the chief material both for arms and implements. The breaking up of the pillars, bases, &c., shows that it was for the material, and not for the workmanship, that they were valued.

14. *And the pots, &c.*] The "pots," or ash-pans (Ex. xxvii. 3), and the "shovels," were of bronze even in Solomon's time (1 K. vii. 45). The "snuffers" (knives?) and "spoons" (**incense-cups**) were then of gold (ib. 50, and see notes ad loc.) These latter having been carried off, their place had been supplied by a bronze service.

all the vessels.] Among these Jeremiah (lii. 18) mentions "bowls" or "basons" (marg.), which probably belonged to Solomon's service. (See 1 K. vii. 45.)

15. *And the fire-pans.*] Rather "**snuff-dishes.**" (See the last note on 1 K. vii. 50.)

and the bowls.] These are the "basons" of 1 K. vii. 50, of which Solomon made, as we learn from 2 Chr. iv. 8, one hundred. Jeremiah adds to the list of vessels in the more precious metals, which were now carried off by Nebuchadnezzar, five other kinds (rendered in the A. V. "basons," "caldrons," "candlesticks" "spoons," and "cups"). It would seem, therefore, that either the priests had on former occasions been successful in concealing a great number of the precious vessels, or Zedekiah had spent considerable sums in replacing the lost vessels with others of a similar character. (See Baruch i. 8.)

16. *The two pillars, &c.*] The repetition here of the three treasures already spoken of in verse 13, seems owing to the fact of their being *certainly* works of the time of Solomon. The writer lingers over their loss as the most grievous of all.

one sea.] Literally "the one sea" (marg.).

without weight.] The Babylonians did not take the trouble to weigh the brass as they did the gold and the silver. In the Assyrian monuments there are representations of the weighing of captured articles in gold and silver in the presence of the Royal Scribes (Botta,

then work, and pomegranates upon the chapiter round about, all of brass: and like unto these had the second pillar with wreathen work.

18 ¶ And the captain of the guard took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and the three keepers of the † door:

19 And out of the city he took an ‖ officer that was set over the men of war, and five men of them that † were in the king's presence, which were found in the city, and the ‖ principal scribe of the host, which mustered the people of the land, and threescore men of the people of the land *that were* found in the city:

20 And Nebuzar-adan captain of the guard took these, and brought them to the king of Babylon to Riblah:

21 And the king of Babylon smote

† Heb. *threshold.*
‖ Or, *eunuch.*
† Heb. *saw the king's face.*
‖ Or, *scribe of the captain of the host.*

'Monument de Ninive,' pl. 140; Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 86).

17. Compare with this description the fuller accounts in 1 K. vii. 15-20 and Jer. lii. 21-23. The height of the capital ("*three* cubits") must be corrected from those passages to "*five* cubits."

18. *And the captain of the guard took.*] It devolved on Nebuzaradan to select for exemplary punishment the persons whom he regarded as most guilty, either in respect of the original rebellion or of the protracted resistance. His choice, both as regards the number and the quality of the persons, is such as an equitable and God-fearing man would have made under the circumstances. (Compare, on the character of Nebuzaradan, Jer. xl. 2-5.) Instead of taking indiscriminately the first comers, he first selected those who by their offices would be likely to have had most authority—the High-priest; his *locum tenens*, the second Priest; three of the Temple Levites; the commandant of the city; five members of the king's council (or seven, according to Jeremiah lii. 25); and the secretary (or adjutant) of the captain of the host. To these he added sixty others, who, though they had not held any special office, were of sufficient dignity to be accounted *sarim*, "princes." (See Jer. lii. 10; compare xxxix. 6.) If we compare this with the many occasions on which Assyrian and Persian conquerors put to death hundreds or thousands, after taking a revolted town, we shall see reason to regard Nebuzaradan (and his master, Nebuchadnezzar) as moderate, or even merciful, in their vengeance.

Seraiah.] Seraiah was probably the grandson of Hilkiah (1 Chr. vi. 13, 14), high-priest under Josiah (2 K. xxii. 4), and an ancestor of Ezra (Ezra vii. 1).

Zephaniah.] The Zephaniah here mentioned is probably the same with "Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, the priest," whom Zedekiah twice sent with a message to Jeremiah (Jer. xxi. 1, xxxvii. 3), and who evidently held an office of importance in connection with the Temple (ib. xxix. 25-29). His title, "second priest," seems to point him out as the high-priest's vicar or representative. (See note on 2 K. xxiii. 4.)

the three keepers of the door.] Rather "three keepers." The Hebrew has no article. The Temple "door-keepers" in the time of Solomon numbered twenty-four (1 Chr. xxvi. 17, 18), who were probably under six chiefs. After the captivity the chiefs are either six (Ez. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45) or four (1 Chr. ix. 17).

19. *Out of the city.*] This clause shows that the five persons mentioned in verse 18 were taken out of the Temple.

five men.] Or "seven men," according to Jer. lii. 25. It is impossible to say which of the two numbers is the correct one.

of them that were in the king's presence.] Literally "of them that saw the king's face" (marg.). Compare Esth. i. 14. Keil observes, with reason, that the phrase designates those who belonged to the king's immediate retinue, who were of his Privy Council—and explains the mode of speech correctly, as arising from the custom of Eastern rulers to withdraw themselves as much as possible from the view of their subjects.

the principal scribe of the host.] Rather "**the scribe of the captain of the host**" (marg.). Compare the LXX., τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς δυνάμεως. "Scribes" or "secretaries" appear from the sculptures to have almost universally attended on the commanders of Assyrian armies. From the non-appearance of the captain of the host himself in this list, we may gather that he had either escaped or fallen in the final struggle.

21. *The king of Babylon smote them.*] Compare Jer. xxxix. 6, lii. 10, 27. The Assyrian inscriptions, as already observed, furnish us with abundant instances of severities far exceeding these. The number of captives executed is frequently counted by hundreds. According to Herodotus, 3000 Babylonians were put to death on the capture of Babylon by Darius Hystaspis (Her. iii. 159).

them, and slew them at Riblah in the land of Hamath. So Judah was carried away out of their land.

22 ¶ [h] And *as for* the people that remained in the land of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had left, even over them he made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, ruler.

23 And when all the [i] captains of the armies, they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor, there came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan the son of Careah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite, and Jaazaniah the son of a Maachathite, they and their men.

24 And Gedaliah sware to them,

[h] Jer. 40. 5, 9.

[i] Jer. 40. 7.

so Judah was carried away.] Compare verse 11. The captivity, begun in the fourth (third) year of Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiv. 1), was now complete. The fate of Israel had overtaken Judah also (2 K. xvii. 19, 20, xxiii. 27). The Kingdom of the Two Tribes was at an end; and the task of the historian might seem to be accomplished. He still, however, desires to notice two things: (1) the fate of that remnant which, as he had already observed, was left in the land by Nebuzaradan; and (2) the fate of that unhappy prince, who of all those led into captivity, was the least to blame, Jehoiachin, scarcely more than a boy at the time of his revolt, and who seemed to have been punished more for the sins of his fathers than for his own (2 K. xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, 4). These two points require two more short sections—the first comprising verses 22-26; the second, verses 27-30.

22. *And as for the people that remained in the land.*] See above, verse 12; and compare Jer. xxxix. 10, and lii. 16.

Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam.] Ahikam had been in favour under Josiah (2 K. xxii. 12), and had had sufficient influence to preserve Jeremiah, when his life was threatened in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxvi. 24). Apparently, he was the son of Shaphan, Josiah's scribe. We may be allowed to conjecture that Jeremiah, in gratitude for Ahikam's service to himself, recommended his son Gedaliah to Nebuzaradan, and through him to Nebuchadnezzar, for the office of governor.

23. *The captains of the armies.*] *I.e.* the officers of the troops who had fled from Jerusalem with Zedekiah (verse 4), and had then dispersed and gone into hiding (verse 5).

to Mizpah.] The Mizpah here intended is, beyond a doubt, Mizpah of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 26)—the city which under the later Judges was the place of general meeting and deliberation for the whole people of Israel (Jud. xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5-12, x. 17, &c.). Here Saul was chosen king; here Samuel judged Israel (1 Sam. vii. 6). Soon after the separation of the kingdoms, Asa fortified Mizpah against his northern neighbour (1 K. xv. 22). After that, nothing is heard of Mizpah till the present verse, where it appears as the place selected to be the capital and the residence of the governor, after Jerusalem had been destroyed. Mizpah, which became Massepha under the later Jews (1 Mac. iii. 46), is represented by the modern *Shafat* (the formative *m* having been dropped)—a village lying on the northern slope of the ridge which forms the continuation of the Mount of Olives to the north, at the distance of less than a mile from Jerusalem. On the selection of Mizpah for the capital at this time, see Jer. xl. 6, 8, 10, 12, &c., xli. 1-10.

Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah.] Ishmael was a member of the royal family (see verse 25). He was the grandson of an Elishama (ib.), who is probably identified with "Elishama, the scribe," a high officer of the court under Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 20). Ishmael's royal birth lay probably at the root of his subsequent conduct.

Johanan, the son of Careah.] Johanan afterwards warned Gedaliah against Ishmael's intended treachery, and offered to anticipate it by putting the traitor to death (Jer. xl. 13-16). He was accompanied to Mizpah, at the present time, by his brother Jonathan (ib. 8).

Seraiah . . the Netophathite.] In the parallel passage of Jeremiah (xl. 8) we read—"Seraiah, the son of Tanhumeth, and the sons of Ephai the Netophathite." It may be suspected that the words "and the sons of Ephai" have been omitted from the present passage by the carelessness of a transcriber. Netophah, the city of Ephai, appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (Neh. vii. 26; Ezr. ii. 21, 22), and is perhaps continued in the modern *Antubeh*, about 2½ miles S.S.E. of Jerusalem.

Jaazaniah, the son of a Maachathite.] Jaazaniah was the son of a certain Hoshaiah (Jer. xlii. 1), who seems to have been a Maachathite, *i.e.* a native of the small kingdom of Maachah which lay in the stony country east of the upper Jordan, bordering upon Bashan (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; 1 Chr. xix. 7, &c.).

24. *Gedaliah sware to them.*] As rebels

and to their men, and said unto them, Fear not to be the servants of the Chaldees: dwell in the land, and serve the king of Babylon; and it shall be well with you.

25 But it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed †royal, came, and ten men with him, and [a]smote Gedaliah, that he died, and the Jews and the Chaldees that were with him at Mizpah.

26 And all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the armies, arose, and came to Egypt: for they were afraid of the Chaldees.

27 ¶ And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth *day* of the month, *that* Evil-merodach king of Babylon in the year that he began to reign did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison;

28 And he spake †kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that *were* with him in Babylon;

29 And changed his prison garments: and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life.

† Heb. *of the kingdom.*
[a] Jer. 41. 2.
† Heb. *good things with him.*

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against the Babylonian king, their lives were forfeit. Gedaliah pledged himself to them by oath, that, if they gave no further cause of complaint, their past offences should be forgiven.

25. *In the seventh month.*] *I.e.* within two months of the time that Gedaliah had been established as governor (see verse 8).

ten men with him.] In Jer. xli. 1 these ten men are called "princes of the king" *(rabbey ham-melech)*, by which is probably to be understood persons who had held high office under Zedekiah.

and smote Gedaliah . . . and the Chaldees.] Gedaliah had been warned by Johanan of Ishmael's intentions. Ishmael, it appears, was in league with the Ammonites, and had been incited by the Ammonitish king, Baalis, to assassinate Gedaliah (Jer. xl. 13, 14). Johanan offered to crush the treason by himself killing Ishmael; but Gedaliah, not believing his information, would not consent (ib. 15, 16). The circumstances of the murder were, according to Oriental notions, of the extremest atrocity. Ishmael, and his ten friends, with their retinues, professed to come on a visit to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and were there hospitably entertained by him (ib. xli. 1). Having "eaten of his salt," they suddenly rose upon him, slew him with his immediate attendants, and then attacking the Chaldæan garrison of the place, put every man to the sword (ib. 2, 3).

26. *All the people . . . arose and came to Egypt.*] Jeremiah gives the circumstances of this removal, and of his own unavailing protests against it, with much fullness of detail (Jer. xli.-xliii.). It appears that Ishmael was attacked by Johanan, and forced to fly to the Ammonites (Jer. xli. 15); that Johanan and Jaazaniah were then recognised as rulers, and that they, quitting Mizpah, settled themselves at the caravanserai of Chimham (supra, 1 K. ii. 7, *note*), near Bethlehem, where they consulted Jeremiah as to their future course, promising to abide by the counsel which he should give them from Jehovah; that he promised them safety if they would remain, and assured them of destruction if they went into Egypt; but that, notwithstanding this assurance, they determined to quit Palestine and seek the protection of Pharaoh-Hophra. This plan they carried into execution, and took with them Jeremiah himself.

27. *In the seven and thirtieth year.*] The captivity of Jehoiachin commenced in the year B.C. 597—the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar. It terminated B.C. 561—the first year of Evil-merodach. The scriptural numbers are in exact accordance with those of Ptolemy's Canon.

Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon.] This prince was the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar. He is called Amilmarudocus by Abydenus, Eveil-maraduchus by Berosus, Illoarudamus by Ptolemy. He reigned only two years, being murdered by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar, or Nergal-shar-ezer. According to Berosus, he provoked his fate by lawless government and intemperance.

lift up the head.] Compare Gen. xl. 13, 20.

28. *The kings that were with him.*] Either captive kings, like Jehoiachin himself, or vassal monarchs who from time to time came to pay court to their suzerain. More probably the former are intended. (On the Oriental practice of retaining captured monarchs at court, see Judg. i. 7; Herod. i. 88, 130, iii. 34, &c.)

29. *And changed his prison garments.*]

30 And his allowance *was* a continual allowance given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, all the days of his life.

Evil-merodach, *i.e.* having released Jehoiachin from prison, gave him garments befitting his rank. To dress a man suitably to his position is the first thought of an Oriental. (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. viii. 15; Dan. v. 29; Luk. xv. 22.)

he did eat bread continually before him.] Oriental kings regard it as a part of their greatness to feed daily a vast multitude of persons at their courts (see 1 K. iv. 22, 23). Of these a certain number have the special privilege of sitting actually at the royal board, while the others eat separately, generally at a lower level. The Greek writers call the privileged courtiers ὁμοτραπέζους (Herod. iii. 132; Xen. 'Cyrop.' vii. 1, § 30; 'Anab.' i. 8, § 25), or συσσίτους (Herod. v. 24). Allusion is often made in Scripture to the custom. (See Judg. i. 7; 2 S. ix. 13, xix. 33; 1 K. ii. 7; Ps. xli. 9, &c.)

30. *His allowance.*] Besides his own sustenance at the royal table, Jehoiachin had a daily "allowance" from the treasury, in order to enable him to maintain the state proper to his rank.

all the days of his life.] Compare Jer. lii. 34, where the expression used is—"every day a portion *until the day of his death*, all the days of his life." The meaning clearly is, not that Evil-merodach, as long as *he* lived, continued his gracious treatment of Jehoiachin; but that Jehoiachin, to the day of *his* death, lived in peace and comfort at the court of Babylon. Nothing can be gathered from the passage as to how much longer Jehoiachin lived; he may, or he may not, have survived Evil-merodach. The author of Kings is writing Jewish, not Babylonian, history, and is only anxious to impress on his readers the fact that Jehoiachin, after his long and wearisome captivity, died in comparative comfort and honour. Amid the darkness that has gathered round the closing scenes of his history, he is glad to notice this one ray of light. He is glad to indicate, that, even in their extreme affliction, the seed of David was not wholly cast off. Perhaps he intends to hold before the eyes of his nation the existence of Jehoiachin as a type of their own fate—an encouragement to them to hope that the time would come when God might take compassion upon them, and terminate their captivity also. He thus leaves them with a comforting thought—an anticipation of the dawn that was soon about to break; resembling in this the great bulk of the Prophets, who, however sternly they may chide and menace the backsliding nation, end their prophecies with joyous strains, promising an ultimate restoration of the seed of Abraham to God's grace and favour.

CHRONICLES.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I. AND II.

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TITLE OF THE WORK.

§ 1. LIKE the two Books of Kings, the two Books of Chronicles formed originally a single work, which was undivided in the Hebrew copies so late as the time of Jerome.[1] The separation of the work into two "Books" is referable to the Septuagint translators, whose division was adopted by Jerome, whence it passed to the various branches of the Western Church. In the Hebrew copies the title of the work is *Dibrey hay-yamim*, which means literally "the daily acts" or "occurrences,"[2] a title originating with the early historiographers, who applied it to the accounts which they wrote of the reigns of the several kings.[3] From this narrow and restricted use the phrase came to be applied to general works made up from these particular narratives, such as formed the main records of the two kingdoms, and were the authorities from which the writers of both Kings and Chronicles in a great measure drew their histories.[4] It was not unnatural that the abbreviated work should—as it did in this instance—take the name of the larger one, which it epitomised, and which ere long it superseded.

The Septuagint translators were, however, dissatisfied with the appellation, which is certainly not very appropriate, and substituted one which they regarded as more suitable to the contents of the work and the position that it occupies among the historical Books of the Bible. This was *Paraleipomena*, or "the things omitted"—a name intended to imply that Chronicles is *supplementary* to Samuel and Kings, written, *i.e.*, mainly for the purpose of supplying the omissions of the earlier history.

The English title, "Chronicles," is not an exact equivalent of either the Hebrew or the Greek appellation; but, of the two, it leans towards the Hebrew.[5] It is a term primarily significative of time, but in its practical use designating rather a simple and primitive style of history, than one in which the chronological element is peculiarly prominent. In this sense it is not an unsuitable name for history of the simple kind to which the expression, *Dibrey hay-yamim*, was applied by the Hebrews.

SCOPE OF THE WORK.

§ 2. The 'Book of Chronicles,' as we

[1] Hieronym. 'Ad Domnion. et Rogatian.' (Op. tom. iii. fol. 7, C.)

[2] *Dibrey hay-yamim* is not "*verba* dierum," as Jerome translates ('Prolog. galeatus'), but "*acta* dierum," or, in more classical language, "acta diurna." Such a daily record—a sort of 'Court Journal'—was usual at the courts of Oriental monarchs (see Esth. ii. 23; vi. 1; x. 2).

[3] Thus we have the *sepher dibrey Shelomoh* (2 K. xi. 41), the *dibrey Shemahayah* (2 Chr. xii. 15), the *dibrey Chozai* (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19), &c.; where the full phrase would probably be *sepher dibrey hay-yamim Shelomoh*, &c.

[4] See 'Introduction to Kings,' § 5, and compare below, § 4.

[5] The term "Chronicon" was suggested by Jerome ('Prolog. galeat.') as a fair equivalent of the Hebrew title; and this term, in the plural form of *Chronica* or *Chronicorum liber* was adopted in some editions of the Vulgate, whence the English translators took it.

shall venture to call it, stands in a position unlike that occupied by any other Book of the Old Testament. It is historical, yet the writer does not profess to introduce us to any new period of history. He traverses ground that has been already trodden by others.[1] When we turn our attention to the Book, this fact is among the first that strike us, and we naturally ask an account of it. What are the circumstances that have procured for us a double narrative of the events between the death of Saul and the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar? In what attitude does the later stand to the earlier authors? What induced him to re-write so large a portion of his country's history? Why was not the narrative of Samuel and Kings enough? Have we the means of giving reasonable answers to these questions, or must we be content to say that we do not know what has caused, in this solitary instance, so remarkable a departure from the ordinary economy of Holy Scripture? The Septuagint translators had a very simple answer to these questions. According to them, the intention of the author of Chronicles was to "supplement" Samuel and Kings. He found omissions in the earlier narrative, which he regarded as important, and his object was to supply them. He wrote *paraleipomena*—"things omitted." But it is a strong objection to this view, that a very considerable part of Chronicles is mere repetition of Samuel or Kings—repetition, sometimes of whole chapters, with only a few verbal differences[2]—constantly of the general narrative, with a certain number of fresh touches. This is not the character of a history meant to be supplementary, *e.g.*, of St. John's Gospel. The writer of Chronicles may have had it in his mind to take such opportunities as might present themselves in the course of his narrative of supplying omissions in Samuel and Kings; but this cannot have been his main object. He must have had some other purpose in view, a purpose which could best be served by putting Kings and Samuel, as it were, out of sight, and sitting down to write afresh, *from his own point of view*, the history of the House of David.

Now it appears to the present writer that this purpose is sufficiently indicated by the general arrangement of the work and by the character and general tenor of the narrative. The author writes with an immediate practical object, that of meeting the peculiar difficulties of his own day. The people have lately returned from the captivity[3] and have rebuilt the temple;[4] but they have not yet gathered up the threads of the old national life, broken by the captivity. They require to be reminded, in the first place, of their entire history, of the whole past course of mundane events, and of the position which they themselves hold among the nations of the earth. This is done, curtly and drily, but sufficiently, by means of genealogies,[5] which have always possessed a peculiar attraction for Orientals. They have then to be more especially reminded of their own past as an organised nation—a settled people with a religion which has a fixed home in the centre of the nation's life. It is the strong conviction of the writer of Chronicles that the whole future prosperity of his countrymen is bound up with the preservation of the Temple service, with the proper maintenance of the priests and Levites, the regular establishment of the "courses," and the rightful distribution of the several ministrations of the Temple among the Levitical families. He therefore draws the attention of his countrymen to the past history of the Temple, beginning with David[6]—who designed it, collected materials for it, and made arrangements for its ceremonial—going on to Solomon, and de-

[1] The author of Kings wrote, as has been already shewn ('Introduction to Kings,' § 3), before the return from the Captivity. The author of Chronicles writes after the return (see below, § 3).

[2] Compare especially 1 Chr. x. 1-12 with 1 Sam. xxxi.; 1 Chr. xvii. with 2 Sam. vii.; 1 Chr. xviii. with 2 Sam. viii.; xix. with 2 Sam. x.; xxi. with 2 Sam. xxiv.; 2 Chr. v. 2 to vii. 10 with 1 K. viii.; and 2 Chr. xxii. 10 to xxiv. 1 with 2 K. xi.

[3] See 1 Chr. ix. 1-34; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 20-23.

[4] 1 Chr. ix. 11, 13, 19, &c.

[5] 1 Chr. chs. i. to viii.

[6] The genealogy of Saul (1 Chr. ix. 35-44) and the short chapter on his death (ch. x.) serve to connect the genealogical portion of the work with the historical, and to introduce the history of David.

scribing at length all that he did for the religion in the actual construction of the Temple and the establishment of its services, and then following out the history of the kingdom of Judah, whereto the Temple belonged, to the neglect of that of Israel, and seeking to shew throughout how the great and good kings without exception devoted themselves to the preservation or restoration of the Temple building, the maintenance in purity of its services, and the abolition of the idolatrous cults which set themselves up as rivals to the Temple worship, while the bad kings acted in the contrary way. With great care he points out that in almost every instance temporal rewards and punishments followed in exact accordance with the attitude in which the king placed himself towards the national religion,[7] signal vengeance falling upon those who neglected the authorized rites, injured or insulted the priests, profaned the Temple, or in any way exhibited contempt for the worship established by David and Solomon, while length of days and prosperity were the portion of such as shewed an opposite spirit. The final destruction of the Temple and captivity of the people is shown to have followed upon a succession of three wicked kings,[8] who allowed the continuous pollution of the sanctuary by idolatrous practices. Such a picture of the past, a sort of condensed view of the entire previous history, written in the idiom of the day, with frequent allusions to recent events, and in a markedly didactic tone, with a constant reiteration of the moral intended to be taught, was calculated to affect the newly returned and still unsettled people far more strongly and deeply than the old narratives, written without reference to the existing state of things, in language less familiar and with less pointedly didactic force. The Book of Chronicles bridged over, so to speak, the gulf which separated the nation after, from the nation before, the captivity, and must have helped greatly to restore the national life, the various strands of which it united with their correspondent threads in the past, while it revived hope and encouraged high aspirations by shewing to the nation that its fate was in its own hands, that religious faithfulness would be certain to secure the Divine blessing, and might be counted on to bring back the glories of Asa and Hezekiah.

Probable Date.

§ 3. That the Book of Chronicles was composed after the return from the captivity is evident, not only from its closing passage, but from other portions of it. A comparison of 1 Chr. ix. 10-16 with Nehem. xi. 10-17 will shew that almost the whole of 1 Chr. ix. belongs to the period after the captivity. Ch. iii. of the same part of the work contains a genealogy of the descendants of Zerubbabel (verses 19-24), which is continued down to, at least, the third generation.[1]

The evidence of style accords with the evidence furnished by the contents. The phraseology is similar to that of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, all books written after the exile. It has numerous Aramæan forms,[2] and at least one word derived from the Persian.[3] The date cannot therefore well be earlier than B.C. 538, but may be later, and is indeed thought by some to be very considerably later. Movers[4] suggests that the work

[7] 1 Chr. x. 13, 14; xxix. 28; 2 Chr. ix. 13-28; xii. 2, 12; xiii. 18; xiv. 11, 12; xv. 9; xvi. 9; xvii. 4, 5; xx. 37; xxi. 10; xxii. 7; xxiv. 24; xxv. 20; xxvi. 16; xxvii. 2, 5; xxviii. 19; xxxii. 22-30; xxxiii. 10-13, 22-24; xxxiv. 28; xxxvi. 5, 6, 9, 10, 12-20.

[8] Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. For the idolatrous practices, see 2 Chr. xxxvi. 14, and compare Ezek. viii. 10-16.

[1] See notes on the passage.

[2] As הדרי for ארדי (1 Chr. xi. 35); היך for איך (1 Chr. xiii. 12); מכרבל for מכבל (1 Chr. xv. 27); דרמשק for דמשק (1 Chr. xviii. 5); רעמא for רעמה (1 Chr. i. 9); &c. The use of the *full* vowel forms ו and י is also Aramaic: *e.g.* דויד for דוד *passim*; ירושלים for ירושלם (2 Chr. xxv. 1); רוב for רב (1 Chr. iv. 38). Compare ראמות for רמות (1 Chr. vi. 73).

[3] There seems to be no reasonable doubt that אדרכון (1 Chr. xxix. 7) is a Hebraized form of the Persian word which the Greeks represented by δαρεικός, though Ewald suggests for its root the Greek δραχμή. The other supposed Persian words in Chronicles (בוץ, 2 Chr. ii. 14; גנזך, 2 Chr. xxviii. 11; בירה, 1 Chr. xxix. 1) are somewhat doubtful.

[4] See his work upon Chronicles ('Kritische Untersuchungen über die Biblische Chronik'), p. 28.

belongs to about B.C. 400; Ewald[5] assigns it to the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 336-323; Zunz[6] thinks that it was not written till about B.C. 260. But most unprejudiced Hebraists (as Jarchi, Carpzov, Keil, and Bp. A. Hervey) are in favour of a date earlier than any of these. There is a very close connection of style between Chronicles and Ezra, such as to make it probable that they were composed at the same time, if not even by the same person. If Ezra was the author, the date could not well be much later than B.C. 435, for Ezra probably died about that time. There is nothing in the contents or style of the work to make the date B.C. 450-435 improbable; for the genealogy in ch. iii. 23, 24, which appears to be later than this, may be a subsequent addition.

Probable Author.

§ 4. A very general *consensus* of the Jewish writers ascribes the composition of Chronicles to Ezra.[1] Among moderns, those who assign Chronicles a later date admit generally that it proceeded from the same author as the Book of Ezra.[2] The close connection of the two works is indeed to the careful reader very apparent. The same spirit breathes through both,[3] and numerous *little* expressions, identical or nearly so in the two works,[4]

[5] 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' vol. i. pp. 231, 232.

[6] 'Gottesdienstl. Vortr. der Juden,' § 31.

[1] Baba Bathra, f. 15, c. 1. Huet, a competent authority, says: "Esram libros Paralipomenon lucubrasse Ebræorum omnium est fama consentiens" ('Demonstratio Evangelica,' iv. 14, p. 341).

[2] De Wette, 'Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.,' § 196, *b.* pp. 261-2.

[3] What has been called "a Levitical spirit"—a high value, *i. e.*, for the externals of religion, and a strong conviction of the importance of the priesthood in connection with the maintenance of the true worship, characterises both Ezra and Chronicles (See especially 1 Chr. ix. 10-34; xv. compared with 2 Sam. vi. 12-16; xvi. compared with 2 Sam. vi. 17-19; xxiii.-xxvi.; 2 Chr. v. 4-15; vii. 6; viii. 14, 15; xi. 13, 14: xvii. 8, 9; xix. 8-11; xx. 14, 19; xxiii. 2-8; xxiv. 5, 11; xxvi. 17-20: xxix. 4-34; xxx. 15, 21, 27; xxxi. 2-4, 12-19; xxxiv. 9-13; xxxv. 2-18. And, in Ezra, see i. 5; ii. 70; iii. 8, 10, 12; vi. 16, 18; vii. 7; viii. 29, 30; ix. 1; x. 5; 18-44.)

[4] Among these De Wette has noticed the following:—להעלות עליו עלות ככתוב בתורת משה, "to offer burnt-offerings thereon, as written in the law of Moses" (Ezr. iii. 2), which nearly resembles 1 Chr. xvi. 40; מתנדב נדבה ליהוה, "offering a freewill offering to Jehovah" (Ezr. iii. 5), which has parallels in 1 Chr. xxix. 5, 9, 17, &c.; לנצח על־מלאכת בית־יהוה, "to set forward the work of the house of Jehovah" (Ezr. iii. 8), which is identical with 1 Chr. xxiii. 3; על ידי דויך, "after the ordinances of David" (Ezr. iii. 10), which is close upon 2 Chr. xxix. 27, על ידי כלי דויד, "after the ordinances of the instruments of David;" בהלל ובהודת ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו, "in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever" (Ezr. iii. 11), which only differs from 2 Chr. v. 13 and vii. 3 by uniting the verbs which in those two passages are used separately; בישמחה להרים קול, "shouting aloud through joy" (Ezr. iii. 12), which closely resembles 1 Chr. xv. 16, להרים בקול לשמחה; and עד למרחוק, "to a distance" (Ezr. iii. 13), which occurs also in 2 Chr. xxv. 15. To these may be added—1. The pleonastic repetition of the phrase "King of Persia" after the name of Cyrus (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 and 23; Ezr. i. 1, 2, 8; iii. 7; iv. 3, 5). 2. The habit of designating the Jewish people by the phrase "Judah and Benjamin" (1 Chr. xii. 16; 2 Chr. xi. 3, 12; xv. 2, 8; xxv. 5; xxxi. 1; xxxiv. 9; Ezr. i. 5; iv. 1; x. 9. Elsewhere in the whole of Scripture the phrase occurs with the same force once only, viz., 1 K. xii. 23). 3. The constant coupling together of "priests and Levites" (1 Chr. ix. 2; xv. 4, 14; xxiii. 2; xxviii. 13, 21; 2 Chr. v. 5, 11-12; vii. 6; viii. 15; xvii. 8; xix. 8; xxiii. 4, 6; xxiv. 5, xxix. 4, 16, 26, 34; xxx. 15, 21, 25, 27; xxxi. 2, 4, 9, 17, 19; xxxiv. 30; xxxv. 2-3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 18; Ezr. i. 5; ii. 70; iii. 8, 10, 12; vi. 16, 18; vii. 7, 13, 24; viii. 29, 30; ix. 1; x. 16). It must be admitted, however, that this combination is also frequent in Nehemiah. 4. The use of the following expressions in the books of Chronicles and Ezra *only*; (*a*) "the sea of Joppa"—ים עפו or ים עפוא—(2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 4). (*b*) "Take courage and do"—חזק ועשה, or in the plural חזקו ועשו (1 Chr. xxviii. 10, 20; 2 Chr. xix. 11; Ezr. x. 4). (*c*) "Darics"—אדרכנים (1 Chr. xxix. 7; Ezr. viii. 27). 5. The use of the following expressions, which are rare in the other historical Scriptures:—(*a*) "Moses the man of God" (1 Chr. xxiii. 14; 2 Chr. xxx. 16; Ezr. vii. 10). This expression occurs twice only in the whole of the rest of Scripture. (*b*) "Nethinim" (1 Chr. ix. 2; Ezr. ii. 43; vii. 7, &c.). Frequent in Nehemiah; not used elsewhere. (*c*) מבין, absolutely, for "possessing understanding" (1 Chr. xv. 22; xxv. 8; xxvii. 32; Ezr. viii. 16). This use is rare in the historical books, being only found in Nehem. viii. 3, and x. 29, besides Chronicles and Ezra. (*d*) שכל, "wisdom" (1 Chr. xxii.

indicate almost certainly the same hand. The curious fact, moreover, that the one Book ends and the other begins with the same passage, suggests the same author, and probably indicates that originally the two books were united and formed but one work,[5] which it was afterwards thought better to divide into two. If this be allowed, then the authorship of Chronicles resolves itself into the question of who wrote Ezra, a point which will have to be considered at length hereafter. At present it will be sufficient to say that no valid grounds have been shown for doubting the universal tradition that the Book of Ezra was compiled by the writer whose name it bears, and who in the later chapters openly claims the authorship.

Sources used by the Author.

§ 5. The writer of Chronicles cites, as authorities for the period of history whereof he treats, works of two distinct classes. His most frequent reference is to a *general* history—the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah'[1]—called in one place by way of brevity, and where the meaning could not be mistaken, the 'Book of the Kings of Israel.'[2] This work would appear to have been a compilation from the two histories constantly mentioned in Kings—the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel,' and the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,'[3] which it had been found convenient to unite into one. It is clearly not the 'Book of Kings' of the Sacred Canon, since it contained the deeds of the monarchs "*first and last*,"[4] "*all* their wars, and *all* their ways,"[5] and since it is quoted for facts and utterances which are not contained in our present 'Book of Kings.'[6]

The other works cited by the writer of Chronicles were partial histories, the works of prophets who dealt with particular portions of the national annals. Of this class of works he mentions, as extant in his day, some twelve or thirteen. These are 'The Chronicle of King David' (1 Chr. xxvii. 24), 'The Acts of Samuel the Seer,' 'The Acts of Nathan the Prophet,' 'The Acts of Gad the Seer' (1 Chr. xxix. 29), 'The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite,' 'The Visions of Iddo the Seer' (2 Chr. ix. 29), 'The Acts of Shemaiah the Prophet,' 'Iddo the Seer on Genealogies' (2 Chr. xii. 15), 'The Commentary of the Prophet Iddo' (ib. xiii. 22), 'The Acts of Jehu the son of Hanani' (ib. xx. 34), 'The Commentary of the Book of the Kings' (ib. xxiv. 27), 'Isaiah's Acts of Uzziah' (ib. xxvi. 22), 'The Vision of Isaiah' (ib. xxxii. 32), and 'The Acts of Hosai' (ib. xxxiii. 19)—if that be the true interpretation of the passage.[7] Of none of these works is the exact character known to us; but

12; xxvi. 14; 2 Chr. ii. 11; xxx. 22: Ezr. viii. 18). The only other historical book which uses the word is Samuel in one place (1 Sam. xxv. 3). (*e*) נקבו בשמות, "expressly mentioned by their names" (1 Chr. xii. 31; xvi. 41; 2 Chr. xxviii. 15; xxxi. 19; Ezr. viii. 20). This expression occurs only once besides, in Neh. i. 17. (*f*) הכין לבו לדרוש את־, "prepared his heart to seek" (2 Chr. xii. 14; xix. 3; xxx. 19; Ezr. vii. 10). Occurs in the Psalms, but in no historical book except Chronicles and Ezra. (*g*) עד לשמים, "up to heaven"—used metaphorically for "excessive, very great" (2 Chr. xxviii. 9; Ezr. ix. 6).

[5] This is the opinion of Movers and (with some little modification) of Bishop Arthur Hervey.

[1] See 2 Chr. xvi. 11; xxv. 26; xxvii. 7; xxviii. 26; xxxv. 27; xxxvi. 8.

[2] See 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18, where the words cannot be misapprehended, as the "kingdom of Israel" proper has ceased to exist. When it is said (2 Chr. xx. 34) that Jehu the son of Hanani was "made to ascend into the Book of the Kings of Israel," the reference may be to the real "Book of the Kings of *Israel*," quoted by the author of Kings, since Jehu was an Israelitish prophet (see 1 K. xvi. 7).

[3] See 'Introduction to Kings,' § 5.

[4] See 2 Chr. xvi. 11; xxv. 26; xxviii. 26; xxxv. 27.

[5] See 2 Chr. xxvii. 7.

[6] As for the wars of Jotham (ibid.), and the prayer of Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxiii. 28).

[7] The doubt with respect to the interpretation rests on two grounds:—1. It is unusual for the work of *a prophet not otherwise known* to be cited as an authority, and of Hosai there is no other mention; and, 2. the expression דברי החזים in the preceding verse (verse 18) throws doubt on the דברי חוזי of verse 19, raising a suspicion that the same expression was originally used in both verses, the change of החזים into חוזי being made by a scribe who, seeing that a work was quoted, thought the name of an individual author ought to be mentioned (see Bertheau, 'Einleitung,' § 3, p. xxxv.).

the manner in which they are cited by the writer of Chronicles makes it probable that for the most part they treated with some fulness the history—especially the religious history—of the times of their authors. The 'Chronicle of King David,' the 'Acts of Samuel the Seer,' and the 'Acts of Gad the Seer,' appear to have been limited to the reign of David; the 'Acts of Nathan the Prophet' seem to have covered a portion of the reign of David and a portion of that of Solomon (1 Chr. xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29); the 'Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite,' and the 'Visions of Iddo the Seer,' were accounts of the rest of Solomon's reign only; the 'Acts of Shemaiah the Prophet' and 'Iddo the Seer upon Genealogies' dealt with the reign of Rehoboam; the 'Commentary of the Prophet Iddo' treated of the reign of Abijah; the 'Acts of Jehu the son of Hanani' gave the history of Jehoshaphat; Isaiah's 'Acts of Uzziah' was evidently, by its name, an account of the reign of that prince, while the work known as his 'Vision' contained the full history of Hezekiah; finally, the 'Acts of Hosai' seems to have been an account of the reign of Manasseh. Whether the 'Commentary of the Book of the Kings' (2 Chr. xxiv. 27) was a partial history, confined to the reign of Joash, for which alone it is quoted, or whether it was a general work, covering the whole space of the Jewish kingdom or a considerable portion of it, has been doubted.[8] The employment of the unusual word, translated 'Commentary,' makes it certain that a different work from the 'Book of the Kings' is intended;[9] and, on the whole, a work of a larger and fuller character would seem best to answer to the title. But if such a work had existed for the entire period of the Jewish kingdom, it is very improbable that we should have had only one reference to it. That "commentaries" on single reigns were written seems to be indicated by that of the prophet Iddo (2 Chr. xiii. 22), which probably treated of the single reign of Abijah. On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that the 'Commentary' of 2 Chr. xxiv. 27 was partial, though whether it was confined to one reign or extended over several is uncertain.

It has been questioned how far the works here spoken of were really separate and distinct from our present Historical Books of Holy Scripture. Many writers are of opinion that the 'Acts of Samuel, Gad, and Nathan,' mentioned in 1 Chr. xxix. 29, are simply our present two Books of Samuel, under a different title;[10] and to this hypothesis there is perhaps no very serious objection. Some go further and suppose that all, or most, of the other works quoted are merely names for portions of our present Books of Kings.[11] But this view is contradicted both by the essential unity of that work, in which we may trace from first to last the same hand,[12] and by the fact that 'Kings' often does not contain the information for which the writer of Chronicles refers his readers to the works in question.[13] There is thus sufficient reason for regarding the great mass of the works, which the author of Chronicles cites, as independent compositions—monographs upon the events of their times, written by individual prophets, of which occasionally one was transferred,[14] not into our 'Books of Kings,' but into the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah;' while the remainder existed for some centuries side by side with the 'Book of the Kings,' and furnished to the writer of Chronicles

[8] See Movers, 'Kritische Untersuchungen,' § 160; De Wette, 'Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.,' § 192 *c*.

[9] The word used, *Midrash* (מדרש), occurs but twice in the whole of the Old Testament, both times in Chronicles (2 Chr. xiii. 22 and xxiv. 27). It is common, however, in Rabbinical Hebrew, where it has always the meaning of something like an exposition or interpretation, not of a primary work.

[10] Movers, § 178; Carpzov, 'Introductio,' p. 213; Spanheim, vol. i. p. 367; Horne, 'Introduction,' vol. v. p. 48.

[11] De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 192 *b*.

[12] See above, 'Introduction to Kings,' § 1.

[13] The Book of Kings contains no account of the "sons" of Joash, or of the "burdens" uttered against him, which were written in the 'Commentary of the Book of the Kings' (2 Chr. xxiv. 7). Nor does it contain any record of the "prayer" of Manasseh, or the "places" wherein he built high places and set up groves and graven images, which were recorded in the 'sayings of Hosai' or 'of the Seers' (ib. xxxiii. 19).

[14] As the work of Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Chr. xx. 34), and Isaiah's account of Hezekiah (ib. xxxii. 32).

much of the special information which he conveys to us.

It is also proper to mention, among the sources of the writer of Chronicles, the whole of the earlier historical Scriptures, and especially the Books of Samuel and Kings, such as we have them. His work was to a certain extent a review of the entire period of mundane history; and there is ample proof that he made use of every one of the previous historical records. The main sources of 1 Chr. i.-viii, are the earlier Scriptures from Genesis to Ruth;[15] a main source of 1 Chr. x.-xxvii. is Samuel; and a source, though scarcely a main source, of 2 Chr. i.-xxxvi. is Kings. The writer of Chronicles has Samuel and Kings before him as he writes, and does not scruple to use often the exact words which he sees in them.[16] But he has always some further authority besides these; and though he is sometimes content, for several verses together, merely to repeat or to abbreviate the earlier narrative, he seems always to have the means of enlarging it, and there is no section of the Jewish history, from the death of Saul to the fall of Jerusalem, which he has not illustrated with new facts, drawn from some source which has perished.

To sum up, for the period from Saul to Zedekiah, which forms the chief subject of his work, the author of Chronicles seems to have possessed and used—

1. A general history, called 'the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' (or 'Judah and Israel'), which had probably been compiled before his day from the two earlier separate works used by the author of Kings[17]—the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,' and the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.'

2. Our present books of Samuel and Kings; and

3. A number of works, more full and ample in their details than any of these three, treating of certain periods, usually of the reigns of particular monarchs, the composition of a succession of Prophets, and the real ultimate sources from which the general histories had been compiled by their writers. Of these, some twelve or thirteen are mentioned by the author of Chronicles in the course of his work;[18] but it is quite possible, or rather very probable, that he possessed others besides those which he has named.

For the period from the Creation to the death of Saul, which forms the subject of 1 Chr. i.-viii., the writer of Chronicles possessed and used—

1. The Historical Books of our present Scriptures, from Genesis down to Ruth; and

2. Various other documents, genealogical and historical, of which the exact nature cannot be stated, but which appear to have been in many cases exceedingly ancient and curious.[19] There is reason to believe that the genealogies of families, and numerous important points of family history, were carefully preserved by the "chiefs of the fathers" in almost all the Israelite tribes, and were even carried through the trying time of the captivity, so that the writer of Chronicles could make use of them. A large portion of his introductory section (1 Chr. i.-viii.) consists of statements unsupported by the earlier Scriptures;[20] and these the author must have drawn from such (comparatively speaking) *private* sources, as have been indicated.

Unity of the Work.

§ 6. The unity of Chronicles is not so apparent as that of most other Books of Scripture. At first sight it might seem that there was something incongruous in the combination of a number of genealogies, such as occupy the first nine chapters of the first Book, with an historical

[15] See the foot-notes on 1 Chr. i.-viii.

[16] See the remarks of the Hon. E. Twisleton in Dr. Smith's 'Biblical Dictionary,' vol. iii. p. 1133; and compare the present writer's 'Bampton Lectures'—note 10 on Lecture iv. p. 400.

[17] See 'Introduction to Kings,' § 5.

[18] See above, page 160.

[19] See particularly ch. iv. 39-43, and ch. v. 18-22.

[20] As the list of the descendants of Caleb the son of Hezron (ii. 18-24, 42-55); of Jerahmeel, his brother (ib. 25-41); of Jechoniah (iii. 17-24); much of the list of the descendants of Levi (ch. vi.), Issachar (vii. 1-3), Manasseh (ib. 14-19), Ephraim (ib. 20-29); Asher (ib. 30-39), Benjamin (vii. 6-12; viii. 1-32); and Saul (viii. 33-39; ix. 35-44).

narrative, such as forms the main subject of the entire remainder of the work. The genealogies, too, might seem to have been thrown together by different hands, since some are carried down much later than others,[1] while some are repeated with slight additions, as though from a later writer, who was more fully informed on the subject.[2] But, on the whole, the indications of unity in the authorship preponderate over those of diversity, and the attentive student will probably come to the conclusion that the entire work is from one and the same writer. The genealogical tendency, which shows itself so strongly in the introductory section (1 Chr. i.-ix.), is remarkably characteristic of the writer, and continually thrusts itself into notice in the more purely historical portions of his narrative.[3] Conversely, the mere genealogical portion of the work is penetrated by the same spirit as animates the historical chapters,[4] and moreover abounds with phrases, characteristic of the writer.[5]

That the historical narrative (from 1 Chr. x. to 2 Chr. xxxvi.) is from one hand, can scarcely be doubted. The pointedly didactic tone pervades the whole—each signal calamity and success being ascribed in the most direct manner to the action of Divine Providence, rewarding the righteous and punishing the evil-doers.[6] The citation of *special* autho-

[1] The list of the high-priests stops with Jehozadak, who bore office at the time of the Captivity (vi. 15), while the family of David is carried, at any rate, to the third generation after Zerubbabel (iii. 21). Some genealogies come to an end as early as the reign of Jotham (v. 1-17).

[2] Compare ch. viii. 29-38 with ch. ix. 35-44.

[3] See below, note [11], and compare p. 167.

[4] The Levitical spirit, as it has been called; the sense, *i. e.* of the importance of the Levitical order and its various divisions, offices, and arrangements, which so markedly characterises the historical portion of Chronicles (1 Chr. xiii. 2; xv. 2-27; xvi. 4-42; xxiii. 2-32; xxiv.-xxvi.; xxviii. 21; 2 Chr. v. 4-7; 11-14; vii. 6; viii. 14-15; xi. 13-14; xiii. 9-11; xvii. 8-9; xix. 8-11; xx. 14-19; xxiii. 2-8, 18-19; xxiv. 5-11; xxix. 12-18, 21-35; xxx. 15-27; xxxi. 2-19; xxxiv. 9-13, 30; xxxv. 2-18) appears in the genealogical section by the large space assigned to the account of the sons of Levi, who occupy not only the whole of chapter vi. but also the greater part of chapter ix. (verses 10-34). The strong feeling with respect to Divine Providence, and the very plain and direct teaching on the subject, which is the most striking feature of the general narrative (see below, note 6) appears also in the genealogical chapters, as in ch. iv. 10, v. 20, 22, 25-26, and ix. 1. The expression in ch. v. 22—"For there fell down many slain, *because the war was of God*"—is exactly in the manner of the historical chapters.

[5] Among these may be specially noticed the following: (1) "Moses *the servant of God*" (1 Chr. vi. 49); compare 2 Chr. i. 3; xxiv. 6 and 9. (2) "Samuel *the seer*" (1 Chr. ix. 22) —compare xxvi. 28 and xxix. 29. (3) "*Judah and Jerusalem*" (1 Chr. vi. 15)—compare 2 Chr. xx. 18; xxi. 13; xxiv. 18, 23; xxix. 8; xxxiii. 9; xxxiv. 3, 5, 29, &c. (4) The phrase "these mentioned by their names" (הבאים בשמות) and again "these written by name" (הכתובים בשמות), which are found in 1 Chr. iv. 38 and 41: compared with "the men expressed by name" (נקבו בשמות) which occurs in 2 Chr. xxviii. 15 and xxxi. 19. (5) The periphrasis for High Priest, "the *ruler of the house of God*," found in 1 Chr. ix. 11, and 2 Chr. xxxi. 13, and only in one other passage of Scripture. (In 2 Chr. xxxv. 8, the High Priest, the second, and the third priest are called "rulers of the house of God.")

[6] Compare the following passages:—"Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the Lord" (1 Chr. x. 13); "David waxed greater and greater, for the Lord of Hosts was with him" (xi. 9); "And God was displeased with this thing; therefore he smote Israel" (xxi. 7); "The king hearkened not unto the people, for the cause was of God" (2 Chr. x. 15); "Shishak . . . came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord" (xii. 2); "the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers" (xiii. 18); "Asa cried unto the Lord . . . so the Lord smote the Ethiopians" (xiv. 11-12); "Because thou hast not relied upon the Lord, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thy hand" (xvi. 7); "The Lord was with Jehoshaphat, because he walked in the first ways of his father David . . . Therefore the Lord established the kingdom on his hand" (xvii. 3, 5); "Jehoshaphat cried out, and the Lord helped him; and God moved them (*i. e.* the Syrians) to depart from him" (xviii. 31); "The realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet, for his God gave him rest round about" (xx. 30); "The same time also did Libnah revolt from under his (Jehoram's) hand, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers" (xxi. 10); "The destruction of Ahaziah was of God by coming to Joram" (xxii. 7); "They left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served groves and idols; and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass" (xxiv. 18); "The army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the Lord delivered a very great host into their hand, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers" (ib. 24); "Amaziah would not hear; for it came of God, that he might deliver them into the hand of their enemies, because they sought after the gods of

rities for the different portions of the history, besides the general 'Book of the Kings' is noticeable throughout.[7] There is everywhere the same method of composition—a primary use of Samuel and Kings as bases of the narrative, with a general tendency to abbreviation of what has been narrated before, and even an omission of important facts, which are afterwards implied, as though otherwise known to the reader;[8] and at the same time an enlargement of the narrative by the addition of new facts, drawn from sources that have not come down to us, which are sometimes minute, and less important than curious,[9] while at other times they are striking events in the civil or religious history, which it is surprising that the earlier historians should have passed over.[10] Again, the genealogical bias, which has been noticed as giving unity to the two portions of the work (1 Chr. i.-ix. and 1 Chr. x. to 2 Chr. xxxvi.) is observable generally throughout the historical section, most strongly indeed in the reign of David, but noticeably also in those of Rehoboam, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah.[11]

Edom" (xxv. 20); "As long as he (Uzziah) sought the Lord, God made him to prosper" (xxvi. 5); "God helped him against the Philistines" (ib. 7); "He was leprous in his forehead, because the Lord had smitten him" (ib. 20); "Jotham became mighty, because he prepared his ways before the Lord" (xxvi. 6); "He (Ahaz) sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places . . . wherefore the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria" (xxviii. 4-5); "Pekah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers" (ib. 6); "The Lord brought Judah low because of Ahaz, king of Israel; for he made Judah naked, and transgressed sore against the Lord" (ib. 19); "Hezekiah wrought that which was good and right and truth before the Lord his God . . . and prospered" (xxxi. 20-21); "Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up; therefore there was wrath upon him and upon Judah and Jerusalem" (xxxii. 25); "The Lord God spake to Manasseh and to his people, but they would not hearken: wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria" (xxxiii. 10-11); "When he (Manasseh) was in affliction he besought the Lord, and humbled himself greatly . . . and he was intreated of him . . . and brought him again to Jerusalem" (ib. 12-13); "Amon trespassed more and more; and his servants conspired against him and slew him" (ib. 23-4); "They mocked the messengers of God and despised his words and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy: therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees," &c. (xxxvi. 16-17).

[7] See 1 Chr. xxvii. 24; xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; xx. 34; xxiv. 27; xxvi. 22; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 19; and xxxiv. 25.

[8] As the burning of Saul's body, related in 1 Sam. xxix. 12, omitted in 1 Chr. x., yet implied in the phrase "and buried *their bones*" (verse 12); the cession of certain cities to Hiram by Solomon, related 1 K. ix. 12, omitted in Chronicles, but implied in the phrase "the cities which Huram had *restored* to Solomon" (2 Chr. viii. 2); the marriage of Solomon with a daughter of Pharaoh, related 1 K. iii. 1, implied in 2 Chr. viii. 11; the prophetic assignment of the government over the Ten Tribes to Jeroboam by Ahijah, related 1 K. xi, 29-39, implied in 2 Chr. x. 15; the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians, related 2 K. xvii. 3-6, omitted from Chronicles, but implied in the words of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 6-7); the sin of Hezekiah in ostentatiously showing his treasures to the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan, related 2 K. xx. 13-19, omitted by the author of Chronicles, but implied in 2 Chr. xxxii. 25 and 31; &c.

[9] As the addition to the narrative of David's capture of Jerusalem, that its former name was Jebus (xi. 4); the touch in the story of Araunah (Ornan) that "the Lord commanded the angel, and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof" (1 Chr. xxi. 27); the notice that when Joash of Israel took Jerusalem, the sacred vessels which he carried off were "found in the house of God *with Obed-Edom*," &c.

[10] As the solemn addresses of David, commending Solomon, as his successor, to the assembled notables and general congregation of the people of Israel (1 Chr. xxviii. and xxix. 1-20); the letters which were sent from Solomon to Hiram and from Hiram to Solomon (2 Chr. ii. 3-16); the expedition of Zerah the Ethiopian (ib. xiv. 9-15; xvi. 8); the rebukes addressed to Asa by Azariah the son of Oded (xv. 1-7), to Jehoshaphat by Jehu the son of Hanani (xix. 2-3), and to the same king by Eliezer the son of Dodavah (xx. 37); the religious and other reforms of Jehoshaphat (xvii. 6-9; xix. 4-11), and his war against Moab, Ammon, and Edom (xx. 1-30); the letter of Elijah to Jehoram (xxi. 12-15); the capture of Jerusalem by the Philistines and Arabians in Jehoram's reign (ib. 16-17); the murder of Zechariah by Joash (xxiv. 20-22); the military successes of Uzziah (xxvi. 6-8) and his invasion of the priest's office (ib. 16-20); the war of Jotham against Ammon (xxvii. 5); the terrible blow inflicted by Pekah upon Ahaz (xxviii. 6-8) and the successes of the Philistines in Ahaz's reign (ib. 18); the religious reformation of Hezekiah (xxix.-xxxi.); the captivity of Manasseh, his repentance, and his restoration to his kingdom (xxxiii. 11-13); and the establishment by Josiah of his authority in the old kingdom of Israel (xxxiv. 6-7, 9; xxxv. 17-18).

[11] See 2 Chr. xi. 18-20; xx. 14; xxi. 2; xxiii. 1; xxix. 12-14; and xxxiv. 12.

Little peculiarities in the diction may also be noticed as indicating the composition of the whole of Chronicles by one author. Among these the most striking are: (*a*) the frequent use of the prosthetic *lamed* with substantives, to give the force of a genitive case;[12] (*b*) the use of the same prefix with infinitives, to express what must be, or is arranged to be;[13] (*c*) the uniform *full* spelling of the name of David;[14] (*d*) the peculiar literation of the name commonly given as Tiglath-pileser.[15] Many similar points might be adduced; but, as the unity of the work is not disputed, these seem to be sufficient.

Question of its Completeness.

§ 7. The abrupt termination of Chronicles, in the middle of a sentence,[1] is an unanswerable argument against its having come down to us in the form in which it was originally written. We must suppose, either that an addition has been made to it, or that it is incomplete. The history would end, if not quite satisfactorily, yet without any violent abruptness, at the close of the 21st verse of the last chapter; and here, accordingly, many think that originally it did end. The last two verses (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22-23) they suppose were accidentally attached to Chronicles by a scribe, who did not observe that he had finished the book, and so copied on some of the opening verses of Ezra.[2] It is an objection to this view, that Chronicles is not followed by Ezra in the Hebrew Canon, but is the last book of all, while Ezra follows upon Daniel. It is a further objection against the theory that Chronicles once ended in the place supposed, that it would then have stopped short of the return from the captivity, which the author might have been expected to relate, since he certainly lived after it, and the evident purpose of his history requires its mention.[3]

The recurrence of the final passage of our present copies of Chronicles at the commencement of Ezra, taken in conjunction with the undoubted fact, that there is a very close resemblance of style and tone between the two Books, suggests naturally the explanation, which has been accepted by some of the best critics,[4] that the two works, Chronicles and Ezra, were originally one, and were afterwards separated. The separation probably arose out of a desire to arrange the history of the post-captivity period in chronological sequence. After the account of the Captivity period itself, which was contained in Daniel, an account was needed of the return under Zerubbabel, of the building of the temple, and the history generally between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. As this time was treated of in the closing section of the Book of Chronicles, that section was detached, made into a separate book, intitled Ezra, and placed between Daniel and Nehemiah.[5] The remainder of Chronicles was then placed after Nehemiah, and made to conclude the sacred volume, as being a sort of *résumé* of the entire history. The repetition of the passage already given in Ezra, and the abrupt termination, may have been intended to suggest the essential connection between the two books; and it may have been their knowledge of this connection which led the Septuagint translators to bring the books once more into juxtaposition.

[12] This use is so frequent that (as Bertheau observes) it is needless to produce examples of it.

[13] See 1 Chr. v. 1; ix. 25; xiii. 4; xv. 2; xxii. 5, 12; 2 Chr. ii. 8; viii. 13; xi. 22; xii. 12; xiii. 5; xix. 2; xx. 6; &c.

[14] David is expressed by דָּוִיד, instead of the more ordinary דָּוִד, uniformly throughout the entire work (1 Chr. ii. 15; iii. 1, 9; x. 14; &c. 2 Chr. ii. 3; v. 2; x. 16; xvii. 3; xxiii. 3; xxviii. 1; xxix. 30; xxxiii. 7; xxxv. 15; &c.).

[15] The name is written uniformly Tilgath-pilneser in Chronicles (see 1 Chr. v. 6 and 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 20).

[1] The full sentence of Ezra i. 3—"Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem," becomes in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, "Who is there among you of all his people? [The Lord] his God be with him, and let him go up ——." Every reader naturally asks, whither?

[2] See Bp. Kennicott's comment on the passage, and compare the remarks of Calmet, Usher, and Dr. A. Clarke.

[3] See above, § 2.

[4] As Ewald, Movers, and De Wette, who, when not prejudiced by his rationalistic theories, is acute and sensible.

[5] This is the position of Ezra in the Hebrew Canon.

Condition of the Text.

§ 8. The condition of the text of Chronicles is far from satisfactory. Various readings are frequent, particularly in the names of persons and places,[1] which occur also in different forms, not likely to have been used by the same writer.[2] Numerous omissions are found, especially in the genealogies, where sometimes important names have dropt out,[3] sometimes the names which remain do not agree with the numerical statement attached to them.[4] But the most important corruptions are in the numbers, which are sometimes self-contradictory, sometimes contradictory of more probable numbers in Samuel or Kings, sometimes unreasonably large, and therefore justly suspected.[5] Other defects are a derangement in the order of the words,[6] and the substitution of a more familiar term for one less known.[7]

At the same time it is to be noted that the work is free from defects of a more serious character. There is no reason to believe that any of the *lacunæ* extend beyond a few words, or seriously affect the narrative. There is, at the utmost, one interpolation into the text[8]—an authorized addition, probably, by a later writer, who may have been the prophet Malachi. Apart from this the unity is unbroken, and there is every reason to believe that we have the work, in almost all respects, exactly as it came from the hand of the author. Neither the Septuagint, nor any other ancient version, makes any important additions to the Hebrew text; and the few which are found have the character of interpolations.[9]

Characteristics of the Work.

§ 9. As compared with the parallel histories of Samuel and Kings, the history of Chronicles is characterized by three principal features: (*a*) A greater tendency to dwell on the externals of religion, on the details of the Temple worship, the various functions of the Priests and Levites, the arrangement of the courses, and the like. (*b*) A marked genealogical bias, and desire to put on record the names of persons engaged in any of the events narrated; and (*c*) A more constant, open, and direct ascription of all the events of the history to the Divine agency, and especially a more plain reference of every great calamity or deliverance to the good or evil deeds

[1] To instance from a single chapter:—in 1 Chr. i., the MSS. have, in verse 6, both Riphath and Diphath, both Rodanim and Dodanim; in verse 11, both Ludyim and Ludim; in verse 46, both Avith and Aioth; in verse 50 both Pai and Pau; in verse 51 both Aliah and Alvah.

[2] As Chelubai (1 Chr. ii. 9) and Caleb (ib. verse 18); Ephrath (ib. verse 19) and Ephratah (verse 50); Haroeh (1 Chr. ii. 52) and Reaiah (1 Chr. iv. 2); and the like.

[3] As that of Ner in the first of the genealogies of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 29-32), and that of Ahaz in the second list of his descendants (ib. ix. 41).

[4] See 1 Chr. iii. 22, where, though *five* sons only of Shemaiah have been enumerated, the number is said at the end of the verse to be *six*. (Compare 1 Chr. vii. 3, and perhaps 1 Chr. viii. 38.)

[5] When Jehoram is said to have been thirty-two years old at his accession and to have reigned no more than eight years (2 Chr. xxi. 5), yet to have left a son—his *youngest*—who was forty-two at his death (ib. xxii. 2), there is a contradiction which cannot be escaped. When Jehoiachin is said to have begun to reign at the age of *eight* (ib. xxxvi. 9) yet to have done such evil in the sight of Jehovah that within four months he was removed; and when the Israelites numbered by David are said to have been 1,100,000 (1 Chr. xxi. 5), statements are made which cannot be reconciled with those of Kings and Samuel, that Jehoiachin was eighteen at his accession (2 K. xxiv. 8); and that the Israelites were 800,000 (2 S. xxiv. 9), and which are intrinsically less probable. Among numbers unreasonably large may be mentioned the amount of the army of Jehoshaphat (1,120,000, 2 Chr. xvii. 14-18), the price given for Araunah's threshing-floor (1 Chr. xxi. 25), and the amount of the gold and silver prepared by David to be used on the Temple (100,000 talents of gold, and 1,000,000 talents of silver, 1 Chr. xxii. 14).

[6] See additional note to 2 Chr. iii. 1.

[7] See additional notes to 1 Chr. xi. 13; xix. 17; &c.

[8] The passage alluded to is that at the close of 1 Chr. iii., which contains the account of the later descendants of Zerubbabel (verses 22-24).

[9] These are chiefly in the Septuagint version of the later chapters of the Second Book (xxxv. and xxxvi.), and consist of passages transferred, with slight alterations from Kings. Compare the insertion in 2 Chr. xxxv. (after verse 19) with 2 K. xxiii. 24-27; the first insertion in ch. xxxvi. (after verse 2) with 2 K. xxiii. 31-33; the second (after verse 4) with 2 K. xxiii. 34; and the third (after verse 5) with 2 K. xxiii. 36-37, and xxiv. 1-4.

of the monarch, or the nation, which Divine Providence so punished or rewarded.

(*a*) The history of Chronicles has been called "ecclesiastical," that of Samuel and Kings "political." In the mind of the writer of Chronicles, *i. e.* the religious establishment is of primary, the State of secondary importance. Of the nine introductory chapters, one is concerned entirely, and another mainly, with the sons of Levi,[1] while six suffice for the whole of the remaining tribes. In the history of David, which occupies twenty chapters (1 Chr. x.-xxix.) eleven treat of the religious history—the removal of the ark, the preparations for the building of the temple, and the arrangements made for the contemplated religious services, while no more than nine treat the civil history of the period.[2] In the account of Solomon, extending to nine chapters (2 Chr. i.-ix.), six chapters are occupied wholly with religious matters, while two of the remaining three are divided between the religious and the secular history.[3] In the account of the curtailed kingdom of Judah which follows, the only reigns treated at any length are those of the religious reformers, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. United these reigns occupy as much space as those of all the other kings put together.[4] The reign of Hezekiah may be taken as a crucial instance of the difference between the modes of treatment pursued by the writers of Chronicles and Kings. The writer of Kings devotes three, the writer of Chronicles four, chapters to the subject. Both represent the reign as remarkable: 1. for a religious reformation; and 2. for striking events of secular history, in which Judæa was brought into connection with the great monarchies of the time, Babylonia and Assyria. But while the writer of Kings thinks it enough to relate the religious reformation in three verses (1 K. xviii. 4-6), and devotes to the secular history, treated indeed from a religious point of view, the whole remainder of his three chapters, the writer of Chronicles gives the heads of the secular history in one chapter, while he devotes to the religious reformation the remaining three chapters of his four.

This tendency of the writer of Chronicles has been regarded by some critics, notably by De Wette, as detracting from his credibility, and indeed as rendering his history altogether undeserving of our confidence. He is accused of an undue partiality for the Levitical order, which leads him in places to exaggerate and heighten, in places to tone down the real history, in places positively to falsify it.[5] Charges of this kind require to be examined point by point, and such of them as are even plausible will be considered in the foot-notes, as the passages whereto they attach come severally under our notice. In the present place, however, it may be pointed out that the "predilection of the writer of Chronicles for the Priests and Levites,"[6] of what character soever it is, does not prevent him from seeing, or even from distinctly noting, their short-comings and sins. The remissness of the Levites to collect money for the repairs of the Temple, when commanded by Joash, is noted and reproved in 2 Chr. xxiv. 5; the remissness of Jehoiada, the high-priest, to enforce the collection, is rebuked in the verse following; the uncleanness of both priests and Levites, in the early part of the reign of Hezekiah, is seen distinctly throughout the narrative of 2 Chr. xxix.-xxx.; and the reluctance of some of both orders to put away their uncleanness and "sanctify themselves," is made apparent in ch. xxix. 34, and ch. xxx. 15. If the intimate connection of Ezra with Chro-

[1] Ch. vi. and ch. ix. 10-34. Ch. i., treating of the time anterior to the institution of the Levitical priesthood, is excluded from the comparison.

[2] The religious history is treated in chapters xiii., xv., xvi., xvii., xxii.-xxvi., xxviii., and xxix.; the civil in chapters x., xi., xii., xiv., xviii.-xxi., and xxvii.

[3] The six chapters which treat exclusively of religious matters are chapters ii., iii., iv., v., vi., and vii. In chapters i. and viii. religious matters occupy a considerable space. (See 2 Chr. i. 3-12; viii. 12-16). Chapter ix. is wholly secular.

[4] The reign of Asa occupies three chapters; that of Jehoshaphat, four; that of Hezekiah, four; that of Josiah, two—in all thirteen chapters. The remaining reigns likewise occupy thirteen chapters.

[5] See De Wette's 'Einleitung,' § 190, *c.*

[6] "Vorliebe für den levitischen Cultus und den Stamm Levi." (Ibid.)

nicles be allowed, it will be relevant to add, that the sin of the priests and Levites in intermarrying with the idolatrous Canaanites is pointedly noted in the narrative of Ezr. ix.-x.

(*b*) The markedly genealogical character of Chronicles is too palpable a fact to need any illustration beyond what has been already given;[7] but the inclination of the writer, in cases unconnected with genealogy, to furnish lists of official persons, and generally to put on record the names of those who had played any important part in the history, has been less noticed, and may therefore require to be illustrated by references. Let, then, the following passages be noted:—

1 Chr.	xi.	26-47,	which contains a list of	the valiant men of David's army.
,,	xii.	1-14,	,,	those who came to David at Ziklag.
,,	xiv.	4-7,	,,	David's sons.
,,	xv.	5-11,	,,	David's chief Levites.
,,	ib.	17-24,	,,	David's other Levitical officials.
,,	xix.	15-17,	,,	David's principal state officers.
,,	xxiv.	7-18,	,,	the heads of the priestly courses.
,,	xxv.	9-31,	,,	the heads of the musical courses.
,,	xxvi.	14-19,	,,	the Temple porters.
,,	xxvii.	2-15,	,,	the captains of David's body-guard.
,,	ib.	16-22,	,,	the heads of the tribes of Israel.
,,	ib.	25-31,	,,	David's stewards and bailiffs.
2 Chr.	xi.	5-10,	,,	the cities built by Rehoboam.
,,	xvii.	7-18,	,,	lists of Jehoshaphat's princes, chief Levites and generals.
,,	xxiii.	1,	,,	a list of Jehoiada's captains.
,,	xxviii.	12,	,,	the heads of Ephraim in the time of Pekah.
,,	xxix.	12-14,	,,	the chief Levites in the time of Hezekiah.
,,	xxxi.	12-15,	,,	the overseers of the offerings in the reign of Hezekiah.
,,	xxxiv.	12,	,,	the overseers of the offerings in the reign of Josiah.
,,	xxxv.	9,	,,	Josiah's chief Levites.

Also 2 Chr. xi. 18-20, which contains lists of Rehoboam's wives and children.
,, xix. 11, where the "chief priest" and the "ruler of the house of Judah" under Jehoshaphat are mentioned.
,, xxi. 2, where we have the names of all the sons of Jehoshaphat.
,, xxvi. 11. where the names of the chief officers of Uzziah are put on record.
,, xxviii. 7, where four names not mentioned in Kings occur.
,, xxxiv. 8, where two names not mentioned in Kings are set down.
,, xxxv. 8, where the second and third priests are named besides the first.

(*c*) The third characteristic, which may be called the key-note of Chronicles, is struck almost as soon as any narrative is entered upon, and thenceforth recurs, like the refrain of a song, in connection with almost every portion of the narrative. "Jabez called on the God of Israel .... and God granted him that which he requested" (1 Chr. iv. 10). Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh "made war with the Hagarites, and they were helped against them .... for they cried to God" (1 Chr. v. 18-20). "They transgressed against the God of their fathers ...and the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul against them" (ib. verses 25, 26). "They were carried away captive to Babylon *for their transgressions*" (1 Chr. ix. 1). These passages all occur in the dry genealogical Introduction, and sufficiently indicate the spirit of the writer—the lesson that his historical studies have impressed upon him, and that he wishes to impress upon his readers. When the historical portion of the work commences, the key-note is once more struck with a peculiar emphasis, that the writer's object may be unmistakeable. "Saul died *for his transgression* which he committed against the Lord, even against the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to enquire of it; and enquired not of the Lord: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David" (1 Chr. x. 13, 14). Henceforth, the entire narrative does but repeat and deepen this one impression. The history

[7] See above, § 6.

of David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, and the other kings, is throughout exhibited to us as an illustration of the retributive justice of God, who afflicts each unrighteous monarch and rewards each righteous one with temporal prosperity.[8] Especially noticeable is the peculiar simplicity and directness with which this moral teaching is inculcated, the reader being never left to draw his own conclusion from the narrative, but being pointedly admonished on each several occasion, and forced to regard the entire series of events in this light.

The style of Chronicles is even simpler and less elevated than that of Kings. Mere lists of names occupy a large portion of the work, and the remainder of the narrative is singularly inartificial and without ornament. Excepting the psalm of David in 1 Chr. xvi., and the prayer of Solomon in 2 Chr. vi., the whole is prosaic, level, and uniform. There are no especially striking chapters, as in Kings. On the other hand, there is a more all-pervading didactic spirit, and so a more sustained dignity, in the composition. If it at no time rises into eloquence or poetry, it never sinks into the common-place or the familiar. Though simple, it is throughout solemn. Its tones are those of admonition and encouragement. It is less gloomy than Kings, being addressed to the restored nation, which it seeks to animate and inspirit. The captive people, weeping by the waters of Babylon, fitly read its mournful history in Kings: the liberated nation, entering hopefully upon a new life, found in Chronicles a review of its past, calculated to help it forward on the path of progress, upon which it was entering.

[8] See note [6] to § 6.

Authenticity of the History.

§ 10. As Chronicles is, in the main, a repetition of the earlier Historical Books, and especially of Samuel and Kings, the authenticity of the general narrative is involved in that of those earlier writings, and does not need to be separately proved here. With respect, however, to what is peculiar to Chronicles, some remarks are required; and the more so, as on these points the truthfulness of the narrative, and even the honesty of the writer, have been called in question.[1] De Wette regards the whole history as coloured and falsified intentionally by the author, whose 'Levitical spirit' makes him assign an undue prominence to the priestly order, exaggerate the glories and conceal the sins of the Jewish kings who upheld the temple worship, calumniate the anti-sacerdotal Jewish monarchs, and uniformly misrepresent through hatred of them the kings and people of Israel.[2] He also accuses him of a "mythological" spirit, or love of the marvellous, which induces him, either wholly to invent miracles, or to add to a miraculous narrative further supernatural touches.[3] He thus deprives Chronicles of all value, regarding it as authentic only where it repeats the statements of the earlier Scriptures, and viewing all the additional matter as pure fiction—the invention of the writer, or of some worthless authorities which he followed.[4] How the Jews came to adopt so untruthful a production into the Canon, he does not explain; nor does he think it necessary to offer any apology for rejecting a work which has had the sanction of the Church, both Jewish and Christian, in all ages.

In further derogation of the work in question, its assailants seek to prove (*a*)

[1] The principal assailants of Chronicles are Gramberg, in his work, 'Die Chronik nach ihre geschichtliche Charakter" (Halle, 1829); De Wette, in his 'Beiträge' (Halle, 1806), and again in his 'Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testamentes' (Berlin, 1852, 7th edition); Gesenius, in his 'Commentar über den Jesaia" (Leipzig, 1820, 1821); and Theodore Parker, in his enlarged translation of De Wette's 'Einleitung' (Boston, 1843). Among its defenders are, Dahler ('De librorum Paralipomenon auctoritate atque fide historicâ,' Strasburg, 1819); F. C. Movers ('Kritische Untersuchungen über die Biblische Chronik,' Bonn, 1834); and Keil ('Apologetische Versuch über die Chronik,' Berlin, 1833). Some good remarks have been made also on the same side by Bishop A. Hervey, in Smith's 'Biblical Dictionary,' and by Dr. Davidson in Kitto's 'Biblical Cyclopædia.'

[2] 'Einleitung,' § 190 *c*, p. 246, et sqq.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., § 192, *d*, note *d*, p. 256.

that its author contradicts himself; (*b*) that he contradicts other Scriptural writers; and (*c*) that he is guilty of mistakes from ignorance, or misunderstanding of his authorities.[5]

(*a*.) The charges of self-contradiction may be disposed of without difficulty. They seem to amount to four. Asa is said to have "taken away the high-places out of all the cities of Judah" (2 Chr. xiv. 5); yet we are told that in his time "the high-places were not taken away" (2 Chr. xv. 17). Similarly of Jehoshaphat it is said that "he took away the high-places and groves out of Judah" (ib. xvii. 6); yet "the high-places were not taken away" (ib. xx. 33). Hezekiah and Josiah both celebrate passovers, the like of which had not been known in Judah for ages (ib. xxx. 26 and xxxv. 18). Lastly, we hear of a king's son slain by Zichri, early, as it would seem, in the reign of Ahaz, though Ahaz at his accession is no more than twenty years of age (ib. xxviii. 1 and 7).

With respect to the high-places, the true explanation[6] probably is, that, when a monarch is said to have taken them away, the writer speaks broadly and with special reference to the monarch's aim and intention; while, when it is remarked that they still continued to exist, the writer refers to the actual fact, and notes a failure in the full carrying out of the king's wish (see note on 2 Chr. xv. 17). It is evidently not likely that a writer would in terms directly contradict himself *within a chapter*, unless he had a ready means of reconciling the two conflicting statements in his own mind, and expected the common sense of his readers to supply it.

In regard to the two passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah, a contradiction can no otherwise be made out than by assuming that in both passages, or at any rate in 2 Chr. xxxv. 18, it is meant that *no passover at all* had been celebrated since the time mentioned. But the writer carefully guards himself against this misapprehension of his meaning by using the expressions "like this," "like to that," "such a passover"; which make it clear that he means only that on each of the two occasions specified the feast was celebrated with peculiar pomp and solemnity, not that it was not celebrated at other times also.

The occurrence of the phrase "king's son" in 2 Chron. xxviii. 7 constitutes a real difficulty, but falls very far short of a "self-contradiction." For, in the first place it is not said in what year of Ahaz, Maaseiah was slain, nor is it said that he fell in battle,[7] nor that he was Ahaz's son. Most probably he was a son of Jotham, who in his father's life-time had been invested with the office whereto the title, "king's son," attached,[8] and had retained it under his brother, Ahaz. Possibly he was a son of Ahaz, put to death by Zichri, though a mere boy. Or, if the war with Pekah took place later in the reign of Ahaz than is commonly supposed, he may have been a son of Ahaz, slain in battle, and grown up. Any of these suppositions, which are all compatible with the text of Chronicles, would reconcile the death of the "king's son," recorded in 2 Chr. xxviii. 7 with the statement made (in verse 1) that Ahaz was but twenty at his accession.

(*b*.) The contradictions which De Wette and his school have discovered between Chronicles and the other books of Scripture are more numerous, reaching to some eighteen or nineteen.[9] Of these,

[5] See particularly De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 190, and Theodore Parker, 'Enlarged Translation,' vol. ii. p. 268 et sqq.

[6] Some have supposed two sorts of high-places to be intended (Movers, 'Untersuchungen,' § 257; Dahler, § 99; Keil, § 290; Bertheau, 'Die Bücher der Chronik erklärt,' p. 318): but it is doubtful whether there were in Judah, under Asa and Jehoshaphat, high-places of two kinds.

[7] The word used, הרג, does not apply only to killing in battle, but to killing of any kind.

[8] The expression, "king's son," בן־המלך, which occurs only in 1 K. xxii. 26 and 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, seems in both places to designate an office rather than mere relationship to the sovereign (see 'Biblical Dict.', ad voc. MAASEIAH).

[9] The following are the "contradictions" alleged, so far as the writer has been able to collect them:—

1.	1 Chr.	iii.	15,	contr.	2 K. xxiii. 31, 36, &c.
2.	,,	ib.	19,	,,	Ezra iii. 2, &c.
3.	,,	x.	6,	,,	2 Sam. ii. 8, &c.
4.	,,	xiv.	12,	,,	2 Sam. v. 21.
5.	,,	xxi.	5,	,,	2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

two concern the removal of the high-places by Asa and Jehoshaphat,[10] and need no further explanation than that already given in examining the charges of self-contradiction made against our author. Another[11] is a repetition of the passover difficulty already treated of. Nine others are cases where the writer of Chronicles adds to the narrative of Samuel and Kings new facts, some easy, others more or less difficult to reconcile with the statements of the earlier writers,[12] but none amounting to "contradictions." There remain seven where the words of the two narratives are conflicting, and a verbal contradiction may be said to exist, viz., the following:—(1.) In 1 Chr. iii. 15., Shallum is called "the *fourth* son of Josiah," whereas from Kings (2 K. xxiii. 31, 36; xxiv. 18) and Jeremiah (xxii. 10-12) it would appear that he was the second. (2.) In 1 Chr. iii. 19, Zerubbabel is declared to have been "the son of *Pedaiah*," whereas elsewhere in Scripture he is always called "the son of Salathiel." (3.) In 1 Chr. x. 6, *all* Saul's house is said to have died with him, while from 2 Sam. ii. 8 and xxi. 7, 8, we learn that several survived. (4.) In 1 Chr. xxi. 5, the numbers of the children of Israel and Judah returned to David by Joab, are stated at 1,100,000 and 470,000 respectively, whereas in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9 they are given as 800,000 and 500,000. (5.) In 1 Chr. xxi. 25, the price which David paid to Ornan (or Araunah) for his threshing-floor is said to have been "600 shekels of *gold*," whereas in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24 it is given as "50 shekels of silver." (6.) In 2 Chr. xxviii. 20, 21, Tiglath-pileser is said to have "distressed Ahaz," and "helped him not," whereas from 2 K. xvi. 9 it appears that he gave Ahaz very effectual aid, at any rate against Rezin. (7.) In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 3-7, the religious reformation of Josiah is assigned to the *twelfth* year of his reign, whereas the narrative of Kings (2 K. xxii. 3; xxiii. 4-20) apparently places it in his eighteenth year. Of these seven cases of apparent contradiction, two only (No. 4 and No. 5) are probably real. Attempts have been made to reconcile even these two,[13] but they are scarcely satisfactory, and it is best to suppose that in these cases there has

6.	1 Chr. xxi.	6,	,,	2 Sam. xxiv. 8, 9.
7.	,,	ib.	25,	,, 2 Sam. xxiv. 25.
8.	,,	xxii.	8,	,, 2 Sam. vii. 5.
9.	,,	ib.	14,	,, 1 K. v. 17, 18.
10.	,,	xxvii.	1-15,	,, 2 Sam. xv. 18.
11.	2 Chr.	xiv.	2-5,	,, 1 K. xv. 14.
12.	,,	xvii.	6,	,, 1 K. xxii. 43.
13.	,,	xxii.	9,	,, 2 K. ix. 27.
14.	,,	xxiii.	1-11,	,, 2 K. xi. 4-12.
15.	,,	xxviii.	5,	,, 2 K. xvi. 5.
16.	,,	ib.	20,	,, 2 K. xvi. 7.
17.	,,	xxx.	26,	,, 2 K. xxiii. 22.
18.	,,	xxxiii.	11-17	,, 2 K. xxi. 1-17, &c.
19.	,,	xxxiv.	3-7,	,, 2 K. xxiii. 4.

[10] Nos. 11 and 12 in the above list.

[11] No. 17 in the list.

[12] The nine cases intended are Nos. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, and 18 in the list. Of these one (No. 10) presents not the faintest shadow of a difficulty, since the standing army of David described in 1 Chr. xxvii. 1-15 is a completely distinct thing from his body-guard, mentioned in 2 Sam. xv. 18. Three others (Nos. 4, 8, and 9) are simple additions to the narrative of Samuel and Kings, most aptly fitting in with the accounts previously given, as will be seen by reference to the foot-notes on the places. Two (Nos. 13 and 14) present a slight difficulty, but are easily reconcilable with Kings, if we bear in mind that Chronicles is intentionally supplemental. Three only (Nos. 6, 15, and 18) are somewhat hard to reconcile with the opposed passages. We should certainly have gathered from 2 Sam. xxiv. 8, 9, that Joab's numbering of the people was complete, and from 2 K. xxi. 1-17 that Manasseh died without repenting; we might also not unnaturally have thought from 2 K. xvi. 5 that Ahaz suffered no great defeat at the hands of either Pekah or Rezin. A close inspection, however, of the passages shows that in no case does the author distinctly state anything incompatible with Chronicles. He does not say that the numbering was complete, or that Manasseh did not repent, or that Pekah and Rezin at no time defeated Ahaz. These are, in fact, mere inferences which our minds draw from the passages—inferences not justified by strict logic, and therefore uncertain.

[13] Keil thinks that the transactions recorded in 2 Sam. xxii. 24 and in 1 Chr. xxi. 25 are different ones—that David gave 50 shekels of silver for the threshing-floor and the oxen, and also 600 shekels of gold for the fee simple of the ground on which the threshing-floor stood. But this explanation savours of over-refinement.

Bp. Patrick and others argue that the 800,000 Israelites of 2 Sam. are exclusive of the standing army of 288,000 men, the 1,100,000 of 1 Chr. inclusive of it and its officers. Contrariwise, the 470,000 of Judah in Chronicles are exclusive of 30,000 Jewish soldiers, implied in the thirty captains of 2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 24 (?), while the 500,000 of Samuel include them. But it is not probable that either writer would intentionally make omissions in such a matter, and it is especially unlikely that each would omit a different portion of the people.

been, either in Samuel or Chronicles, some corruption of the text. Of the remaining five contradictions reasonable explanations have been given, which will be found in the foot-notes on the passages.

To this it must, in fairness, be added, that the contradictions noticed by De Wette are not all that actually occur. Other writers have, not unreasonably, added to the list the following:—

1 Chr. xi.	11,	which contradicts	2 Sam. xxiii. 8.
,, xviii.	4,	,,	2 Sam. viii. 4.
,, xix.	18,	,,	2 Sam. x. 18.
2 Chr. viii.	18,	,,	1 K. ix. 28.
,, xxii.	2,	,,	2 K. viii. 26.
,, xxxvi.	9,	,,	2 K. xxiv. 8.

In all these cases the contradiction, as in Nos. 4 and 5 of the preceding list, is numerical, and is to be explained by the great liability of numbers to suffer corruption, which has been already noted in the 'Introduction to Kings.'[14]

(*c.*) The supposed "errors" of the author of Chronicles, which have been pointed out, are six. (1.) "Shaaraim," in 1 Chr. iv. 31, is said to be a *mistake* for "Sharuhen," and to indicate a confusion between two distinct cities, one belonging to Judah (Josh. xvi. 36) and the other to Simeon (ib. xix. 6). (2.) The expression, "a man of stature," in 1 Chr. xi. 23, is thought to have arisen from a misapprehension of the text of 2 Sam. xxiii. 21. (3.) The phrase, "besides that which she had brought unto the king," in 2 Chr. ix. 12, is thought to have been from the hand of the author, who carelessly altered the words of 1 K. x. 13, without observing that he wrote nonsense. (4.) The substitution of "kings of Arabia" in 2 Chr. ix. 14 for "kings of the mingled people" is considered to have been caused by a misconception of the true meaning of the phrase used in Kings (1 K. x. 15). (5.) The reference to a work entitled 'Lamentations' in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25 is called a "mis-quotation," the work intended being supposed to be that which still exists in the Canon. (6.) Finally, the statements that Solomon's ships "went to Tarshish" (2 Chr. ix. 21), and that Jehoshaphat's were intended to go there (ib. xx. 36, 37,) are regarded as errors, the writer having misapprehended the meaning of "a navy of Tarshish" (1 K. x. 22) and "ships of Tarshish" (ib. xxii. 48), as used by the author of Kings.[15]

In no case but the last of these has the charge of mistake any solid basis. "Shaaraim" in 1 Chr. iv. 31 may be a wrong reading, or a later mode of spelling the name of the place which in Joshua's time was called "Sharuhen." The phrase in 2 Sam. xxiii. 21 may really allude to stature, though literally it may mean only "a man to attract attention."[16] Or the writer of Chronicles may intentionally have omitted the point noted by the earlier author, in order to bring forward another, which he found in his authorities and thought deserving of mention. The unmeaning clause in 2 Chr. ix. 12, is probably corrupt. It becomes intelligible and quite in accordance with Kings by a slight emendation.[17] The expression, "Kings of Arabia" in 2 Chr. ix. 14, is really perfectly correct, since the "mingled people" lived in the Arabian desert (Jer. xxv. 24) and were no doubt in great part of Arab race. It is a purely gratuitous supposition that the 'Lamentations' quoted in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25 must be the work of Jeremiah contained in the Canon. Even with respect to the going of ships to Tarshish, there is probably no mistake in what is related of Solomon, who seems to have had two fleets, one of which traded to Ophir by way of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, while the other accompanied the fleet of Hiram to Tarshish.[18] The only "error" whereof the author of Chronicles can be shown to have been even probably guilty is the supposition that Jehoshaphat's "ships of Tarshish" were intended to trade with Tarshish[19]—an inference

[14] See § 6, note [6].

[15] See De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 190 *a*, note *d*, and Theodore Parker, 'Enlarged Translation,' vol. ii. p. 268.

[16] The reading of 2 Sam. xxiii. 21 is doubtful, being either אישׁ מראה or אשׁר מראה. The former, which is followed in our Version, would mean "a man to attract attention"—*vir spectabilis*. The latter is translated by Maurer "looking him straight in the face." The expression of Chronicles is אישׁ מדה, "a man of stature." Probably the stature of the Egyptian was what caused him to attract attention.

[17] See additional note to 2 Chr. ix. 12.

[18] See additional note on 1 K. x. 22.

[19] Compare note on 2 Chr. xx. 36.

which he might naturally make when Tarshish was no longer a place of importance[20] and its position was forgotten.

If the specific charges brought against our author are thus without sufficient basis, much more must the general accusations be pronounced unfair and untenable. The "Levitical spirit" of the writer must indeed, in a certain sense,[21] be granted; but there is no evidence that it anywhere leads him to make false statements, misrepresent, or exaggerate. The additions which he makes to the history as delivered to us in Samuel and Kings are mostly in themselves probable; while sometimes they receive confirmation from profane history,[22] and at other times they harmonise with little touches in the earlier Scriptures.[23] De Wette seems to think that the author invented them out of his own head; but it is to be remarked that he everywhere refers his readers for fuller accounts of the facts which he records to extant contemporary writers.[24] It is scarcely possible to doubt that he found in his authors the various additional facts which he relates with respect to David, Solomon, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, and others; nor is it easy to shake the authority of the writers who served him as sources. They were persons who discharged the prophetical office, who held high position at the courts of the kings, and whose works formed the basis of the national history received as authentic by the Jewish people. Apart wholly from the consideration of their inspiration, they were credible witnesses—witnesses whose testimony it is unreasonable to disallow or question.

The "hatred of Israel," wherewith our author is taxed,[25] appears (we are told) "frequently" in the narratives which are peculiar to him, and in one place "lies at the root of the contradiction between his history and that of Kings." It may suffice to observe that the place in question exhibits no "contradiction,"[26] and that one only of the peculiar narratives has been pointed out as indicative of hostile feeling, viz., the account of the war between Abijam and Jeroboam in 2 Chr. xii. The charge is sufficiently disproved by the comparatively slight notices in Chronicles of Jeroboam's sins,[27] of Ahab's punishment,[28] and of Israel's rejection and captivity;[29] and again by the full narrative of the triumph of Joash over Amaziah,[30] the successes of Pekah against Ahaz,[31] and the merciful restoration of 200,000 Jewish prisoners by the Israelites at the instance of the chief men of Ephraim.[32]

With regard to the author's "mythological spirit," or "love of the marvellous," we may remark that if, on the one hand, he relates some half-dozen miracles

[20] The latest date at which we find Tartessus a place of importance is B.C. 560, when it is engaged in trade with the Phocæans (Herod. i. 163). The Jewish Prophets cease to mention it after the time of the Captivity.

[21] See above, § 2 and § 9.

[22] The expedition of Zerah (2 Chr. xiv. 9-15; xvi. 8) occurs exactly at the time when a monarch who corresponds in name, Azerk-amen, rules Ethiopia. The carrying of Manasseh to the king of Assyria *at Babylon* accords with the mention of him among the tributaries of Esarhaddon, who occasionally held his Court at that capital.

[23] *E.g.* the statement that David collected materials for the Temple from Tyre and Sidon (1 Chr. xxii. 4) harmonises with the address of Solomon to Hiram in Kings (1 K. v. 3):—"*Thou knowest* that David my father could not build an house unto the Lord." The separation of the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle of the congregation in David's reign, and the establishment of the one at Jerusalem and the other at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 1, 39; 2 Chr. i. 3, 4) accords with the double sacrifice of Solomon at Gibeon and at Jerusalem, recorded in Kings (1 K. iii. 4 and 15). Many such points of harmonious accord will be noticed in the foot-notes.

[24] 1 Chr. xxvii. 24; xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; &c.

[25] De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 190 *c*, 4 (p. 249): Th. Parker, 'Enlarged Translation,' vol. ii. p. 295.

[26] See notes on 1 K. xxii. 49 and 2 Chr. xx. 37.

[27] Compare 2 Chr. xi. 14, 15 with 1 K. xii. 26-33; xiii. 33, 34; and xiv. 9.

[28] Compare 2 Chr. xviii. 34 with 1 K. xxii. 37, 38. The last dregs of Ahab's cup of punishment, the lapping of his blood by dogs, and the washing of his gory chariot in the pool wherein harlots bathed, are suppressed in Chronicles while related in Kings.

[29] Israel's rejection and captivity, which occupy half a chapter in Kings (2 K. xvii. 4-23), are merely glanced at by the writer of Chronicles in a couple of verses (2 Chr. xxx. 6, 7).

[30] 2 Chr. xxv. 17-24. The record is as full as that of Kings (2 K. xiv. 8-14).

[31] 2 Chr. xxviii. 6.

[32] Ibid., verses 8-15. On this matter and on the defeat of Ahaz by Pekah Kings is silent.

unrecorded in Kings ; [33] on the other he omits a very much larger number which the writer of Kings mentions. The bulk of these, no doubt, are omitted, because they belong to the history of the kingdom of Israel, with which our author does not directly concern himself; but several miraculous circumstances connected with the kingdom of Judah, which the author of Kings notices, are omitted, or very lightly touched, in Chronicles. The prophecy by Ahijah the Shilonite with respect to the separation of the two kingdoms (1 K. xi. 29-39), which belongs to the history of Solomon, is wholly omitted. The prophecy of Elisha, delivered for the sake of Jehoshaphat, with respect to the destruction of the Moabites, and the means by which he brought that destruction about (2 K. iii. 14-24), are likewise omitted. Josiah's fulfilment of a very remarkable prophecy made in the reign of Jeroboam (2 K. xxiii. 15-17) obtains no notice. Hezekiah's sickness and miraculous recovery (2 K. xx. 1-11), dwelt on at length in Kings, are touched by our author with the utmost brevity (2 Chr. xxii. 24). Isaiah's prophetic announcement of Sennacherib's approaching discomfiture (2 K. xix. 20-34) is suppressed; as also is his subsequent announcement (ib. xx. 16-18) that Hezekiah's treasures and descendants should be carried to Babylon. The miraculous decidedly occupies a less conspicuous place in Chronicles than in the earlier history; and it is surprising that a writer, who admits Samuel and Kings to be authentic, should object to Chronicles on account of the writer's fondness for the supernatural.

It would seem, then, that there is no reason to regard Chronicles as any less trustworthy than Samuel or Kings. The author draws in the main from the same, or similar, sources with the earlier writers. There is nothing in the narratives peculiar to him that distinguishes them unfavourably from the rest of his history. If the scope of his work requires him to dwell more than his predecessors on the externals of religion, the dignity of the priestly and levitical offices, the details of the Temple service, and the like, there are no grounds for suspecting that he inserts anything on these subjects untruly. A writer is not necessarily untrustworthy because he writes with a particular object. If he is honest, he simply selects from the mass of facts whereto he has access, that class which will impress the reader as he would have him impressed. And against the honesty of the writer of Chronicles no charge can be substantiated. It may be that, had we possessed his history only of the Jewish monarchy, we should have been liable to have formed a conception of it in which the proportion of the several parts might have been to some extent inaccurate; but Divine Providence has taken care that we should not possess his history only; and, read in combination with Samuel and Kings, it gives us no incorrect, but a most exact and true, impression. Though far from being wholly supplemental, it supplements on many important points the earlier Scriptures. It is to be regarded as authentic in all its parts, with the exception of some of its numbers. These appear to have occasionally suffered corruption, though scarcely to a greater extent than those of other Books of equal antiquity. From blemishes of this kind it has not pleased God to keep his Word free. It will scarcely be maintained at the present day that their occurrence affects in the very slightest degree the authenticity of the rest of the narrative.

[33] As the descent of fire from heaven at a sacrifice of David (1 Chr. xxi. 26), and again at the dedicatory sacrifice of Solomon (2 Chr. vii. 1); the victory of Abijah through blowing of trumpets (ib. xiii. 14-17); the semi-miraculous discomfiture of Zerah (ib. xiv. 11-13); the wonderful destruction of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, in accordance with prophecy (ib. xx. 15-24); and the prophesied fate of Jehoram (ib. xxi. 12-19).

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER I.

1 Adam's line to Noah. 5 The sons of Japheth. 8 The sons of Ham. 17 The sons of Shem. 24 Shem's line to Abraham. 29 Ishmael's sons. 32 The sons of Keturah. 34 The posterity of Abraham by Esau. 43 The kings of Edom. 51 The dukes of Edom.

[a] Gen. 5. 3, 9.

ADAM, [a]Sheth, Enosh,
2 Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jered,
3 Henoch, Methuselah, Lamech,
4 Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

[b] Gen. 10. 2.

5 ¶ [b]The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.

‖ Or, *Diphath*, as it is in some copies.

6 And the sons of Gomer; Ashchenaz, and ‖Riphath, and Togarmah.

‖ Or, *Rodanim*, according to some copies.

7 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and ‖Dodanim.

8 ¶ The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and Canaan.

9 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabta, and Raamah, and Sabtecha. And the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.

[c] Gen. 10. 8.

10 And Cush [c]begat Nimrod: he began to be mighty upon the earth.

11 And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim,

12 And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (of whom came the Philistines,) and [d]Caphthorim.

[d] Deu. 2. 23.

13 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth,

14 The Jebusite also, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite,

CHAP. I. 1. *Adam.*] It is remarkable that the writer of Chronicles commences his genealogies without prelude or explanation. Assuming that his purpose will be sufficiently apparent to an attentive reader, he begins by a simple enumeration of the series of names contained in Gen. v., extending from the Creation to the Flood. The orthography of the names is exactly the same as in Genesis. Such differences as appear in the Authorized Version arise from a closer adherence to the Hebrew literation in Chronicles.

5. *The sons of Japheth.*] Japheth is taken first here, as in Genesis (x. 2), though he was probably not the eldest son of Noah (See note on Gen. x. 2). His "sons" are given exactly as in Genesis.

6. *Riphath.*] Some MSS. have "Diphath;" but the LXX. read "Riphath" both here and in Gen. x. 3. Ethnically, both names are about equally difficult of explanation.

7. *Dodanim.*] Several MSS. have "Rodanim;" "Rhodians"—and this was the reading preferred by the LXX. both here and in Gen. x. 3. "Rodanim" is also the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Intrinsically, it seems preferable to Dodanim, which carries us to Arabia, being (apart from the vowel points) the plural of Dedan, undoubtedly an Arabian settlement (see note on Gen. x. 7; vol. i. p. 88). "Rodanim" would be an unfamiliar term to Hebrew scribes, and might therefore naturally be changed to "Dodanim" which would be suggested by the well-known "Dedan."

8. *The sons of Ham.*] Ham follows Japheth, as in Gen. x. 6. In both passages his "sons" are given in the same order. "Phut," however, the third of them, is here given as "Put," by the omission of a *daghèsh* (or dot in the middle of a letter). The same omission is found (Nah. iii. 9) in the same word.

9. *Sabta and Raamah.*] Rather Raama. In these two cases the writer of Chronicles ends the names with the light aspirate (*alef*) instead of the more common aspirate (*he*) used in Genesis. Such variations in the spelling of names are common in Hebrew.

10. *Mighty upon the earth.*] The translation here is varied from that of Gen. x. 8 unnecessarily. There is no difference in the original.

11-16. These verses are identical with Gen. x. 13-18.

15 And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,

16 And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.

17 ¶ The sons of [e]Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and [1]Meshech.

18 And Arphaxad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Eber.

19 And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of the one *was* [1]Peleg; because in his days the earth was divided: and his brother's name *was* Joktan.

20 [f]And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah,

21 Hadoram also, and Uzal, and Diklah,

22 And Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba,

23 And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab. All these *were* the sons of Joktan.

24 ¶ [g]Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah,

25 [h]Eber, Peleg, Reu,

26 Serug, Nahor, Terah,

27 [i]Abram; the same *is* Abraham.

28 The sons of Abraham; [k]Isaac, and [l]Ishmael.

29 ¶ These *are* their generations: The [m]firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,

[e] Gen. 10. 23. & 11. 10.
[1] Or, *Mash*, Gen. 10. 23.
[1] That is, *Division*.
[f] Gen. 10. 26.
[g] Luke 3. 24.
[h] Gen. 11. 15.
[i] Gen. 17. 5.
[k] Gen. 21. 2, 3.
[l] Gen. 16. 11.
[m] Gen. 25. 13. to 17.

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16. *The Zemarite.*] See note on Gen. x. 18. A notice of the city called Simyra by the classical geographers (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 20; Mela, i. 12; &c.), has been found in the inscriptions of the Assyrian monarch, Sargon, about B.C. 720. It is there called Zimira, and is joined with Arpad (Arvad). There can be little doubt that it is the city indicated by the term "Zemarite."

17. *The sons of Shem.*] In Gen. x. 22 Shem has five sons only, Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Uz, Hul, Gether, and Meshech (or Mash), are stated to have been "sons of Aram." (Gen. x. 23.)

Meshech.] This is the reading of all the MSS., and is supported by the Septuagint, which has Μοσόχ, not only here, but also in Gen. x. 23. It seems preferable to the "Mash" of Genesis, which admits of no very probable explanation. Just as Hamites and Semites were intermingled in Arabia (see notes on Gen. x. 7 and 29), so Semites and Japhethites may have been intermingled in Cappadocia—the country of the Meshech or Moschi (see note on Gen. x. 2); and this Aramæan admixture may have been the origin of the notion, so prevalent among the Greeks (Herod. i. 72; Scyl. 'Peripl.' § 89; Strab. xii. 3, § 9; Dionys. Perieg. l. 772; &c.), that the Cappadocians were Syrians.

18-23. Again the writer follows Gen x. almost exactly, the only difference being that the Obal of Gen. x. 28 is here (verse 22) Ebal. The difference is the substitution of a *yod* for a *vau*.

24. *Shem, &c.*] The writer, still following Genesis, passes from ch. x. to ch. xi., and gives in the briefest possible form the genealogy contained in Gen. xi. 10-26. All the names are preserved unaltered.

27. *The same is Abraham.*] See Gen. xvii. 5.

28. *The sons of Abraham.*] Literally "sons of Abraham," the article not being used. As Genesis separates off Ishmael and Isaac from the other sons of Abraham (compare ch. xvi. and xvii. with ch. xxv. 1-4); so the writer of Chronicles reserves all mention of Keturah and her children for a distinct paragraph (verses 32, 33).

Isaac and Ishmael.] Isaac, though younger than Ishmael, is placed first, as the legitimate heir, since Sarah alone was Abraham's true wife. (See note on Gen. xxv. 1.)

29. *These are their generations.*] As Shem was reserved till after Japheth and Ham (verses 5-17), because in him the genealogy was to be continued (see note on Gen. x. 2), so Isaac is now reserved till the other lines of descent from Abraham have been completed. The same principle gives the descendants of Esau a prior place to those of Jacob (verses 35-54; ch. ii. 1).

Nebaioth.] "Nebajoth" in Gen. xxv. 13, which is another way of expressing the Hebrew. The order of the sons of Ishmael, and the orthography of their names (with one exception), is preserved without any change from Gen. xxv. 13-15. The exception is in the name "Hadad" (verse 30), for which "Hadar" is read in Genesis (verse 15. Compare Gen. xxxvi. 35). The true reading seems to be here preserved by Chronicles, "Hadad" being a well-known Syrian name (1 K. xi. 14; Nic. Dam. Fr. 31; Macrob.

30 Mishma, and Dumah, Massa, ‖Hadad, and Tema,
31 Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. These are the sons of Ishmael.
32 ¶ Now the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And the sons of Jokshan; Sheba, and Dedan.
33 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Henoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these *are* the sons of Keturah.
34 And Abraham begat Isaac. The sons of Isaac; Esau and Israel.
35 ¶ The sons of [a]Esau; Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.
36 The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and Omar, ‖Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek.
37 The sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah.
38 And the sons of Seir; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, and Dishon, and Ezar, and Dishan.
39 And the sons of Lotan; Hori, and ‖Homam: and Timna *was* Lotan's sister.
40 The sons of Shobal; ‖Alian, and Manahath, and Ebal, ‖Shephi, and Onam. And the sons of Zibeon; Aiah, and Anah.

‖ Or, *Hadar*, Gen. 25. 14.
‖ Or, *Zepho*, Gen. 36. 12.
‖ Or, *Hemam*, Gen. 36. 22.
‖ Or, *Alvan*, Gen. 36. 23.
‖ Or, *Shepho*, Gen. 36. 23.
[a] Gen. 36. 9. to.

'Sat.' i. 23; Plin. 'H. N.' xxxvii. 11), of which "Hadar" is an accidental corruption, consequent on the close resemblance of the Hebrew *resh* to the *daleth*.

32. *Keturah, Abraham's concubine.*] In Gen. xxv. 1 Keturah is called the "wife" of Abraham; and some have supposed that she was a legitimate wife, married to Abraham after the death of Sarah (Gesenius, &c.). But this passage, and Gen. xxv. 6, sufficiently prove that the position of Keturah was not that of the full wife, but of the "secondary" or "concubine wife" (Jud. xix. 1) so common among Orientals.

33. *The sons of Midian.*] Again the text of Genesis is exactly followed (Gen. xxv. 2-4), there being no such difference in the names as would appear from the A. V., where "Henoch" and "Abida" replace in Chronicles the more accurate "Hanoch" and "Abidah" of the earlier passage.

35. *The sons of Esau.*] This list agrees exactly with Gen. xxxvi. 10, and 14, from which it seems to have been taken.

36. *Zephi.*] The "Zepho" of Gen. xxxvi. 11 becomes here Zephi, as "Obal" became "Ebal"—the *vau* of the older writer being in each case replaced by a *yod*. (See note on verses 18-23.)

and Timna.] Here there is something more than a difference of orthography between Chronicles and Genesis. In Gen. xxxvi. Eliphaz has no son Timna; but he has a concubine of the name, who is the mother of Amalek. Various explanations of the difficulty have been offered. Some suppose that, besides his concubine Timna, Eliphaz had a son of the same name, omitted by the writer of Genesis, which is possible, but certainly not probable. Others (Patrick) argue that "and Timna and Amalek" is a "short form of speech," meaning "and, of Timna, Amalek:" but this view is quite untenable. Probably the best explanation is, that the writer has in his mind rather the tribes descended from Eliphaz than his actual children, and as there was a place, Timna, inhabited by his "descendants" (see below, verse 51), puts the race which lived there among his "sons."

37. *The sons of Reuel.*] The list agrees exactly with Gen. xxxvi. 13.

38. *The sons of Seir.*] On "Seir the Horite," see note on Gen. xxxvi. 20. The list of his sons is identical with that given in Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21.

39. *Homam.*] Here the writer replaces the *yod* of Genesis with a *vau*, turning "Hemam" into "Homam." Differences of this kind in the vocalisation of names are regarded by the Orientals as unimportant.

Timna was Lotan's sister.] It is a reasonable conjecture (E. Poole in 'Dictionary of the Bible') that this Timna, one of the aboriginal inhabitants, was the person taken as a concubine by Eliphaz. (See above, note on verse 36.)

40. *The sons of Shobal.*] "Alian" and "Shephi" here replace "Alvan" and "Shepho" in Genesis (xxxvi. 23). In both cases the difference is the substitution of a *yod* for a *vau*. (Compare verse 36.)

Aiah.] The "Ajah" of Gen. xxxvi. 24 is merely another mode of representing the same Hebrew word.

41 The sons of Anah; [o]Dishon. And the sons of Dishon; [l]Amram, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran.

42 The sons of Ezer; Bilhan, and Zavan, *and* [l]Jakan. The sons of Dishan; Uz, and Aran.

43 ¶ Now these *are* the [p]kings that reigned in the land of Edom before *any* king reigned over the children of Israel; Bela the son of Beor: and the name of his city *was* Dinhabah.

44 And when Bela was dead, Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead.

45 And when Jobab was dead, Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead.

46 And when Husham was dead, Hadad the son of Bedad, which smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city *was* Avith.

47 And when Hadad was dead, Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead.

48 [q]And when Samlah was dead, Shaul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead.

49 And when Shaul was dead, Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead.

50 And when Baal-hanan was dead, [l]Hadad reigned in his stead: and the name of his city *was* [l]Pai; and his wife's name *was* Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.

51 ¶ Hadad died also. And the [a]dukes of Edom were; duke Timnah, duke Aliah, duke Jetheth,

52 Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon,

53 Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar,

54 Duke Magdiel, duke Iram. These *are* the dukes of Edom.

o ch. 2. 31.
l Or, *Hemdan*, Gen. 36. 26.
l Or, *Achan*, Gen. 36. 27.
p Gen. 36. 31.
q Gen. 36. 37.
l Or, *Hadar*, Gen. 36. 39.
l Or, *Pau*, Gen. 36. 39.
a Gen. 36. 40.

41. *Amram.*] Rather "**Hamran.**" In Genesis xxxvi. 26, the name of the first-born son of Dishon is given as "Hemdan;" which seems a very different word from this. In the original, however, the names in the two places differ only by one letter, a *resh* in Chronicles replacing the *daleth* of Genesis. (See note A at the end of the chapter.)

42. *The sons of Ezer.*] For "Zavan" here, it would be better to write "Zaavan," as in Gen. xxxvi. 27; and for "Jakan" the true reading is almost certainly, as in Genesis, Akan. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

43-54. These verses are almost an exact repetition of Gen. xxxvi. 31-43. The only differences are, 1. The omission of two unimportant words of verse 32, and again of verse 39; 2. Four slight variations in the names, viz., a different vocalisation of Husham (verse 45), "Hadad" for "Hadar" (verse 50), "Pai" for "Pau" (ibid.), and "Aliah" for "Aloah" (verse 51); 3. The insertion of the words "Hadad died also" (verse 51); 4. A brief introduction to the list of "dukes" (ibid.); and 5. The omission of the last two clauses of Gen. xxxvi. 43. Altogether the differences are such as to make the transference of the passage from Chronicles to Genesis (suggested by Kennicott) highly improbable, and to favour the view, that the writer of Chronicles has here, as elsewhere, abridged from Genesis.

51. *Duke Timnah, duke Aliah, &c.*] Rather, "the duke of Timnah, the duke of Aliah, &c." (See note on Gen. xxxvi. 40).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 41 and 42.

NOTE A, on verse 41.

The name which our translators have here rendered Amram, is חמרן (Chamran), a name entirely different from that of the father of Moses, עמרם, and one that might easily pass into חמדן (Chemdan).

NOTE B, on verse 42.

This verse, according to the present text, runs as follows:—בני־אצר בלהן וזעון יעקן—"the sons of Ezer [were] Bilhan, and Zaavan, Jakan," which is an impossible construction. The first letter of "Jakan" should be changed from י into ך, when the passage would read, "the sons of Ezer were Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan." This is the reading of Gen. xxxvi. 27.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The sons of Israel.* 3 *The posterity of Judah by Tamar.* 13 *The children of Jesse.* 18 *The posterity of Caleb the son of Hezron.* 21 *Hezron's posterity by the daughter of Machir.* 25 *Jerahmeel's posterity.* 34 *Sheshan's posterity.* 42 *Another branch of Caleb's posterity.* 50 *The posterity of Caleb the son of Hur.*

THESE *are* the sons of ‖Israel; [b]Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun,

2 Dan, Joseph, and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher,

3 ¶ The sons of [c]Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah: *which* three were born unto him of the daughter of [d]Shua the Canaanitess. And Er, the firstborn of Judah, was evil in the sight of the LORD; and he slew him.

4 And [e]Tamar his daughter in law bare him Pharez and Zerah. All the sons of Judah *were* five.

5 The sons of [f]Pharez; Hezron, and Hamul.

6 And the sons of Zerah; ‖Zimri, and Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and ‖Dara: five of them in all.

7 And the sons of Carmi; ‖Achar, the troubler of Israel, who transgressed in the thing [h]accursed.

8 And the sons of Ethan; Azariah.

9 The sons also of Hezron, that were born unto him; Jerahmeel, and ‖Ram, and ‖Chelubai.

10 And Ram [i]begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children of Judah;

11 And Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma begat Boaz,

‖ Or, *Jacob.*
[b] Gen. 29. 32. & 30. 5. & 35. 18, 22. & 46. 8, &c.
[c] Gen. 38. 3. & 46. 12.
[d] Gen. 38. 2.
[e] Gen. 38. 29, 30. Matt. 1. 3.
[f] Ruth 4. 18.
‖ Or, *Zabdi,* Josh. 7. 1.
[g] 1 Kin. 4. 31.
‖ Or, *Darda.*
‖ Or, *Achan.*
[h] Josh. 6. 19. & 7. 1, 25.
‖ Or, *Aram,* Matt. 1. 3
‖ Or, *Caleb,* ver. 18.
[i] Ruth 4. 19.

CHAP. II. 1. *The sons of Israel.*] The order of the names here is not very easy to explain. It is not the order of seniority (see Gen. xxix. 32-35; xxx. 6-24); nor is it an order determined by legitimacy of birth, since Dan, the son of Billah, precedes Joseph and Benjamin, the sons of Rachel. It approximates, however, to this latter order, since a single change—the removal of Dan to the place after Benjamin—would give the following result:—

1. The six sons of the first wife, Leah.
2. The two sons of the second wife, Rachel.
3. The two sons of the first concubine, Bilhah.
4. The two sons of the second concubine, Zilpah.

Dan's undue prominency may, perhaps, be accounted for by his occupying the seventh place in the "blessing of Jacob" (Gen. xlix. 16).

3, 4. *The sons of Judah, &c.*] This account is abridged from Gen. xxxviii., with which it agrees in all respects. The names, Shua (or Shuah), and Zerah (or Zarah) are identical in the Hebrew, and are best expressed in Genesis.

5. *The sons of Pharez.*] Compare Gen. xlvi. 12.

6. *The sons of Zerah.*] Here, for the first time, the writer of Chronicles draws from sources not otherwise known to us, recording facts not mentioned in the earlier Scriptures. Zimri, indeed, the eldest of the sons of Zerah, is probably identical with the Zabdi of Josh. vii. 1 (mentioned as an ancestor of Achan), the name having suffered corruption in one or other of the two places; but "Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara," sons of Zerah, are only known to us from this passage, since there are no sufficient grounds for identifying them with the "Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, sons of Mahol," of 1 K. iv. 31. (See note ad loc.).

7. *The sons of Carmi, Achar.*] As Carmi has not been mentioned before, it is suspected that a short clause has here fallen out, to the effect that "Carmi was the son of Zimri" (Houbigant, Geddes, Boothroyd). But perhaps the writer regarded the genealogy of "Achar (Achan) the troubler of Israel," as so well known that he could here omit a link without danger.

Achar.] The "Achan" of Joshua vii. seems to have become "Achar," in order to assimilate the word more closely to the Hebrew term for "troubler" (*Ocher*), which was from the time of Achan's sin regarded as the true meaning of his name. (See Josh. vii. 25 and 26.)

8-12. Azariah, the son of Ethan, Jerahmeel, the son of Hezron, and Chelubai (or Caleb), the son of Hezron, are known to us only from Chronicles. The remaining names of the genealogy occur also in Ruth iv. 19-22, and Matt. i. 3-5. Jerahmeel's descendants, the Jerahmeelites, are mentioned in 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, and xxx. 29.

10. *Nahshon, prince of the children of Judah.*] See Num. i. 7, and ii. 3.

11. *Salma.*] The name is spelt in three

12 And Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse,

13 ¶ [k] And Jesse begat his firstborn Eliab, and Abinadab the second, and [l] Shimma the third,

14 Nethaneel the fourth, Raddai the fifth,

15 Ozem the sixth, David the seventh:

16 Whose sisters *were* Zeruiah, and Abigail. And the sons of Zeruiah; Abishai, and Joab, and Asahel, three.

17 And Abigail bare Amasa: and the father of Amasa *was* Jether the Ishmeelite.

18 ¶ And Caleb the son of Hezron begat *children* of Azubah *his* wife, and of Jerioth: her sons *are* these; Jesher, and Shobab, and Ardon.

19 And when Azubah was dead, Caleb took unto him Ephrath, which bare him Hur.

20 And Hur begat Uri, and Uri begat [t] Bezaleel.

21 ¶ And afterward Hezron went in to the daughter of Machir the fa-

[k] 1 Sam. 16. 6.

[l] Or, *Shammah*, 1 Sam. 16. 9.

[t] Ex. 31. 2.

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ways, Salma, Salmah, and Salmon. The forms "Salmah," and "Salmon" are both given in Ruth iv., and in two consecutive verses (20 and 21); whence it would seem that they were regarded as mere variants. "Salma" for "Salmah" is in the manner of the writer of Chronicles, who often substitutes a final *alef* for a *he*. (See above, note on ch. i. 9.)

13-15. *Eliab, &c.*] The three eldest of the sons of Jesse are mentioned by name in 1 Sam. xvi. 6-9, and xvii. 13. The names of the next three occur only in this passage; unless, as some think, "Raddai" is the "Rei" of 1 K. i. 8.

Shimma.] This name, like that of Salma (verse 11), appears in three forms at least, Shammah (1 Sam. xvi. 9), Shimeah (2 Sam. xiii. 3), and Shimma. Possibly there is a fourth form of it in 1 K. i. 8, namely, Shimei.

15. *David the seventh.*] It appears from 1 Sam. xvi. 10-11, and xvii. 12, that Jesse had eight sons, of whom David was the youngest; and some think that the Elihu of 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, who is called "of the brethren of David," is the son missing from this list. The Syriac and Arabic versions even alter the present passage, and read "Ozem the sixth, Elihu the seventh, David the eighth." But it is more probable that Elihu is the same as Eliab (see below, note on ch. xxvii. 18), and that one of the sons shewn to Samuel at Bethlehem did not grow up.

16. *Whose sisters were Zeruiah and Abigail.*] Abigail seems to have been no more than half-sister to David, being the daughter, not of Jesse, but of a certain Nahash, whose widow Jesse took to wife (2 Sam. xvii. 25). As Abigail is called "Zeruiah's sister" (ibid.), it is natural to conclude that Zeruiah too, was a daughter of the same Nahash.

the sons of Zeruiah.] Compare 2 Sam. ii. 18; where, however, Joab is placed first. It may be suspected from the present passage, and from the fact that Abishai joins David as a comrade in arms before Joab (1 Sam. xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 13), that, although Joab was pre-eminent among the three, Abishai was the eldest.

17. *Jether the Ishmeelite.*] Compare 2 Sam. xvii. 25. In that passage, Jether (called Ithra) is said to have been an "Israelite." But there can be little doubt that the "Ishmaelite" of Chronicles is right; since, had Jether been an Israelite, the fact would not have been worth recording.

18. In the remainder of this chapter the writer obtains scarcely any assistance from the earlier Scriptures, and must have drawn almost entirely from genealogical sources, accessible to him, which have since perished.

Caleb.] The "Caleb" of this verse is to be identified with the "Chelubai" of verse 9. The consonants of the two forms are the same. (See note A at the end of the chapter.)

begat children of Azubah his wife.] The phrase here used is difficult, and scarcely intelligible. Probably there is some corruption; but the true meaning of the writer seems to have been seized by our translators. Azubah was Caleb's wife; Jerioth his concubine. He had children by both; but those of Azubah are alone recorded.

20. *Bezaleel.*] This is the famous artificer of the tabernacle, as appears by Ex. xxxi. 2, where the father of the artificer, Uri, and his grandfather, Hur, are mentioned.

21. *Machir.*] "Machir, the father of Gilead," who is mentioned in Num. xxvii. 1, and Josh. xvii. 1, was a son of Manasseh (Gen. l. 23), and is said in Josh. xvii. 1 to have been Manasseh's first-born. His mother was an "Aramitess," *i.e.* a Syrian woman (1 Chr.

† Heb. *took*

ther of Gilead, whom he †married when he *was* threescore years old; and she bare him Segub.

22 And Segub begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead.

m Num. 32. 41. Deut. 3. 14. Josh. 13. 30.

23 m And he took Geshur, and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, *even* threescore cities. All these *belonged to* the sons of Machir the father of Gilead.

24 And after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-Ephratah, then Abiah Hezron's wife bare him Ashur the father of Tekoa.

25 ¶ And the sons of Jerahmeel the firstborn of Hezron were, Ram the firstborn, and Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem, *and* Ahijah.

26 Jerahmeel had also another wife, whose name *was* Atarah; she *was* the mother of Onam.

27 And the sons of Ram the firstborn of Jerahmeel were, Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker.

28 And the sons of Onam were, Shammai, and Jada. And the sons

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vii. 14), who was not Manasseh's wife, but his concubine.

22. *Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead.*] These are the places called "Havoth-Jair" in the earlier Scriptures (Num. xxxii. 41; Judges x. 4), which appear to have been a number of "small towns," or villages, in the *Ledjah*, the classical "Trachonitis." These places were captured by Jair during the lifetime of Moses (Num. l. s. c.), and were called by him after his name. Their number which (according to this passage) was 23, is said in Judges (l. s. c.) to have been 30; and in Joshua xiii. 30 sixty. It is easily conceivable that, as the "Havoth" were properly "villages" or "small hamlets," it might be difficult exactly to fix their number.

23. *And he took Geshur and Aram, &c.*] Rather "**And Geshur and Aram** (*i.e.* the Geshurites and Syrians) **took the villages of Jair from them:**" recovered, that is, from the new settlers the places which Jair had conquered. On the Geshurites, see note on Deut. iii. 14. The time of the recovery is uncertain.

Kenath.] Kenath is probably the modern *Kenawat*, a ruined town at the southern extremity of the Ledjah, about 20 miles north-east of Busrah (Bozra). In the time of Eusebius it was called Kanatha. (Cf. 'Onomasticon'.) See note on Num. xxxii. 42.

and the towns thereof.] Literally "and his daughters." It was usual to call dependant cities by this name. (See Num. xxi. 25; Ezek. xvi. 46.) Compare the use of the Greek μητρόπολις.

all these belonged to the sons of Machir.] Rather "All these **were sons** of Machir." Segub and Jair, *i.e.* with their descendants, were reckoned sons of Machir, rather than sons of Hezron, although only descended from Machir on the mother's side. The reason of this seems to have been that they cast in their lot with the Manassites, and remained in their portion of the trans-Jordanic region. There is abundant proof in the earlier Scriptures that Jair was reckoned to the tribe of Manasseh. (See Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30.)

24. *Caleb-Ephratah.*] As we do not hear elsewhere of this place, and as Hezron must almost certainly have died in Egypt, most commentators suspect some corruption here: but no one has as yet proposed a satisfactory emendation of the passage.

Abiah.] Abiah is probably the "daughter of Machir the father of Gilead," mentioned in verse 21.

Ashur, the father of Tekoa.] Ashur is only mentioned here, and in ch. iv. 5. Tekoa is probably the famous city of southern Judah, whereof Ashur was "father," or founder.

25. *The sons of Jerahmeel.*] See above, verse 9. The genealogy of the descendants of Jerahmeel is entirely new, and does not even receive any illustration from the rest of Scripture.

and Ahijah.] There is no "and" in the original; and, though some connective must certainly have fallen out, it is doubtful whether the *lacuna* is properly filled by the *vau* conjunctive. The suggestion of Bertheau seems preferable—that the real omission is that of the particle *m*. The meaning would then be that Ram, and Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem, were born "of" or "from Ahijah," the first wife of Jerahmeel. Some mention of the first wife is required to give point to the statement in the next verse, that "Jerahmeel had *also another* wife, whose name was Atarah."

of Shammai; Nadab, and Abishur.

29 And the name of the wife of Abishur *was* Abihail, and she bare him Ahban, and Molid.

30 And the sons of Nadab; Seled, and Appaim: but Seled died without children.

31 And the sons of Appaim; Ishi. And the sons of Ishi; Sheshan. And the children of Sheshan; Ahlai.

32 And the sons of Jada the brother of Shammai; Jether, and Jonathan: and Jether died without children.

33 And the sons of Jonathan; Peleth, and Zaza. These were the sons of Jerahmeel.

34 ¶ Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name *was* Jarha.

35 And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him Attai.

36 And Attai begat Nathan, and Nathan begat [n]Zabad,

37 And Zabad begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed,

38 And Obed begat Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah,

39 And Azariah begat Helez, and Helez begat Eleasah,

40 And Eleasar begat Sisamai, and Sisamai begat Shallum,

41 And Shallum begat Jekamiah, and Jekamiah begat Elishama.

42 ¶ Now the sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel *were*, Mesha his firstborn, which *was* the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron.

43 And the sons of Hebron; Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema.

44 And Shema begat Raham, the father of Jorkoam: and Rekem begat Shammai.

45 And the son of Shammai *was* Maon: and Maon *was* the father of Beth-zur.

46 And Ephah, Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and Moza, and Gazez: and Haran begat Gazez.

[n] ch. 11. 41.

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34. *Sheshan had no sons.*] In verse 31 Sheshan was said to have had a son, Ahlai. It is probable that Ahlai had died without issue, before Sheshan married his daughter to Jarha.

42. *The sons of Caleb.*] We have here a third line of descent from Caleb, the son of Hezron, the issue probably of a different mother, perhaps Jerioth (see verse 18).

Mesha.] The LXX. read "Mareshah" instead of Mesha, as in the last clause of the verse. This clears the sense, though it does not remove all difficulty.

the father of Ziph.] *I. e.* "the prince of Ziph" (Patrick); or "the progenitor of the Ziphites."

the sons of Mareshah, &c.] Something has probably fallen out here. Houbigant would supply "Ziph" after the word meaning "sons of," and read the entire passage "Mesha, the father of Ziph; and the sons of Ziph, Mareshah, the father of Hebron." He would thus count five generations from Caleb to Hebron (as in List I.). Perhaps, however, it would be better to supply the word "Ziph" *before Hebron*, and to translate "Mareshah, the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Ziph, Hebron." The generations from Caleb to Hebron would then be three (as in List II.):—

I.	II.
Caleb.	Caleb.
Mesha.	Mareshah (prince of Ziph).
Ziph.	Hebron.
Mareshah.	
Hebron.	

See note B at the end of the chapter.

44. *The father of Jorkoam.*] Jorkoam is probably, like Ziph, a place where Raham settled. (So Jarchi.)

45. *The father of Beth-zur.*] Beth-zur, by the form of the word, is certainly a place where Maon settled. It is mentioned in Josh. xv. 58; 2 Chr. xi. 7; Neh. iii. 16; and often in the Books of Maccabees.

46. *Gazez.*] "Jahdai" ought probably to be substituted for "Gazez," in one or other of the two places where Gazez occurs in this verse. The genealogy will then run on, whereas now it is interrupted.

47 And the sons of Jahdai: Regem, and Jotham, and Gesham, and Pelet, and Ephah, and Shaaph.

48 Maachah, Caleb's concubine, bare Sheber, and Tirhanah.

49 She bare also Shaaph the father of Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbenah, and the father of Gibea: and the daughter of Caleb *was* Achsa.

[o] Josh. 15. 17.

50 ¶ These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah; Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim,

51 Salma the father of Beth-lehem, Hareph the father of Beth-gader.

52 And Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim had sons; ‖Haroeh, *and* ‖half of the Manahethites.

‖ Or, *Reaiah*, ch. 4. 2.

‖ Or, *half of the Menuchites*, or, *Hatshammenuchoth*.

53 And the families of Kirjath-jearim; the Ithrites, and the Puhites, and the Shumathites, and the Mishraites; of them came the Zareathites, and the Eshtaulites.

‖ Or, *Atarites*, or, *crowns of the house of Joab*.

54 The sons of Salma; Beth-lehem, and the Netophathites, ‖Ataroth,

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49. *Madmannah, &c.*] Madmannah, Machbenah, and Gibea, are undoubtedly places. The first is mentioned in Josh. xv. 31, in combination with Hormah, Ziklag, and other cities of southern Judah, and is probably the modern *El-Minyay* (Robinson, i. p. 602). Machbenah is unknown. Gibea is no doubt one of the Gibeahs, probably that coupled with Maon, Ziph, and Timnah in Josh. xv. 55-57.

Achsa.] Achsa, or Achsah, was the name of the daughter of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, whom Othniel took to wife (Josh. xv. 16-17). But the Achsa here mentioned must, it would seem, be a daughter of Caleb, the son of Hezron.

50. *These were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur.*] That there is some corruption here is evident, since Hur was the son, not the father, of Caleb (see above, verse 19). Some propose to get rid of the difficulty by transposing the two names, and reading, "These were the sons of Hur, the son of Caleb" (So Houbigant, Geddes, and Boothroyd.) But it is, perhaps, better to make a less violent alteration. If (with Bertheau) we read *beni*, "sons" for *ben*, "son," before the word Hur, all difficulty will disappear, and we shall have the following sense:—"These (the list in verses 42-49) were the sons of Caleb. The sons of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah, were Shobal . . . Salma . . . Hareph." The clause, "These were the sons of Caleb," corresponds exactly to that which concludes the genealogy of Jerahmeel (verse 33), and properly belongs to what has gone before, not to what follows.

Ephratah.] Or "Ephrath" (verse 19). The change of form probably indicates that the genealogies (verses 19-20, and 50-52) came from different sources.

the father of Kirjath-jearim.] Again we have unmistakeable names of places in the list, names which it is not probable were ever borne by persons. On the position of Kirjath-jearim, see note on Josh. ix. 17.

51. *Beth-gader.*] Beth-gader is probably the place called Gedor in Josh. xv. 58, and united with Halhul and Beth-zur, which is generally regarded as the modern *Jedur*, half-way between Bethlehem and Hebron ('Robinson,' iii. p. 283).

52. *Haroeh.*] Called "Reaiah" in ch. iv. 2, which is probably the true reading. (See note C at the end of the chapter.)

half of the Manahethites.] This passage has been much disputed, but our translators seem to have seized its true meaning. The descendants of Shobal and Salma conjointly peopled Manaheth (see verse 54), which is probably not the Benjamite town (infra, ch. viii. 6), but a city of the same name in Judah.

53. *The families of Kirjath-jearim.*] Of these families one only—that of the Ithrites—is elsewhere mentioned. (See 1 S. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40.)

of them.] *I.e.* of the Mishraites.

the Zareathites.] The inhabitants of Zoreah, or Zareah, a city of the Shephelah, or low coast tract belonging to Judah, which in our version is commonly called Zorah (Josh. xix. 41; Judg. xiii. 25, xvi. 31, &c.).

the Eshtaulites.] The inhabitants of Eshtaol, which was a town near Zareah, almost always joined with it in Scripture (See Josh. xv. 33, xix. 41; Judg. xiii. 25, &c.).

54. *Bethlehem.*] *I.e.* the inhabitants of Bethlehem.

the Netophathites.] Netophah was a town of Judah in the vicinity of Bethlehem. (See Ezra, ii. 21, 22; Neh. vii. 26.) Its inhabitants, the Netophathites, are mentioned 2 S. xxiii. 28, 29; 2 K. xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8, &c.

Ataroth, the house of Joab.] Most modern commentators regard "Ataroth-beth-Joab"

the house of Joab, and half of the Manahethites, the Zorites.

55 And the families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez; the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, *and* Suchathites. These *are* the [a]Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of [b]Rechab.

[a] Judg. 1. 16.
[b] Jer. 35. 2.

as the name of a place, otherwise unknown to us, which must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and which was peopled by the descendants of Salma. Ataroth-beth-Joab was probably so called, to distinguish it from Ataroth-Adar, a city of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 13). It is uncertain from what Joab it derived its distinctive appellation.

the Zorites.] Of this people nothing is known. They are probably distinct from the Zareathites of the preceding verse.

55. *Jabez.*] This place is nowhere else mentioned. Probably it derived its name from the "Jabez" of the fourth chapter (verses 9 and 10).

the Tirathites, &c.] These words have been interpreted to mean "the singers, the loud speakers, and the dwellers in tents" (see Bertheau); but it may be doubted whether the words can be regarded as anything more than mere proper names.

These are the Kenites.] It is remarkable that Kenites—people of a race quite distinct from the Israelites (Gen. xv. 19)—should be attached to, and, as it were, included in the descendants of Judah. It seems, however, that the friendly feeling between the two tribes—based on the conduct of the Kenites at the time of the Exodus (Ex. xviii. 10-19; Num. x. 29-32; 1 S. xv. 6)—led to their intermixture and almost amalgamation with the Israelites, Kenite families not only dwelling among them but being actually regarded as of one blood with them.

that came of Hemath.] Descendants, *i.e.* of a certain Hemath, or rather Hammath, of whom nothing else is known.

the father of the house of Rechab.] Or, "the progenitor of the Rechabites." On the Rechabites, who retained to a late date (Jer. xxxv. 10) the nomadic habits of their old Kenite ancestors, see note on 2 K. x. 15.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 18, 42, and 52.

NOTE A, on verse 18.

In the Hebrew "Caleb" is כלב, while "Chelubai" is כלובי, two vowels being added, but the consonants being the same in each.

NOTE B, on verse 42.

The present text is—

ובני כלב . . . מישע בכרו הוא אבי־זיף ובני מרשה אבי חברון:

Houbigant would read—

ובני כלב . . . מישע בכרו הוא אבי־זיף ובני זיף מרשה אבי הברון:

The other reading suggested is—

ובני כלב . . . מרשה בכרו הוא אבי־זיף ובני מרשה אבי זיף חברון:

NOTE C, on verse 52.

Haroeh, הראה, which means "the seer," is not likely to have been given as a name to any man. Reaiah, ראיה, which means "Jehovah sees," is suitable as a name, and occurs elsewhere (Ezr. ii. 47; Neh. vii. 50).

CHAPTER III.

1 *The sons of David.* 10 *His line to Zedekiah.* 17 *The successors of Jeconiah.*

NOW these were the sons of David, which were born unto him in Hebron; the firstborn [c]Amnon, of Ahinoam the [d]Jezreelitess; the second [‖]Daniel, of Abigail the Carmelitess:

2 The third, Absalom the son of Maachah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur: the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith:

[c] 2 Sam. 3. 2.
[d] Jos. 15. 56.
[‖] Or, *Chileab*, 2 Sam. 3. 3.

CHAP. III. 1. *The sons of David.*] Having completed his account of the descendants of Jerahmeel and Caleb, the writer returns to the point at which he had left the posterity of Ram (ch. ii. 15), and traces out the family of David—the royal house of the tribe of Judah. In his account of the sons of David he follows closely 2 S. iii. 2-5, only altering

3 The fifth, Shephatiah of Abital: the sixth, Ithream by [e] Eglah his wife.

4 *These* six were born unto him in Hebron; and there he reigned seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years.

5 [f] And these were born unto him in Jerusalem; ‖Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, four, of ‖Bath-shua the daughter of ‖Ammiel:

6 Ibhar also, and ‖Elishama, and Eliphelet,

7 And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia,

8 And Elishama, and ‖Eliada, and Eliphelet, nine.

9 *These were* all the sons of David, beside the sons of the concubines, and [g] Tamar their sister.

10 ¶ And Solomon's son *was* [h] Rehoboam, ‖Abia his son, Asa his son, Jehoshaphat his son,

11 Joram his son, ‖Ahaziah his son, Joash his son,

12 Amaziah his son, ‖Azariah his son, Jotham his son,

[e] 2 Sam. 3. 5.
[f] 2 Sam. 5. 14.
‖ Or, *Shammua*, 2 Sam. 5. 14.
‖ Or, *Bath-sheba*, 2 Sam. 11. 3.
‖ Or, *Eliam*, 2 Sam. 11. 3.
‖ Or, *Elishua*, 2 Sam. 5. 15.
‖ Or, *Beeliada*, ch. 14. 7.
[g] 2 Sam. 13. 1.
[h] 1 Kin. 11. 43. & 15. 6.
‖ Or. *Abijam*, 1 Kin. 15. 1.
‖ Or, *Azariah*, 2 Chr. 22. 6. & 21. 17.
‖ Or, *Uzziah*, 2 Ki. 15. 30.

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very slightly the forms of a very few names, and in *one* instance substituting—as his text now stands—a quite different appellation (See the next note).

Daniel.] Called "Chileab" in 2 S. iii. 3. It has been argued that he bore both names (Patrick, A. Clarke, Jarchi); but, as Houbigant observes, the forms and number of the letters in the two names are sufficiently near in the original to suggest corruption. (See note A at the end of the chapter.) Indeed it is clear that some third form must also have existed to produce the Septuagint Daluiah (Δαλουία), which has the first consonant of "Daniel," the second of "Chileab," and a termination quite different from either.

4. *There he reigned seven years and six months.*] See 2 S. ii. 11, v. 5; 1 K. ii. 11.

5. *These were born unto him in Jerusalem.*] The list of sons here given differs in several respects both from that in 2 S. v. 14-16, and from that given below, ch. xiv. 4-7, as will be best seen by placing the three in parallel columns:—

SONS OF DAVID, BORN IN JERUSALEM.

	I. 2 S. v. 14-16.	II. 1 Chr. iii. 5-8.	III. 1 Chr. xiv. 4-7.
1.	Shammuah	Shimeah*	Shammuah.
2.	Shobab	Shobab	Shobab.
3.	Nathan	Nathan	Nathan.
4.	Solomon	Solomon	Solomon.
5.	Ibhar	Ibhar	Ibhar.
6.	Elishua	Elishama*	Elishua.
7.		Eliphelet*	Elpalet.*
8.		Nogah*	Nogah.*
9.	Nepheg	Nepheg	Nepheg.
10.	Japhia	Japhia	Japhia.
11.	Elishama	Elishama	Elishama.
12.	Eliada	Eliada	Beeliada.*
13.	Eliphelet	Eliphelet	Eliphelet.

(Differences are marked with an asterisk.)

A comparison of the three lists serves to show—1. That "Shimeah" for "Shammuah," and "Elishama" for "Elishua," in List II., are corruptions; 2. That David had really 13 sons born in Jerusalem, of whom two, the first Eliphelet (Elpalet of 1 Chr. xiv.) and Nogah probably died in their childhood; and 3. That Eliada, the twelfth son, was also called Beeliada, the term *Baal*, "lord," not having (previous to the introduction of the Baal worship) a bad sense, but being regarded as an equivalent of *El*, "God." (Compare the "Elibus" of Polyhistor in Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 5, who is called "Belibus" by Ptolemy; and for the use of Baal as an element in Hebrew names, compare the Esh-baal and Merib-baal of 1 Chr. viii. 33, 34.)

Bathshua, the daughter of Ammiel.] Both names are here given in an unusual form, but it may be doubted whether in either case there has been any corruption. In "Bathshua," for "Bathsheba," a *vau* (*v*) replaces the *beth* (*b*) of the earlier writer, *v* and *b* having nearly the same sound. In "Ammiel," for "Eliam," the two elements which form the name are inverted, as in Jehoiachin = Jechoniah, Jehoahaz = Ahaziah, and the like.

10. *Abia.*] Rather "Abijah," as in 2 Chr. xi.-xiv., where the Hebrew word is exactly the same.

11. *Abaziah.*] Called "Jehoahaz" in 2 Chr. xxi. 17, by a transposition of the elements composing the name, and "Azariah" in 2 Chr. xxii. 6, probably by a transcriber's error.

12. *Azariah.*] Elsewhere in Chronicles called uniformly "Uzziah" (2 Chr. xxvi. 1, 3, 9, 11, &c.), but called indifferently "Azariah" and "Uzziah" in Kings ("Azariah" in 2 K. xiv. 21, xv. 1, 6, 17, 23, 27, &c.; "Uzziah" in xv. 13, 32, and 34).

13 Ahaz his son, Hezekiah his son, Manasseh his son,
14 Amon his son, Josiah his son.
15 And the sons of Josiah *were*, the firstborn ‖Johanan, the second ‖Jehoiakim, the third ‖Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.
16 And the sons of [i]Jehoiakim: ‖Jeconiah his son, Zedekiah [k]his son.
17 ¶ And the sons of Jeconiah; Assir, †Salathiel [l]his son,
18 Malchiram also, and Pedaiah, and Shenazar, Jecamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah.
19 And the sons of Pedaiah *were*, Zerubbabel, and Shimei: and the sons of Zerubbabel; Meshullam, and Hananiah, and Shelomith their sister:
20 And Hashubah, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, five.
21 And the sons of Hananiah; Pelatiah, and Jesaiah: the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the

‖ Or, *Jehoahaz*, 2 Ki. 23. 30.
‖ Or, *Eliakim*, 2 Ki. 23. 34.
‖ Or, *Mattaniah*, 2 Ki. 24. 17.
[i] Matt. 1. 11.
‖ Or, *Jehoiachin*, 2 Ki. 24. 6, or, *Coniah*, Jer. 22. 24.
[k] 2 Kin. 24. 17, being his uncle.
† Heb. *Shealtiel*.
[l] Matt. 1. 12.

15. *The sons of Josiah.*] From Kings we gather that Josiah had three sons, Jehoiakim or Eliakim (2 K. xxiii. 34), Jehoahaz (ib. verse 30), and Zedekiah (ib. xxiv. 17); of whom Jehoiakim was the eldest (compare 2 K. xxiii. 31 and 36). Jehoahaz appears, from Jer. xxii. 11, to have been also called "Shallum." Johanan, "the first-born," who is mentioned in this place only, must, it would seem, have died before his father, or with him at Megiddo.

the fourth Shallum.] According to the numbers in Kings (2 K. xxiii. 31, xxiv. 18), which are confirmed by 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2 and 11, Jehoahaz (or Shallum) was considerably older than Zedekiah, and was consequently the *third*, and not the *fourth*, son of Josiah. He is perhaps assigned the fourth place here by way of intentional degradation. (Compare Jer. xxii. 10-12; Ezek. xix. 3, 4.)

16. *Zedekiah.*] Some suppose the successor of Jeconiah, who was really Jehoiakim's brother, to be here called his "son," by a sort of legal fiction. But it is better to suppose another Zedekiah, the actual son of Jehoiakim, to be intended.

17. *The sons of Jeconiah, Assir.*] Some regard Assir, which means "captive," as in apposition with Jeconiah, and translate, "the sons of Jeconiah THE CAPTIVE;" but, if this had been intended, the word would have been preceded by the article. It is best therefore to regard Assir as a son of Jeconiah, born in the captivity, and therefore so named, who either died young, or was made a eunuch (Is. xxxix. 7). (This would sufficiently fulfil the prophecy, "Write this man *childless*, Jer. xxii. 30. Compare verse 28, where "his seed" is spoken of.) After Assir's decease, or mutilation, the line of Solomon became extinct, and according to the principles of the Jewish law (Num. xxvii. 8-11) the inheritance passed to the next of kin, who were Salathiel and his brethren, descendants from David by the line of Nathan.

Salathiel, his son.] St. Luke tells us that Salathiel was "the son of Neri" (iii. 27); and this must be regarded as his real, or natural, descent; since (as Bp. A. Hervey well observes, 'Dict. of Bible,' ad voc. SALATHIEL), "no genealogy would assign to the true son and heir of a king any inferior and private parentage."

18. *Malchiram also.*] When the line of Solomon failed, that of Nathan took its place, in such sort that, not Salathiel only, but his brothers also were reckoned "sons" of Jeconiah.

19. *The sons of Pedaiah, Zerubbabel.*] Zerubbabel is elsewhere always called "the son of Salathiel" (Ezra, iii. 2, 8, v. 2; Neh. xii. 1; Hag. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 23; Matt. i. 12; Luk. iii. 27). But it appears by this statement that he was only Salathiel's heir and legal son, being naturally his nephew, the son of his brother, Pedaiah.

21. *The sons of Hananiah.*] The Masoretic text has "son" here, instead of "sons;" but several MSS. give the reading adopted by our translators, which is that also of all the versions, and which is required by the context.

the sons of Rephaiah, &c.] The LXX. translate verse 21 thus:—"The sons of Hananiah, Pelatiah; and Jesaiah, his son; Rephaiah, his son; Arnan, his son; Obadiah, his son; Shechaniah, his son"—whereby Shechaniah is made the sixth descendant of Hananiah (compare verses 10-14). This version represents clearly a different text from the present one, in which *bĕno*, "his son," replaced throughout the present *bĕni*, "sons," occurring also at the close of the verse. As, by this change, the list of the descendants of Zerubbabel is carried down to (at least) the year B.C. 300, and the present

sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shechaniah.

22 And the sons of Shechaniah; Shemaiah: and the sons of Shemaiah; Hattush, and Igeal, and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six.

23 And the sons of Neariah; Elioenai, and †Hezekiah, and Azrikam, three. † Heb *Hizkijahu*

24 And the sons of Elioenai *were*, Hodaiah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Dalaiah, and Anani, seven.

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passage made considerably later than any other in the whole of the Old Testament, it seems better to retain the existing Hebrew text, and to regard Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shechaniah, as all, equally with Pelatiah and Jesaiah, sons of Hananiah—the unusual periphrasis, "sons of Rephaiah" being here employed because these were the great Davidic families of the writer's day (Bertheau), which the writer wished especially to refer to the stock of Zerubbabel through Hananiah.

22. *And the sons of Shechaniah, Shemaiah.*] It has been proposed to omit these words (Bp. A. Hervey), and to view the writer as returning in this verse to the "Shimei" of whom he spoke in verse 19, and proceeding in the remainder of the chapter to trace out his descendants. But the chronological considerations which have principally suggested such an alteration are not of sufficient force to justify so great a change. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

Hattush.] See Ezr. viii. 2, by which it appears probable that this Hattush accompanied Ezra when he went up from Babylon to Jerusalem.

six.] There are only five names in the Hebrew text, which makes it probable that a name has fallen out. The Syriac and Arabic versions supply the omission, since they give an "Azariah" between Neariah and Shaphat.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 1 and 19-24.

NOTE A, on verse 1.

Daniel has five letters, דניאל, Chileab four only, כלאב; but the additional letter in Daniel is the minute י. The marked letter, *alef*, so unlike any other, retains the same place in both names. The other three letters, though they have no close resemblance, are such as might interchange one with the other. (For another explanation of the origin of Chileab, see note on 2 Sam. iii. 3.)

NOTE B, verses 19-24. On the Descendants of Zerubbabel.

The question of the proper arrangement of this genealogy is important in its bearing on the interesting point of the time at which the Canon of the Old Testament was closed. It has been supposed that, unless we violently alter the text, we must accept the statement of Prideaux, that "the genealogy extends to so many generations as must make it reach to the time of Alexander the Great." (See Hervey, 'Genealogies of Our Lord,' p. 102.) But this statement is based on a very considerable over-estimate of the length of a generation among the Jews. The length has been taken as 30 years, which is found to be a fair estimate for the West, but which is quite unsupported by historical examples in the authentic records of the East. There the average of a generation, very little, if at all, exceeds twenty years.[1] Assuming this

[1] The line of the kings of Judah, from Rehoboam to Jehoiachin, where the chronology is evidently intended to be exact, gives 17 generations in 376 years, or an average of 22 years to a generation. That of the kings of Israel, from Jehu to Zechariah, gives 5 generations in 103 years, or an average of less than 21 years. That of the Israelite line, from Omri to Jehoram, gives 3 generations in 47 years, or an average of less than 16 years. So we find in the list of Assyrian kings, as given in the 'Canon,' six kings in a line of direct hereditary succession reigning from B.C. 911 to B.C. 781, or during the space of 130 years—average of the reigns, 21⅔ years. In the later Assyrian monarchy we have a direct succession of four kings —Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Saosduchinus—whose reigns cover a space of 77 years, which gives an average of 19 years to a generation. The Parthian dynasties give a similar result. In the first, that of Arsaces I., five generations occupy 128 years; in the second, that of Sanatrœces, five generations occupy 80 years; and in the third, that of Vonones II., seven generations occupy 176 years—total, seventeen generations in 384 years, or 21½ years to a generation. Even the European race of the Seleucidæ, when transplanted to Asia, conformed to the Asiatic rule, and had eleven generations in 247 years—average of a generation, 22½ years.

fact as a basis, we may show that the genealogy of the present chapter, drawn out according to the Hebrew text, does not descend below ab. B.C. 410, and thus falls within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah. See the following table:—

B.C. 538 to ab.	B.C. 520		Zerubbabel.
,, 520	,,	500	Hananiah.
,, 500	,,	480	Shechaniah.
,, 480	,,	460	Shemaiah.
,, 460	,,	440	Neariah.
,, 440	,,	420	Elioenai.
,, 420	,,	410	Hodaiah, &c.

With this chronology entirely accords the statement of Ezra, that among the sons of David who accompanied him to Jerusalem from Babylon, was "Hattush: of the sons of Shechaniah" (Ezr. viii. 2-3); for Hattush was an elder brother of Neariah, and the date of Ezra's journey was B.C. 459 or 458.

It has been urged that there can scarcely have been so many generations of the sons of David as six, between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, since the high priests after Jeshua, Zerubbabel's contemporary, had been but two, Joiakim and Eliashib. But, though Eliashib continued in life so late as B.C. 433 (Neh. xiii. 6-7), we know that he had at that time a married grandson (ib. verse 28); and he therefore may not improbably have had great grandchildren; so that, if an enumeration had then been given of the descendants of Jeshua, they must have been carried to the fourth, and might probably have been carried to the fifth generation—*i.e.* to one generation only short of the number, which is here found, in the genealogy of the sons of David.

Two further questions arise, if we arrange the genealogy as here proposed: (1.) Can it have been inserted by Ezra? (2.) If not, does it disprove the theory maintained as most probable in the 'Introduction,' that Ezra was the author of Chronicles?

(1.) It is not impossible that Ezra may have written the passage. All that we know of Ezra's date is, that he went up from Babylon to Jerusalem, being already a man of full age (implied in Ezr. vii. 6), in B.C. 458, and that he was still living in Jerusalem when Nehemiah dedicated the wall, B.C. 433 or 432 (Neh. xii. 36). It has been generally supposed that he died soon after this, during the absence of Nehemiah from Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 6). But this is really only a conjecture, based on the fact that he is not mentioned in Neh. xiii. We have no reason to suppose him more than thirty at the commencement of his ministry (B.C. 458 or 457), in which case he would have been only seventy-seven or seventy-eight in B.C. 410.

(2.) If, however, we regard it as most probable that Ezra died before B.C. 431, and so that the passage in question was not wholly written by him, we may still hold him to have composed the rest of Chronicles. Deuteronomy is by Moses, though the last chapter cannot be from his hand. The "dukes of Edom" might be an insertion into the text of Genesis without the authorship of the remainder of the work being affected by it. Nehemiah, or Malachi, may have carried on the descent of the "sons of David" as far as it had reached in their time, adding to the account given by Ezra one, or at the most two verses.

CHAPTER IV.

1, 11 The posterity of Judah by Caleb the son of Hur. 5 Of Ashur the posthumous son of Hezron. 9 Of Jabez, and his prayer. 21 The posterity of Shelah. 24 The posterity and cities of Simeon. 39 Their conquest of Gedor, and of the Amalekites in mount Seir.

THE sons of Judah; [m]Pharez, Hezron, and [l]Carmi, and Hur, and Shobal.

2 And [l]Reaiah the son of Shobal begat Jahath; and Jahath begat Ahumai, and Lahad. These *are* the families of the Zorathites.

[m] Gen. 38. 29. & 46. 12.

[l] Or, *Chelubai*, ch. 2. 9. or, *Caleb*, ch. 2. 18.

[l] Or, *Haroeh*, ch. 2. 52.

CHAP. IV. 1. *The sons of Judah, Pharez, Hezron, &c.*] The five names here given are all found among the descendants of Judah, but Pharez alone was actually his son. The remainder do not form a line of descent; and the principle on which they are united is obscure. Perhaps "Carmi" is a corruption of "Chelubai." In that case the five would form a continuous line of descent, the first four being Shobal's ancestors in their proper order. (See note on ch. ii. 50.)

2. *Reaiah.*] "Reaiah" is conjectured to be the same as "Haroeh," who was said in ch. ii. 52 to have been the son of Shobal. It is probably the true name of which Haroeh is a corruption. (See note C at the end of chapter ii.)

3 And these *were of* the father of Etam; Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash: and the name of their sister *was* Hazelelponi:

4 And Penuel the father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These *are* the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah, the father of Bethlehem.

[a] ch. 2. 24. 5 ¶ And [a]Ashur the father of Tekoa had two wives, Helah and Naarah.

6 And Naarah bare him Ahuzam, and Hepher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari. These *were* the sons of Naarah.

7 And the sons of Helah *were*, Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethnan.

8 And Coz begat Anub, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son of Harum.

9 ¶ And Jabez was more honourable than his brethren: and his mother called his name [‖]Jabez, saying, Because I bare him with sorrow.

[‖] That is, *Sorrowful.*

10 And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, [†]Oh that thou wouldest bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldest [†]keep *me* from evil, that it may not grieve me! And God granted him that which he requested.

[†] Heb. *If thou wilt,* &c.

[†] Heb. *do me.*

11 ¶ And Chelub the brother of Shuah begat Mehir, which *was* the father of Eshton.

12 And Eshton begat Beth-rapha, and Paseah, and Tehinnah the father

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the Zorathites.] Or "Zareathites." (See note on ch. ii. 53.)

3. *These were of the father of Etam.*] This meaning cannot be got from the present text, which is manifestly corrupt, the word "sons" having probably slipped out. If we supply it, the passage will run, "These are the sons of the father (*i.e.* chief) of Etam." (See note A at the end of the chapter.)

Etam.] Not the "Etam" of verse 32, which belonged to Simeon, but that of ch. xi. 6, which was a city of Judah, not far from Bethlehem.

4. *Gedor—Hushah.*] Hushah and Gedor are both, no doubt, places. Gedor is probably the Beth-gader of ch. ii. 51. (See note ad loc.) Hushah is otherwise unknown to us; but we have an indication of such a place in the term "Hushathite," which occurs in the list of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 27; 1 Chr. xi. 29).

Hur, the father of Bethlehem.] Hur appears by this passage to have been "chief of Bethlehem" before Salma, his son, on whom he devolved the title (ii. 51).

5. *Ashur, the father of Tekoa.*] Another line of descent from Hezron is now taken up from ch. ii., namely that of his posthumous son, Ashur (ii. 24).

8. *And Coz.*] It is thought by some that these words were in the original twice, at the close of verse 7, and again at the commencement of verse 8. Otherwise, they argue, Coz is suddenly introduced to us without our being told who he was, or what was his position in the genealogical lists. But as such sudden introductions occur too frequently to allow us to suppose an accidental omission in every instance, it is perhaps better (unless we have special grounds) not to make such supposition in any case. (See ch. ii. 7, where Carmi comes in with the same abruptness, and compare below, verses 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, &c.)

9. *Jabez.*] Nothing more is known of this Jabez, or of his brethren. It is certainly remarkable that he should be introduced without description, or patronymic, as if a well-known personage. We can only suppose that he was known to those for whom Chronicles was written, either by tradition, or by writings which have perished.

10. *That it may not grieve me.*] Jabez in these words alludes to his name, which means "sorrowful": "Grant that the grief implied in my name may not come upon me!"

11. *Chelub the brother of Shuah.*] Or, according to some MSS., "the son of Shuah." Chelub has not been mentioned previously, nor Shuah, unless he is the "Shua" of ch. ii. 3.

the father of Eshton.] Eshton would seem by the next verse to have been a person. Nothing is known of him or of his sons.

12. *Beth-rapha.*] Beth-rapha can scarcely have been a man's name, any more than Beth-lehem (ch. ii. 54). We must understand a son (un-named), from whom the people of Beth-rapha were descended. The place is not elsewhere mentioned.

of ‖Irnahash. These *are* the men of Rechah.

13 And the sons of Kenaz; Othniel, and Seraiah: and the sons of Othniel; ‖Hathath.

14 And Meonothai begat Ophrah: and Seraiah begat Joab, the father of the ‖valley of ‖Charashim; for they were craftsmen.

15 And the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh; Iru, Elah, and Naam: and the sons of Elah, ‖even Kenaz.

16 And the sons of Jehaleleel; Ziph, and Ziphah, Tiria, and Asareel.

17 And the sons of Ezra *were*, Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon: and she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshtemoa.

18 And his wife ‖Jehudijah bare Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these *are* the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.

‖ Or *The city of Nahash.*

‖ Or, *Hathath, and Meonothai,* who *begat,* &c.

‖ Or, inhabitants *of the valley.*

‖ That is, *Craftsmen.*

‖ Or, *Uknaz.*

‖ Or, *The Jewess.*

Ir-nahash.] Ir-nahash, "the serpent city," was, according to St. Jerome, the same as Bethlehem (*Quæst. Hebr. ad loc.*). But this is questionable.

Rechah.] Rechah, like all the other names in this genealogy, is wholly unknown. It has been conjectured (Grove) from the strangeness of all the names in this list, that we have here "a fragment of Canaanite record," connected with the family of the "Shua," whose daughter Judah took to wife (Gen. xxxviii. 2; 1 Chr. ii. 3), and whose family thus became related to the tribe of Judah. This is not improbable, though the names of the two Shuahs (Gen. l. s. c. and above, verse 11) are not spelt alike.

13. *The sons of Kenaz.*] Kenaz is mentioned in Joshua (xv. 17), and repeatedly in Judges (i. 13; iii. 9, 11) as the father of Othniel, and (according to some) as the younger brother of Caleb. Some, however, think that the words "Caleb's younger brother," refer to Othniel himself (see note on Josh. xv. 17); and that Kenaz was a remote ancestor of both Othniel and Caleb—whence Caleb was known as "the Kenezite" (Num. xxxii. 12). This ancestor may perhaps have been the "duke of Edom" mentioned in ch. i. 53 and in Gen. xxxvi. 42.

the sons of Othniel, Hathath (marg. *Hathath and Meonothai*).] Here there is more reason than elsewhere for supposing that something has fallen out. The mention of Seraiah in the next clause shews that the descent of the sons of Kenaz is being continued, and that a new line is not begun. The words "and Meonothai" should therefore be added to 13; but they should be retained also at the commencement of verse 14.

15. *Even Kenaz* (marg. *Uknaz.*)] The Hebrew idiom will not allow the rendering of the text. We must either translate as in the margin, or suppose a name (Jehaleleel?) to have fallen out after Elah, and render "the sons of Elah, Jehaleleel (?) and Kenaz."

17. *Ezra.*] Rather "Ezrah."

she bare Miriam.] The absence of any antecedent to "she," and the unusual verb (*thahar* "she conceived" for *theled* "she bare") indicate a corruption of the text, which is shewn also by the reading of the Septuagint, "and Jether begat Miriam." But it seems impossible to restore the original text with any certainty.

Eshtimoa.] This is no doubt the Eshtimoh of Josh. xv. 50, one of the mountain cities of Judah (compare 1 Sam. xxx. 28), which is probably the modern *Semu'ah* (Robinson, i. p. 494).

18. *His wife.*] There is no distinct antecedent to "his," but we may gather from the latter part of the verse that Mered's wife is intended. Mered, it would seem, had two wives, Bithiah, an Egyptian woman, and a Jewish wife, whose name is not given.

Jehudijah.] (marg., *the Jewish*). The marginal is undoubtedly the correct rendering.

Gedor.] Compare above, verse 4.

Socho.] "Socho" is probably the same as "Socoh." (See Josh. xv. 48, where both readings occur.) There were two cities of the name in Judah, the one here intended being probably that in the mountain country, which in Josh. xv. is coupled with Eshtimoh. This place is now *esh-Shuweikeh* (Robinson, l. s. c.).

Zanoah.] Also mentioned among the southern cities of Judah in Joshua (xv. 56); identified by Robinson with *Zau'ntah* (ii. p. 204).

these are the sons of Bithiah.] It is generally supposed that the "sons" intended are the "Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah" of the last verse. Some would remove this whole passage from its present place, and arrange the two verses as follows:—

"And the sons of Ezrah were Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon. And

19 And the sons of *his* wife ‖Hodiah the sister of Naham, the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maachathite.

‖ Or, *Jehudijah*, mentioned before.

20 And the sons of Shimon *were*, Amnon, and Rinnah, Ben-hanan, and Tilon. And the sons of Ishi *were*, Zoheth, and Benzoheth.

21 ¶ The sons of Shelah [e] the son of Judah *were*, Er the father of Lecah, and Laadah the father of Mareshah, and the families of the house of them that wrought fine linen, of the house of Ashbea,

[e] Gen. 38. 1, 5.

22 And Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who had the dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem. And *these are* ancient things.

23 These *were* the potters, and those that dwelt among plants and hedges: there they dwelt with the king for his work.

24 ¶ The sons of Simeon *were*,

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these are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took: she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Eshtemoa. And his wife, the Jewess, bare Jered, &c."

Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh must, it would seem, have been an Egyptian princess. If Mered was a chief of rank, she may have been married to him with the consent of her father; for the Egyptian kings often gave their daughters in marriage to foreigners. Or she may have elected to forsake her countrymen and cleave to a Jewish husband, becoming a convert to his religion. Her name, Bithiah, "daughter of Jehovah," is like that of a convert. (Compare above, vol. i. p. 460.)

19. *The sons of his wife, Hodiah.*] Rather, "**the sons of the wife of Hodiah.**" Hodiah is elsewhere always a man's name (Neh. viii. 7; ix. 5; x. 10, 13, 18), and the form of the word translated "his wife" requires the name of the husband after it.

the sister of Naham.] "Naham" is perhaps the "Naam" of verse 15.

the Garmite.] Scripture furnishes us with no explanation of this term. The Targums expound it to mean the descendant of a certain Gerem, of whom nothing is known.

the Maachathite.] The Maachathites were the people of a small kingdom bordering on Northern Palestine to the east (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, &c.). Eshtemoa may have taken up his abode among them.

20. *Shimon . . . Ishi.*] These are names of persons otherwise unknown, whose position in the genealogy of the descendants of Judah is wholly uncertain.

21. *The sons of Shelah.*] See above, ch. ii. 3.

Lecah.] Lecah is probably a place, of which Er was chief, but it is not mentioned elsewhere, and we have no clue to its position.

Mareshah.] Mareshah was one of the most famous of the cities of Judah. It is joined with Keilah and Nezib in Joshua xv. 44. The site is probably that marked by the modern *Marash* (Robinson, ii. p. 67).

22. *Chozeba.*] "Chozeba" is perhaps another name of Chezib, the birthplace of Shelah, the son of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 5).

who had the dominion in Moab.] Moab was conquered by David (2 Sam. viii. 2), and again by Omri, after which it remained subject until the death of Ahab. (See additional note to 2 K. iii.) The "dominion" here spoken of may have been exercised at either of these times. Perhaps, however, a more ancient rule, in times of which we have no further record, may be intended. See the closing words of the verse.

Jashubi-lehem.] Probably the name of the youngest son of Shelah.

23. *Those who dwelt among plants and hedges.*] Rather, "those who dwelt in **Netaim and Gaderah**," as the word "there" in the next clause requires. Gaderah is mentioned as a city of Judah in Josh. xv. 36. Netaim is not otherwise known.

with the king.] It is difficult to understand how any descendants of Judah could dwell "with the king" in these cities, since the Jewish monarchs always resided in Jerusalem. Perhaps "with the king" means "on the king's property." Both David and several of the later kings had large territorial possessions in various parts of Judæa. (See 1 Chr. xxvii. 25-31; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4, xxxii. 28, 29.)

24. *The sons of Simeon.*] Compare Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15, and Num. xxvi. 12, 13. In the two former passages six sons are given instead of five, and the names of three are different; viz., "Jemuel" for "Nemuel," "Zohar" for "Zerah," and "Jachin" for "Jarib." In Numbers the sons mentioned are, as in the present passage, five; and the

[1] Or, *Jemuel*, Gen. 46. 10. Ex. 6. 15. [1]Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, *and* Shaul:

25 Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son.

26 And the sons of Mishma; Hamuel his son, Zacchur his son, Shimei his son.

27 And Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters; but his brethren had not many children, neither did all their family multiply, [†] like to the children of Judah.

[†] Heb. *unto.*

[a] Josh. 19. 2. 28 And they dwelt at [a]Beer-sheba, and Moladah, and Hazar-shual,

[2] Or, *Balah*, Josh. 19. 3. 29 And at [2]Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at [2]Tolad,

[3] Or, *Eltolad*, Josh. 19 4. 30 And at Bethuel, and at Hormah, and at Ziklag,

[4] Or, *Hazar-susah*, Josh. 19. 5. 31 And at Beth-marcaboth, and [4]Hazarsusim, and at Beth-birei, and at Shaaraim. These *were* their cities unto the reign of David.

[5] Or, *Ether*, Josh. 19. 7. 32 And their villages *were*, [5]Etam, and Ain, Rimmon, and Tochen, and Ashan, five cities:

33 And all their villages that *were* round about the same cities, unto [6]Baal. These *were* their habitations, and [7]their genealogy.

[6] Or, *Baalath-beer*, Josh. 19. 8.

34 And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and Joshah the son of Amaziah,

[7] Or, *as they divided themselves by nations among them.*

35 And Joel, and Jehu the son of Josibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel,

36 And Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and Asaiah, and Adiel, and Jesimiel, and Benaiah,

37 And Ziza the son of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah, the son of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah;

[†] Heb. *coming.*

38 These [†]mentioned by *their* names *were* princes in their families: and the house of their fathers increased greatly.

39 ¶ And they went to the entrance of Gedor, *even* unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks.

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names have the forms here assigned them, with the single exception of "Jarib." "Jarib" is probably a corrupt reading, for which we should substitute "Jachin."

28. *Beer-sheba, &c.*] The same list of Simeonite cities is given in Josh. xix. 2-6, the names being in some cases spelt rather differently, *e.g.*, "Beth-lebaoth" for "Beth-birei," and "Sharuhen" for "Shaaraim." One city mentioned in Joshua, viz., "Sheba," is here omitted; and one, viz., "Tochen," is here added. (See note on Josh. xix. 2.)

31. *Unto the reign of David.*] It is not quite clear why this clause is added. Perhaps the writer is quoting from a document belonging to David's reign. Or he may mean that some of the cities, as Ziklag (1 Sam. xxvii. 6), were lost to Simeon about David's time.

32. *And their villages.*] As Etam, Ain, Rimmon, &c., are called "cities" at the end of this verse, and also in Joshua xix. 7, it is better to detach these words from verse 32 and attach them to verse 31.

Tochen.] This place does not occur in the parallel list of Joshua, and is not elsewhere mentioned. It was perhaps a later acquisition of the Simeonites, whose efforts to extend themselves appear towards the close of the chapter (verses 39-43).

33. *And their genealogy.*] Rather, "**and their register was according thereto**"—they were registered, *i.e.* according to the places where they dwelt.

38. *These mentioned by their names were princes.*] The number of the names, it will be observed, is thirteen, corresponding to the number of the cities in the first list (verses 28-31), so that it may be suspected that the princes mentioned were the registered chiefs of those cities in the time of Hezekiah (see verse 41).

39. *The entrance of Gedor.*] The LXX. read "Gerar" for "Gedor," which involves a very slight alteration of the Hebrew. (See note B at the end of the chapter.) That Gerar was a fertile district is apparent from Gen. xxvi. 6-12, and again from 2 Chr. xiv. 14, 15. Being Philistine country (Gen. xxvi. 1), it was land "where they of Ham had dwelt of old" (Gen. x. 14; *supra*, i. 12). If "Gedor" be retained, the passage admits of no illustration; for the "Gedor" intended can be neither of those mentioned elsewhere in Scripture (Josh. xv. 58; 1 Chr. xii. 7), which belonged respectively to Judah and Benjamin. "Gerar" is regarded as the true reading by Ewald and Bertheau.

40 And they found fat pasture and good, and the land *was* wide, and quiet, and peaceable; for *they* of Ham had dwelt there of old.

41 And these written by name came in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents, and the habitations that were found there, and destroyed them utterly unto this day, and dwelt in their rooms: because *there was* pasture there for their flocks.

42 And *some* of them, *even* of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men, went to mount Seir, having for their captains Pelatiah, and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi.

43 And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day.

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41. *These written by name.*] *i.e.* the chiefs mentioned above (verses 35-37), whose names were recorded in the registers of Hezekiah, whereby we learn the date of this Simeonite expedition. (Compare 2 K. xviii. 8.)

the habitations.] Rather, "**the Mehunim.**" (So the LXX., Patrick, Gesenius, Bertheau, &c.) On this people, called also "Maonites," see note on Jud. x. 12, and compare below, note on 2 Chr. xx. 1.

43. *The Amalekites that were escaped.*] The remnant, *i.e.* that had escaped the great slaughter under Saul (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8). Indications of the continued existence of the tribe after this time will be found in 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; xxx. 1; 2 Sam. viii. 12.

unto this day.] These words are probably taken from the record which the writer of Chronicles had before him, and do not imply that the Simeonites remained undisturbed in their conquests till after the return from the captivity. (So also in verse 41.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 3 and 39.

NOTE A, on verse 3.

The present text, ואלה אבי עיטם ("and these are the father of Etam"), gives no sense, and must be corrupt. The LXX. appear to have read ואלה בני עיטם, and this reading is preferred by Kennicott, Bertheau, and others. Some MSS., however, have בני אבי עיטם ("these are the sons of the father of Etam"), which is satisfactory, and which, being a manuscript reading, should be adopted.

NOTE B, on verse 39.

Gerar, גרר, and Gedor, גדר, setting aside the vocalisation, differ only in one letter.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The line of Reuben (who lost his birthright) unto the captivity.* 9 *Their habitation and conquest of the Hagarites.* 11 *The chief men and habitations of Gad.* 18 *The number and conquest of Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh.* 23 *The habitations and chief men of that half tribe.* 25 *Their captivity for their sin.*

NOW the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel, (for he *was* the firstborn; but, forasmuch as he [b] defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel: and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright.

[b] Gen. 35. 22. & 49. 4.

CHAP. V. 1. *His birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph.*] This is not elsewhere explicitly stated in Scripture. Reuben's sin is punished by a scant blessing (Gen. xlix. 4); but still he retains the first place among the sons of Jacob, and is expressly termed "his first-born, his might, the beginning of his strength, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power" (ibid., verse 3). Joseph's blessing is ample (ibid., verses 22-26), but does not explicitly include the birthright. Indeed that privilege seems, in its main points, to have passed to Judah (ibid., verses 8-10); but at the same time, some of the privileges of the first-born would appear to have been transferred from Reuben, the eldest-born of the first legitimate wife, to Joseph, the eldest-born of the second (see

2 For [c] Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him *came* the [d] chief [‖] ruler; but the birthright *was* Joseph's:)

3 The sons, *I say*, of [e] Reuben the firstborn of Israel *were*, Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi.

4 The sons of Joel; Shemaiah his son, Gog his son, Shimei his son,

5 Micah his son, Reaia his son, Baal his son,

6 Beerah his son, whom [‖] Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria carried away *captive*: he *was* prince of the Reubenites.

7 And his brethren by their families, when the genealogy of their generations was reckoned, *were* the chief, Jeiel, and Zechariah,

8 And Bela the son of Azaz, the son of [‖] Shema, the son of Joel, who dwelt in [f] Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon:

9 And eastward he inhabited unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates: because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead.

10 And in the days of Saul they made war with the Hagarites, who

[c] Gen. 49. 9, 10.
[d] Mic. 5. 2. Matt. 2. 6.
[‖] Or, *prince.*
[e] Gen. 46. 9. Ex. 6. 14. Num. 26. 5.
[‖] Or, *Tiglath-pileser*, 2 Kin. 15. 29. & 16. 7.
[‖] Or, *Shemaiah*, ver. 4.
[f] Josh. 13 15, 16.

Gen. xlviii. 5). In particular, the right of the first-born to a double inheritance (Deut. xxi. 17) was conferred on Joseph, both by the expressed will of Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 22) and in the actual partition of Canaan (Josh. xvi. and xvii.).

the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright.] It is doubtful whether the genealogy of Joseph or of Reuben is intended. In either case the words are apologetic, giving the reason why the genealogy of Judah (chs. ii.-iv.) has been granted the precedence over that of all the other sons of Jacob. The reason is, that, though the birthright, as respecting its material privileges, passed to Joseph, its other rights, those of dignity and pre-eminence, fell to Judah.

2. *Of him came the chief ruler.*] The allusion is especially to David, though it may reach further, and include a glance at the Messiah, the true "Ruler" of Israel (Micah v. 2).

3. *The sons of Reuben.*] Compare Gen. xlvi. 9.

4. *The sons of Joel.*] The line of succession here given must be broken by one great gap or several smaller ones, since nine generations before Tiglath-pileser would carry us back no further than to the reign of Rehoboam.

6. *Tilgath-pilneser.*] There is a double defect in this rendering of the Assyrian name, whether arising from the carelessness of copyists, or from "phonetic corruption," is uncertain. The "Tiglath-pileser" of Kings, on the contrary, is nearly an exact representation of the Assyrian word, which is read as *Tukulti-pal-zara.*

carried away captive.] See below, verse 26; and compare 2 K. xv. 29.

7. *When the genealogy of their generations was reckoned.*] Apparently in the time of Jotham. (See below, verse 17.)

8. *The son of Shema, the son of Joel.*] That is, probably, "the descendant of Shemaiah, the son of Joel." (See verse 4.)

Aroer, &c.] "Aroer," "Nebo," and "Baal-meon," are all well-known places in the Trans-Jordanic region, on the borders of Moab, the possession of which was disputed between the Moabites and the Israelites. In the division of the Holy Land, they fell to the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxii. 38; Josh. xiii. 16, 17). Mesha in his great inscription reckons them to Moab.

9. *He inhabited.*] The antecedent to "he" here is rather "Reuben" than Bela, or Joel. Eastward the Reubenites inhabited as far as the commencement of the desert which extended all the way from the river Euphrates to their borders. This is the great Syrian Desert, a continuation of the Arabian towards the north, a vast wedge interposed between the valley of the Euphrates and the fertile strip of coast along the Mediterranean, which effectually shuts off Palestine from the rest of Western Asia.

10. *The Hagarites.*] The "Hagarites" or "Hagarenes" are generally regarded as descendants of Hagar, and so as a branch of the Ishmaelites, from whom however they are distinguished in more than one passage (1 Chr. xxvii. 30, 31; Ps. lxxxiii. 6). They appear to have been one of the most powerful and widely-spread tribes of the Syrian Desert, being found on the side of the Euphrates in contact with the Assyrians ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 430), and also in the neighbourhood of Palestine, in contact with the Moabites and Israelites. Their great wealth is strongly indicated by the amount of the booty taken from them (infra, verse 21). The conjecture that they are represented by

fell by their hand: and they dwelt in their tents †throughout all the east land of Gilead.

† Heb. *upon all the face of the east.*

11 ¶ And the children of Gad dwelt over against them, in the land of ᵍ Bashan unto Salcah:

ᵍ Josh. 13. 11

12 Joel the chief, and Shapham the next, and Jaanai, and Shaphat in Bashan.

13 And their brethren of the house of their fathers *were*, Michael, and Meshullam, and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jachan, and Zia, and Heber, seven.

14 These *are* the children of Abihail the son of Huri, the son of Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son of Michael, the son of Jeshishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz;

15 Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief of the house of their fathers.

16 And they dwelt in Gilead in Bashan, and in her towns, and in all the suburbs of ʰ Sharon, upon †their borders.

ʰ ch. 27. 29.

† Heb *their goings forth.*

17 All these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of ⁱ Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.

ⁱ 2 Kin. 15. 5, 32.

18 ¶ The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, †of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, *were* four and forty thousand seven hundred and threescore, that went out to the war.

† Heb. *sons of valour.*

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the Agræi of the classical writers (Strab. xvi. 4, § 2; Plin. 'H. N.' vi. 32; Dionys. Perieg. 956, &c.) is highly probable. In this case their name may be considered as still surviving in that of the district called *Hejer* or *Hejera* in north-eastern Arabia, on the borders of the Persian Gulf.

11. *The children of Gad dwelt over against them.*] Compare Josh. xiii. 24-28.

in the land of Bashan.] In Joshua (xiii. 30) "all Bashan" is said to have been given to Manasseh. It appears from this passage and from the subsequent account of the Manassites (verses 23, 24), that the Gadites extended themselves to the north at the expense of their brethren, gradually occupying a considerable portion of the tract originally allotted to the "half tribe."

Salcah.] See Deut. iii. 10 (where the same Hebrew word is rendered by "Salchah") and also Josh. xiii. 11. In all three places, Salcah appears as the extreme limit of Bashan. It has been probably identified with *Sulkhad*, at the extreme verge of the Hauran, on the edge of the desert (Burckhardt, 'Reisen,' p. 507).

14. *These are the children.*] This formula, without the *vau* conjunctive preceding it, always in these chapters has reference to a genealogy which has been previously given, and not to one which is to come. (See note on ch. ii. 50.) The persons here intended must therefore be those mentioned in verse 13; and verse 15 must be understood as containing a continuation of the line of descent which begins with Abihail. (See the next note.)

Buz.] Rather "Buzahi," the "Ahi" of verse 15 being really not a separate name, but the termination of the name which commences with "Buz." The continuity of the genealogy from Abihail to Guni was seen by the LXX., who however took *ahi* to mean "brother," and so translated.

16. *In Gilead in Bashan.*] A comma is needed after Gilead, the meaning being that they dwelt in Gilead, *and* in Bashan, which were two distinct countries, Bashan towards the north and east beyond the river Hieromax; Gilead, to the south of that river.

Sharon.] This eastern "Sharon" seems to be mentioned only in the present passage. Judging from the analogy of the western Sharon (see note on ch. xxvii. 29), it should be the name of a region. But the expression *migrashim*, "suburbs," rather implies a town.

17. *Jotham — Jeroboam.*] According to Kings these two monarchs were not contemporaries, Jotham having ascended the throne of Judah fourteen or fifteen years after Jeroboam ceased to be king of Israel (2 K. xv. 8, 13, 17, 23, 32). It would seem therefore that the writer of Chronicles refers to two registrations, one made under the authority of Jeroboam II. when he was king and Israel flourishing, the other made under the authority of Jotham, king of Judah, during the troublous time which followed on the great invasion of Tiglath-pileser, noticed in 2 K. xv. 29, and Isaiah ix. 1. There is nothing surprising in a king of Judah having exercised a species of lordship over the Trans-Jordanic territory at this period.

18–22. In this section we seem to have a

19 And they made war with the Hagarites, with [k] Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab.

[k] Gen. 25. 15.

20 And they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that *were* with them: for they cried to God in the battle, and he was intreated of them; because they put their trust in him.

21 And they [†] took away their cattle; of their camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of [†] men an hundred thousand.

[†] Heb. *led captive.*

[†] Heb. *souls of men*, as Num. 31. 35.

22 For there fell down many slain, because the war *was* of God. And they dwelt in their steads until the captivity.

23 ¶ And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Senir, and unto mount Hermon.

24 And these *were* the heads of the house of their fathers, even Epher, and Ishi, and Eliel, and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and Jahdiel, mighty men of valour, [†] famous men, *and* heads of the house of their fathers.

[†] Heb. *men of names.*

25 ¶ And they transgressed against the God of their fathers, and went a [l] whoring after the gods of the people of the land, whom God destroyed before them.

[l] 2 Kin. 17 7.

26 And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of [m] Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gad-

[m] 2 Kin. 15. 19.

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full account of the great war which is briefly touched in verse 10—a war in the time of Saul between the Trans-Jordanic Israelites and the Hagarenes, who then occupied the rich tract north and north-east of Gilead, known as the *Hauran* at the present day.

19. *Jetur and Nephish and Nodab.*] Jetur and Nephish (or, more properly, Naphish) are mentioned among the descendants of Ishmael both in Chronicles (1 Chr. i. 31) and in Genesis (xxv. 15). Of Nodab nothing is known. Jetur no doubt gave name to the important tribe of the Ituræans, mentioned by Strabo (xvi. 2, § 18 and § 20), Pliny ('H. N.' v. 23), and others, who inhabited the region south-west of the Damascene plain, between Gaulonitis (*Jaulan*) and the Ledjah. This tribe was noted for its thievish habits (Strab. l. s. c.), and was regarded as savage and warlike (Virg. 'Georg.' ii. 448; Cic. 'Phil.' ii. 44; &c.).

21. *Their cattle.*] This great booty may be compared with that obtained from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 32-35). It does not exceed the amount which the kings of Assyria constantly carried off in their raids upon tribes of no great note or name.

23. *Baal-Hermon.*] According to some, "Baal-Hermon," "Senir," and "Mount Hermon," are three names of the one great snow-clad eminence in which the Anti-Lebanon terminates towards the south. "Senir," certainly appears to have been such a name (Deut. iii. 9). But the present passage indicates that by the time of the writer of Chronicles the three terms had, at any rate, come to be applied to three parts of the mountain—perhaps to the "three summits" in which it terminates (Porter in 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 790). Compare the expression "the Hermons" (*Hermonim*) in Ps. xlii. 6.

24. *Mighty men of valour.*] On the peculiar bravery of the Manassites, see below, ch. xii. 21.

25. *They transgressed.*] Compare the summary of Israel's sins in 2 K. xvii. 7-17; and for particulars see 2 K. xii. 28-33, xvi. 31-33, xviii. 18-19; 2 K. i. 2, viii. 27, xiii. 6, &c.

went a whoring.] This strong expression, common in the Pentateuch, is used but rarely in the later historical Scriptures. It occurs, however, frequently in the Prophets, and is found again in 2 Chr. xxi. 13 (compare 11, where the word in the original is the same).

26. *He carried them away.*] *He, i. e.* Tiglath-pileser, carried them away, Pul not having done so, but having only put the land to a heavy tribute (2 K. xv. 19, 20, 29).

Halah.] See note on 2 K. xvii. 6.

Habor,] "Habor" here seems to be a city or a district, and not a river, as in 2 K. l. s. c. We have no other evidence of the existence of such a place; but there is some reason to believe that districts among the Assyrians were occasionally named from streams. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 243.)

ites, and the half tribe of Manasseh,
[n] 2 Kin. 17. 6. and brought them unto [n]Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The sons of Levi.* 4 *The line of the priests unto the captivity.* 16 *The families of Gershom, Merari, and Kohath.* 49 *The office of Aaron, and his line unto Ahimaaz.* 54 *The cities of the priests and Levites.*

[a] Gen. 46. 11. Ex. 6. 16. THE sons of Levi; [a][1]Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

[1] Or, *Gershom*, ver. 16. 2 And the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel.

3 And the children of Amram; Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam. The sons also of Aaron; [b]Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.
[b] Lev. 10. 1.

4 ¶ Eleazar begat Phinehas, Phinehas begat Abishua,

5 And Abishua begat Bukki, and Bukki begat Uzzi,

6 And Uzzi begat Zerahiah, and Zerahiah begat Meraioth,

7 Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub,

8 And Ahitub begat Zadok, and [c]Zadok begat Ahimaaz,
[c] 2 Sam. 15. 27.

9 And Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah begat Johanan,

10 And Johanan begat Azariah, (he *it is* that executed the priest's office [†]in the [d]temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem:)
[†] Heb. *in the house.* [d] 1 Kin. 6. 2 Chron. 3

11 And Azariah begat Amariah, and Amariah begat Ahitub,

Hara.] It is probable that the "Hara" of this passage represents the "Haran" of Genesis (xi. 31) Kings (2 K. xix. 12) and Ezekiel (xxvii. 23). Haran and Gozan are united in Kings (l. s. c.), as here; and though of the three letters which in the Hebrew compose each name, one only (the *resh*) is common to the two, yet the form, "Hara," is fairly regarded as a mere softening down of the rugged original "Kharan." The omission of the final *n* occurs also in the Greek and Roman form of the name, which was Κάρραι, or Carrhæ.

the river Gozan.] Rather "the river of Gozan," as the same words are translated in 2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11. Gozan was the general name of the district about the river Habor or *Khabour*. (See note on 2 K. xvii. 6.)

CHAP. VI. 1. *The sons of Levi.*] The genealogy of Levi follows vi. 16-25 as far as Phinehas, after which the writer must have had documents before him which have not come down to us.

4. *Abishua.*] According to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' viii. 1, § 3, and v. 11, § 5) Abishua succeeded his father Phinehas in the office of high-priest. Whether he was succeeded by his son Bukki, or was the last high-priest of the house of Phinehas until Zadok, is uncertain. The only places in Scripture where he is mentioned are the present, and Ezra vii. 5, where he occurs in the list of Ezra's ancestors.

5. *Bukki—Uzzi.*] Bukki and Uzzi are in one place ('Ant. Jud.' v. 11, § 5) said by Josephus to have been high-priests, while in another (viii. 1, § 3) they are excluded from the list. Chronological considerations are in favour of there having been at any rate one or two high-priests between Abishua and Eli. Some, as Lightfoot ('Temple Service,' iv. § 1), make the number four—Bukki, Uzzi, Zerahiah, and Meraioth.

8. *Ahitub begat Zadok.*] Here the list returns to persons previously mentioned in Scripture. (See 2 S. viii. 17, xv. 24; 1 K. i. 8, &c.) Zadok, who was joint high-priest with Abiathar under David, is a well-known personage. Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, who appears to have died before his father, and so never to have been high-priest, is also famous (2 S. xv. 27, 36, xvii. 17-21, xviii. 19-29). Azariah, the son of Ahimaaz, is mentioned (1 K. iv. 2) as high priest under Solomon. (See next note.)

9. *Ahimaaz begat Azariah.*] It must, apparently, be this Azariah, and not the son of Johanan (verse 10), who was high-priest at the dedication of Solomon's Temple. For Zadok, who lived into the reign of Solomon (1 K. iv. 4) cannot have been succeeded by a great-great-grandson. The notice in verse 10, which is attached to the second Azariah, must beyond a doubt belong properly to the first.

10. *Johanan begat Azariah.*] Nothing is told us elsewhere of Johanan, or of the second Azariah, unless the latter is the Azariah mentioned among the ancestors of Ezra (Ezr. vii. 3). They were probably high-priests under Rehoboam, Abijah, and Asa.

he it is.] See note on verse 9.

11. *Azariah begat Amariah.*] Amariah is mentioned in 2 Chr. xix. 11 as high-priest

12 And Ahitub begat Zadok, and
‖ Or, *Meshullam*, ch. 9. 11. Zadok begat ‖Shallum,
13 And Shallum begat Hilkiah, and Hilkiah begat Azariah,
[e] Neh. 11. 11. 14 And Azariah begat [e]Seraiah, and Seraiah begat Jehozadak,
15 And Jehozadak went *into captivity*, [f] when the LORD carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of
[f] 2 Kin. 25. 18. [g] Ex. 6. 16. Nebuchadnezzar.
‖ Or, *Gershon*, ver. 1. 16 ¶ The sons of Levi; [g]‖Gershom, Kohath, and Merari.
17 And these *be* the names of the sons of Gershom; Libni, and Shimei.
18 And the sons of Kohath *were*, Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel.
19 The sons of Merari; Mahli, and Mushi. And these *are* the families of the Levites according to their fathers.
20 Of Gershom; Libni his son, Jahath his son, [h] Zimmah his son, [h] ver. 42.

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under Jehoshaphat, which quite accords with his position in this genealogy.

Ahitub.] Between Amariah and Hilkiah this genealogy is most certainly defective, as it gives three generations only (Ahitub, Zadok, Shallum) for a period for which nine generations are furnished by the list of the kings of Judah, and which cannot be estimated as much short of 200 years. The defect is to a small extent supplied by a genealogy in ch. ix. (verse 11, which occurs also in Nehem. xi. 11); for there we find that the second Zadok was not the son, but the grandson, of the second Ahitub, a second Meraioth intervening between them. It may be suspected that some other names have dropped out.

It is further remarkable that no one of the names in this part of the list (Ahitub, Meraioth, Zadok, Shallum or Meshullam) occurs among the high-priests of the period, several of whom are mentioned both in the Second Book of Chronicles and in Kings, as Jehoiada, high-priest under Ahaziah and Joash; Azariah, high-priest under Uzziah; Urijah, high-priest under Ahaz; and Azariah, high-priest under Hezekiah. The explanation of this seems to be that the present is not a list of high-priests, but the genealogy of Jozadak or Jehozadak, whose line of descent partly coincided with the list of high-priests, partly differed from it. Where it coincided, all the names are given; where it differed, some are omitted, in order (probably) to render the entire list from Phinehas a multiple of seven. (See note on verse 20.)

12. *Shallum.*] Called "Meshullam" (ch. ix. 11, and Neh. xi. 11).

13. *Hilkiah.*] Hilkiah took as high-priest an important part in the reformation of religion, carried out by Josiah (2 K. xxii. 4-14, xxiii. 4; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9-22, xxxv. 8).

Azariah.] Some critics would cancel this name because it is omitted in Neh. xi. 11 and also by Josephus. But as it occurs again in the list of the ancestors of Ezra (Ezr. vii. 1), there is sufficient reason for retaining it.

14. *Seraiah.*] That Seraiah was high-priest at the time of the Captivity and was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar, appears from 2 K. xxv. 18-21, and Jer. lii. 24-27. His name occurs in the list of Ezra's ancestors (Ezr. vii. 1).

15. *Jehozadak.*] This name appears under three forms in our version, "Jehozadak," "Jozadak" (Ezr. iii. 2) and "Josedech" (Hag. i. 1, &c.). But in the original there are two forms only—the full form, Jehozadak, and the contracted one, Jozadak. The meaning of the name is "Jehovah is righteous." It has been noted as remarkable that the heads of both the priestly and the royal stock carried to Babylon should have had names (Zedekiah and Jehozadak) composed of the same elements, and assertive of the "justice of God," which their sufferings shewed forth so signally.

16. *The sons of Levi.*] Having traced the genealogy of the High-priestly stem from Levi to Jehozadak (verses 1-15), the writer returns to the fountain-head and proceeds to give a general account of the several branches of the tribe of Levi, the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, so far as his materials allow him. He begins with Gershon or Gershom, as he was the first-born (Gen. xlvi. 11).

17. *The sons of Gershom.*] Compare Ex. vi. 17, and Num. iii. 16.

Shimei.] Called "Shimi" in our version of Exodus (vi. 17), which is another mode of rendering the same Hebrew word.

19. *The sons of Merari.*] See Ex. vi. 19, and Num. iii. 20.

Mahli.] Called "Mahali" in our version of Exodus (vi. 17), incorrectly. The right form is Mahli or Machli (as in margin of 1 Esd. viii. 47).

20. *Of Gershom.*] The names in this list are curiously different from those in verses

21 ‖Joah his son, ‖Iddo his son, Zerah his son, Jeaterai his son.

22 The sons of Kohath; ‖Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son,

23 Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son,

24 Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziah his son, and Shaul his son.

25 And the sons of Elkanah; [i]Amasai, and Ahimoth.

26 *As for* Elkanah: the sons of Elkanah; ‖Zophai his son, and Nahath his son,

27 Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son.

28 And the sons of Samuel; the firstborn ‖Vashni, and Abiah.

29 The sons of Merari; Mahli, Libni his son, Shimei his son, Uzza his son,

30 Shimea his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah his son.

31 And these *are they* whom David set over the service of song in the house of the LORD, after that the [k]ark had rest.

32 And they ministered before the dwelling place of the tabernacle of

‖ Or, *Ethan*, ver. 42.
‖ Or, *Adaiah*, ver. 41.
‖ Or, *Izhar*, ver. 2, 18.
[i] See ver. 35, 36.
‖ Or, *Zuph*, 1 Sam. 1. 1.
‖ Called also *Joel*, ver. 33. & 1 Sam. 8. 2.
[k] ch. 16. 1

41-43, which yet appear to represent the same line. Probably both lists are more or less corrupted, and "Joah"—"Ethan," "Iddo—Adaiah," "Jeaterai"—"Ethni," are respectively forms of the same original words. But besides these variants, one name occurs in each list which is omitted in the other, and the full genealogy must have been Gershom, Libni, Jahath, Shimei, Zimmah, Joah (or Ethan), Iddo (or Adaiah), Zerah, and Jeaterai (or Ethni). Here, as in many genealogies, an omission is made, to reduce the number of the names to seven. (Compare the other genealogies of this chapter; and see also Matt. i. 1-17.)

22. *The sons of Kohath.*] Compare with this list (verses 22-28) that of the ancestors of Heman (infra, verses 33-38), which corresponds, but has several differences.

Amminadab.] "Amminadab," which in this list replaces the "Izhar" of verse 38, must, it would seem, be another name borne by that son of Gershom. It is too remote from "Izhar" to be a corruption.

Korah.] See Num. xvi. 1-33, where the sin and punishment of Korah are related. That all his sons did not perish with him appears from Num. xxvi. 11.

Assir.] Assir and Elkanah are omitted in the parallel list below (verses 33-38); but Assir appears as the eldest son of Korah in Ex. vi. 24, and we may therefore assume that we have here the genealogy in full, while in verses 33-38 we have the list shortened by omissions.

24. *Uriel.*] The "Uriel" of this verse is replaced by Zephaniah in verse 36, a completely different name. It would seem that either the father of Uzziah must have had two names (see above, note on verse 22), or Uriel and Zephaniah must have been brothers, and Uzziah the issue of a Levirate marriage contracted by one of them.

Uzziah . . . Shaul.] Represented in the later list by "Azariah" and "Joel" (verse 36), forms sufficiently near to suggest corruption. After Shaul," the words "Elkanah, his son" seem to have fallen out.

25. *The sons of Elkanah, Amasai and Ahimoth.*] In the genealogy of Heman, Ahimoth (called there "Mahath") appears as the son of Amasai and the grandson of Elkanah. To bring this passage into accordance, we must read "the sons of Elkanah, Amasai, **his son**; Ahimoth, **his son**."

26. *As for Elkanah.*] There is plainly some corruption here. Probably the original ran thus—"**Elkanah, his son** (as the LXX.); and the sons of Elkanah, Zophai, his son, &c." Compare verse 35.

Zophai . . . Nahath.] "Zophai" appears as "Zuph" in verse 35, and in 1 S. i. 1. For "Nahath" we have "Toah" in verse 34, and in 1 S. l. s. c. "Tohu."

27. *Eliab.*] "Eliel" in verse 34; "Elihu" in 1 S. i. 1.

28. *Vashni.*] The true name of Samuel's first-born, which was "Joel" (1 S. viii. 2; infra, verse 33), has here dropped out; and the word properly meaning "and his second [son]" has been taken as the name of the first. (Compare 1 S. l. s. c., and see Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

31. *These are they whom David set over the service of song.*] See below, ch. xvi. 7, 41, and xxv. 1. The writer turns at this point from the general consideration of the descendants of Levi to the genealogies of David's three chief singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan or Jeduthun. This subject occupies him till verse 48.

the congregation with singing, until Solomon had built the house of the LORD in Jerusalem: and *then* they waited on their office according to their order.

† Heb. *stood.*

33 And these *are* they that †waited with their children. Of the sons of the Kohathites: Heman a singer, the son of Joel, the son of Shemuel,

34 The son of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Eliel, the son of Toah,

35 The son of Zuph, the son of Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai,

36 The son of Elkanah, the son of Joel, the son of Azariah, the son of Zephaniah,

37 The son of Tahath, the son of

[1] Ex.6. 24. Assir, the son of [1]Ebiasaph, the son of Korah,

38 The son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel.

39 And his brother Asaph, who stood on his right hand, *even* Asaph the son of Berachiah, the son of Shimea,

40 The son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the son of Malchiah,

41 The son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the son of Adaiah,

42 The son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah, the son of Shimei,

43 The son of Jahath, the son of Gershom, the son of Levi.

44 And their brethren the sons of Merari *stood* on the left hand: Ethan the son of [‖]Kishi, the son of Abdi, the son of Malluch,

‖ Or, *Kushaiah*, ch. 15. 17

45 The son of Hashabiah, the son of Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah,

46 The son of Amzi, the son of Bani, the son of Shamer,

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32. *They waited on their office.*] On the establishment and continuance of the choral service in the Temple, see 2 Chr. v. 12, xxix. 27-30, and xxxv. 15.

33. *Heman.*] In general Asaph takes precedence of Heman and Jeduthun, but here Heman is placed first, because his family, that of the Kohathites, had the highest priestly rank, being the one which furnished the high-priests. (See verses 2 to 15.)

Shemuel.] *I.e.* "Samuel." Our translators have here given the Hebrew, while elsewhere they give uniformly the Greek form of the name. We learn by this genealogy that Heman was Samuel's grandson.

37. *Ebiasaph, the son of Korah.*] Compare above, verses 22, 23, and see the last note on verse 22.

39. *His brother Asaph.*] Asaph was not Heman's "brother" in the ordinary sense of the term, since he was the son of Berachiah, and a Gershonite, not a Kohathite. "Brother" here must mean "fellow-craftsman." (Compare ch. xxv. 7.)

who stood on his right hand.] Compare verse 44. As Kohath, following the order of birth, intervened between Gershon and Merari, so in the Temple service his place and that of the Kohathites was intermediate, with the Gershonites, the elder branch, on the right, and the younger branch, the Merarites, on the left.

41. *The son of Ethni.*] Or "Jeaterai" (verse 21). From this point to the end, the present list is the same as that already given (verses 20, 21), with the exception that "Shimei" is added (verse 42) and "Libni" omitted after "Jahath" (verse 43). It is remarkable that, while in the genealogy of Heman, there are 21 (or 23) generations up to Levi, in those of Asaph and Ethan the number of generations given is no more than 14. It would seem that either the generations in the former case must have been increased by a combination of distinct lines of descent, or the number in the latter case diminished by the common practice of omitting some links of the chain.

44. *Ethan.*] It is scarcely possible to doubt that the "Ethan" of this passage, and of ch. xv. 17, 19, is identical with the "Jeduthun" of 1 Chr. xvi. 42, 43, xxv. 1, 3, 6; 2 Chr. v. 12, xxxv. 15, &c., who is united in all these passages with Asaph and Heman. (See also the titles of Pss. xxxix., lxii., and lxxvii.) Corruption, however, will scarcely account for the two forms of the name, since Ethan is used persistently up to a certain point (1 Chr. xv. 19), after which we have uniformly "Jeduthun." The case seems to be rather one in which a new name was taken after a while, which thenceforth superseded the old. (Compare Abraham, Sarah, Joshua, Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, &c.)

47 The son of Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi.

48 Their brethren also the Levites *were* appointed unto all manner of service of the tabernacle of the house of God.

49 ¶ But Aaron and his sons offered [m] upon the altar of the burnt offering, and [n] on the altar of incense, *and were appointed* for all the work of the *place* most holy, and to make an atonement for Israel, according to all that Moses the servant of God had commanded.

[m] Lev. 1. 9.
[n] Ex. 30. 7.

50 And these *are* the sons of Aaron; Eleazar his son, Phinehas his son, Abishua his son,

51 Bukki his son, Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son,

52 Meraioth his son, Amariah his son, Ahitub his son,

53 Zadok his son, Ahimaaz his son.

54 ¶ Now these *are* their dwelling places throughout their castles in their coasts, of the sons of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites: for their's was the lot.

55 And they gave them Hebron in the land of Judah, and the suburbs thereof round about it.

56 But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

57 And to the sons of Aaron they gave the cities of Judah, *namely*, Hebron, *the city* of refuge, and Libnah with her suburbs, and Jattir, and Eshtemoa, with their suburbs,

58 And [l] Hilen with her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs,

[l] Or, *Holon*, Josh. 21. 15.

59 And [l] Ashan with her suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs:

[l] Or, *Ain* Josh. 21. 16.

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48. *All manner of service.*] Compare chs. xv. 23, 24, xvi. 38, xxiii. 4-32, xxvi. 1-28.

50. *The sons of Aaron.*] This list is a mere repetition of that given in verses 3 to 8. It came, however, probably from a different source—a source belonging to the time of David, with whom Ahimaaz (the last name in the list) was contemporary. The other list (verses 4-15) came no doubt from a document belonging to the time of the Captivity (see verse 15).

54. *Their castles.*] Rather "their **strongholds**," or "their **fortified places**." (Compare Gen. xxv. 16; Num. xxxi. 10.)

their's was the lot.] *I. e.* "the *first* lot." The Kohathites had the *first* lot among the Levitical families, as being the family whereto the High-priesthood was attached. (Compare Josh. xxi. 10.)

55. *They gave them Hebron.*] So Josh. xxi. 11. The exception, that Caleb had the fields and the villages, is also noted in Joshua (xx. 12). Originally all Hebron had been given to Caleb as his inheritance (Josh. xiv. 14).

56-81.] In this entire passage the writer evidently had before him Josh. xxi., which he followed, as to its matter, closely. In some cases he perhaps modernised the ancient names (see verses 58, 60, 72, &c.); in a few he substituted for the old an entirely new name, the modern appellation, probably, of the ancient site (see verses 70 and 77). At one time, it would seem, his intention was to give the cities of the priests only, and to content himself with stating the mere number of the rest. His account of the matter was then brought to a conclusion, and summed up, in verse 64. But, afterwards, either he or a later writer thought it best to add to the list of the priestly cities the information contained in Judges as to those which were not priestly, but merely Levitical. The passage from verses 65 to 81 was then added.

The entire account has suffered much from corruption. In the first list two names, those of Juttah and Gibeon, have dropped out. It is necessary to restore them in order to complete the number of thirteen cities, which the text gives (verse 60). In the second list (verses 67 to 70) there is likewise an omission of two cities, Eltekeh and Gibbethon, which are wanted to make up the number, ten (verse 61). The third list is complete, though some of the names are very different from those of Joshua. In the fourth, two names are again wanting, those of Jokneam and Kartah.

58. *Hilen.*] Called in Josh. xxi. 15 "Holon," which only differs from Hilen in the vocalisation.

59. *Ashan.*] "Ashan," which takes the place of Joshua's "Ain" (xxi. 16), can scarcely be the same city as Ain, since the two are mentioned together, not only in Joshua (xix. 7), but also in Chronicles (1 Chr. iv. 32). We must therefore suppose a cor-

60 And out of the tribe of Benjamin; Geba with her suburbs, and ‖ Alemeth with her suburbs, and Anathoth with her suburbs. All their cities throughout their families *were* thirteen cities.

‖ Or, *Almon*, Josh. 21. 18.

61 And unto the sons of Kohath, *which were* left of the family of that tribe, *were cities given* out of the half tribe, *namely*, *out of* the half *tribe* of Manasseh, [c] by lot, ten cities.

[c] Josh. 21. 5.

62 And to the sons of Gershom throughout their families out of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

63 Unto the sons of Merari *were given* by lot, throughout their families, out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, [a] twelve cities.

[a] Josh. 21. 7, 34.

64 And the children of Israel gave to the Levites *these* cities with their suburbs.

65 And they gave by lot out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, and out of the tribe of the children of Benjamin, these cities, which are called by *their* names.

66 And *the residue* of the families of the sons of Kohath had cities of their coasts out of the tribe of Ephraim.

67 [b] And they gave unto them, *of* the cities of refuge, Shechem in mount Ephraim with her suburbs; *they gave* also Gezer with her suburbs,

[b] Josh. 21. 21.

68 And Jokmeam with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs,

69 And Aijalon with her suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs:

70 And out of the half tribe of Manasseh; Aner with her suburbs, and Bileam with her suburbs, for the family of the remnant of the sons of Kohath.

71 Unto the sons of Gershom *were given* out of the family of the half tribe of Manasseh, Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, and Ashtaroth with her suburbs:

72 And out of the tribe of Issachar; Kedesh with her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs,

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rupt reading, either in this place or in Josh. xxi. 16.

60. *Alemeth.*] "Almon" in Josh. xxi. 18, which is probably the ancient form of the name. The place is still called *Almit.*

61. *To the sons of Kohath which were left.*] *I.e.* to such of them as were not priests.

out of the half tribe . . . ten cities.] The half tribe furnished two cities only (see verse 70, and compare Josh. xxi. 25). It is evident therefore that something has fallen out. We may supply from Joshua the words "**out of Ephraim and out of Dan, and**" before "out of the half tribe."

65. *Judah . . . . Simeon . . . . Benjamin.*] Compare Josh. xxi. 9, 17.

which are called by their names.] *I. e.* "which have been mentioned by name" (supra, verses 57-60).

68. *Jokmeam.*] For "Jokmeam" we have "Kibzaim" in Josh. (xxi. 22), a place otherwise unknown. "Jokmeam" is mentioned in Kings (1 K. iv. 12), and appears to have been in the Jordan valley. It is probably the right reading in both lists, "Kibzaim" being a corruption. Or Kibzaim may be another name of the place. (See note on Josh. xxi. 22.)

69. *Aijalon.*] Two cities have fallen out before Aijalon, viz. Eltekeh and Gibbethon (compare Josh. xxi, 23). They are needed to make up the number of ten, mentioned in verse 61.

70. *Aner . . . Bileam.*] "Aner" takes the place of "Tanach" in the list of Joshua (xxi. 25), and "Bileam" the place of a second "Gath-rimmon." In the former case the variant forms are sufficiently alike for one of them (Aner) to have arisen from corruption. In the latter there is no such resemblance, and we must suppose, either that the second "Gath-rimmon" in Joshua is an accidental repetition of the first, due to a scribe's error, or that "Bileam" was the later name of a city which had previously been called "Gath-rimmon."

71. *Ashtaroth.*] For "Ashtaroth" we have in Joshua the strange name of "Beeshterah," which is probably a corruption of Beth-Astaroth"—the full name of the city. "Ashtaroth" is often mentioned as one of the chief cities of Bashan (Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4; xiii. 12, 31, &c.).

72. *Kedesh, &c.*] "Kedesh" takes the place of "Kishon" in Joshua (xxi. 28), "Da-

73 And Ramoth with her suburbs, and Anem with her suburbs:
74 And out of the tribe of Asher; Mashal with her suburbs, and Abdon with her suburbs,
75 And Hukok with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs:
76 And out of the tribe of Naphtali; Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, and Hammon with her suburbs, and Kirjathaim with her suburbs.
77 Unto the rest of the children of Merari *were given* out of the tribe of Zebulun, Rimmon with her suburbs, Tabor with her suburbs:
78 And on the other side Jordan by Jericho, on the east side of Jordan, *were given them* out of the tribe of Reuben, ‖Bezer in the wilderness with her suburbs, and Jahzah with her suburbs,
79 Kedemoth also with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs:
80 And out of the tribe of Gad; Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, and Mahanaim with her suburbs,
81 And Heshbon with her suburbs, and Jazer with her suburbs.

‖ Or, *Bozor*, Josh. 21. 35.

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berath" of "Dabareh," "Ramoth" of "Jarmuth," and "Anem" of "En-gannim." "Daberath" and "Anem" may be later forms of the names which were originally "Dabareh" and "En-gannim." "Ramoth" is probably the correct reading in Joshua, instead of Jarmuth, since we have a "Remeth" and no "Jarmuth" in the list of the cities of Issachar (Josh. xix. 17, 22). "Kedesh" is perhaps a scribe's error for "Kishon" or "Kishion," which is coupled with Remeth and En-gannim in Josh. xix. (20, 21).

74. *Mashal.*] "Mishal" in Joshua. "Mashal" is probably the later or Galilean form of the name.

75. *Hukok.*] "Helkath" in Joshua (xxi. 31); which is probably the true reading (see Josh. xix. 25), and should be restored here.

76. *Hammon.*] For "Hammon," Joshua has "Hammoth-dor" (xxi. 32), and in the list of the cities of Naphtali (xix. 35), "Hammath." "Hammon" is probably a later form of "Hammoth." Compare the modern "Hammâm," "hot baths."

Kirjathaim.] In the list of Joshua (xxi. 32) this place is called "Kartan," which is perhaps a contracted form of the same word.

77. *Unto the rest of the children of Merari.*] Rather, "Unto the rest, the children of Merari"—that is to say, "unto the remainder of the Levites, who were descendants of Merari,"—the two other branches, the Kohathites and the Gershomites, having been treated of previously.

Rimmon . . . Tabor.] Two cities, mentioned in Joshua, are here omitted, viz, Jokneam and Kartah. They are required to complete the number of twelve, which is given in verse 63. Instead of Rimmon and Tabor, we have in Joshua (xxi. 35) Dimnah and Nahalal. In the former case the variation in the names may be explained by corruption; but in the latter, where they are completely different, it seems most probable that the place had changed its name.

78. *Bezer . . . Jahzah.*] These names, and those which follow, have exactly the same form in Joshua as here, though the Authorised Version gives Jahazah in Josh. xxi. 36 incorrectly. For the position of the Levitical cities generally, see notes on Joshua.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 28.

Instead of the present text—

ובני שמואל הבכר ושני ואביה

the original doubtless ran—

ובני שמואל יואל הבכר ושני אביה

The *homoioteleuton* of Samuel and Joel led to the omission of the latter; and when that name had fallen out, the insertion of a ו before Abiah followed naturally.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The sons of Issachar,* 6 *of Benjamin,* 13 *of Naphtali,* 14 *of Manasseh,* 20, 24 *and of Ephraim.* 21 *The calamity of Ephraim by the men of Gath.* 23 *Beriah is born.* 28 *Ephraim's habitations.* 30 *The sons of Asher.*

NOW the sons of Issachar *were,* [c] Tola, and Puah, Jashub, and Shimrom, four.

[c] Gen. 46. 13. Num. 26. 23.

2 And the sons of Tola; Uzzi, and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and Jibsam, and Shemuel, heads of their father's house, *to wit,* of Tola: *they were* valiant men of might in their generations; [d] whose number *was* in the days of David two and twenty thousand and six hundred.

[d] 2 Sam. 24. 1, 2.

3 And the sons of Uzzi; Izrahiah: and the sons of Izrahiah; Michael, and Obadiah, and Joel, Ishiah, five: all of them chief men.

4 And with them, by their generations, after the house of their fathers, *were* bands of soldiers for war, six and thirty thousand *men:* for they had many wives and sons.

5 And their brethren among all the families of Issachar *were* valiant men of might, reckoned in all by their genealogies fourscore and seven thousand.

6 ¶ *The sons* of [e] Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, and Jediael, three.

[e] Gen. 46. 21.

7 And the sons of Bela; Ezbon, and Uzzi, and Uzziel, and Jerimoth,

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CHAP. VII. 1. *The sons of Issachar.*] Compare Gen. xlvi. 13, and Num. xxvi. 23, 24. In both of these passages the name of the second son is given with that slight difference which is rightly regarded as only another way of spelling the same word. But the name of the third son, which is "Jashub" in Chronicles and Numbers, appears as Job in Genesis, probably by a scribe's error. (The LXX. have Ἀσούμ or Ἰασούφ to represent the name in Genesis.)

2. *Whose number was in the days of David.*] The writer would seem by this passage to have had access to the statistics of the tribes collected by David, when he sinfully "numbered the people" (see 2 S. xxiv. 1-9). The numbers given in verses 4 and 5 probably came from the same source.

3. *Five.*] The names in the present text are only four. It is clear that one name must have fallen out, as in ch. iii. 22. A *vau* conjunctive has also fallen out before Isaiah.

5. *Fourscore and seven thousand.*] This number implies that Issachar was a tribe of more than average strength, since the entire return from all the tribes, except Judah, was no more than 800,000 men (2 S. xxiv. 9).

6. *The sons of Benjamin . . . three.*] In Genesis *ten* "sons" of Benjamin are mentioned (xlvi. 21); in Numbers, five (xxvi. 38, 39). Neither list, however, contains the Jediael of the present passage. Some regard "Jediael" as a corruption of "Ashbel" who appears as the third son in Genesis and the second in Numbers and 1 Chr. viii. 1. This is possible; but perhaps it is more probable that he was a later chieftain, and that "son" as applied to him means only "descendant."

Bela and Becher.] Bela holds the same place in all the lists, at the head of the sons of Benjamin; but with respect to Becher there is great difficulty. He appears both in this place and in Gen. xlvi. 21, but not in Num. xxvi. 38, nor in 1 Chr. viii. 1. Moreover, in this last passage, as the text stands, he appears to be excluded, for Ashbel is called Benjamin's "*second* son." It has been supposed by some that Benjamin had no son "Becher," and that the name, where it occurs, originated from the Hebrew term for "first-born" (*bechor*), which closely resembles it. But the present passage (especially verse 8) is conclusive against this ingenious theory. Becher must retain his place among the sons of Benjamin; and the only question is, why has he disappeared from the lists in Numbers and 1 Chr. viii.? Certainly not because he had no descendants, since they numbered at one time 20,200 men (verse 9). It is a reasonable conjecture of Bp. A. Hervey, that Becher, or his heir, married an Ephraimite heiress, and that his house thus passed over in a certain sense into the tribe of Ephraim, in which the "Bachrites" are placed in Numbers (xxvi. 35). Hence his omission in Num. xxvi. 38, and in 1 Chr. viii. 1. He retains, however, his place here, because, by right of blood, he really belonged to Benjamin.

7. *The sons of Bela.*] The list here is remarkably different from that in ch. viii. 3-5, and also from that in Num. xxvi. 40. Probably the persons here mentioned were not literally "sons," but were among the later descendants of Bela, being the chief men of the family at the time of David's census. (See note on verse 2.) The same is to be said of the "sons of Becher" (verse 8), and the "sons of Jediael" (verse 10).

and Iri, five; heads of the house of *their* fathers, mighty men of valour; and were reckoned by their genealogies twenty and two thousand and thirty and four.

8 And the sons of Becher; Zemira, and Joash, and Eliezer, and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jerimoth, and Abiah, and Anathoth, and Alameth. All these *are* the sons of Becher.

9 And the number of them, after their genealogy by their generations, heads of the house of their fathers, mighty men of valour, *was* twenty thousand and two hundred.

10 The sons also of Jediael; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and Zethan, and Tharshish, and Ahishahar.

11 All these the sons of Jediael, by the heads of their fathers, mighty men of valour, *were* seventeen thousand and two hundred *soldiers*, fit to go out for war *and* battle.

12 Shuppim also, and Huppim, the children of ‖ Ir, *and* Hushim, the sons of ‖ Aher.

‖ Or, *Iri*, ver. 7.

‖ Or, *Ahiram*, Num. 26. 38.

13 ¶ The sons of Naphtali; Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, the sons of Bilhah.

14 ¶ The sons of Manasseh; Ashriel, whom she bare: (*but* his concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the father of Gilead:

15 And Machir took to wife *the sister* of Huppim and Shuppim, whose sister's name *was* Maachah;) and the name of the second *was* Zelophehad: and Zelophehad had daughters.

16 And Maachah the wife of Machir bare a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name of his brother *was* Sheresh; and his sons *were* Ulam and Rakem.

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12. *Shuppim and Huppim, the children of Ir.*] In Gen. xlvi. 21 Muppim and Huppim are mentioned among the actual "sons" of Benjamin, who went down with Jacob into Egypt. And in Num. xxvi. 39 the Shuphamites and Huphamites appear as divisions of the Benjamites, quite distinct from the family of Bela. When, therefore, the writer of Chronicles makes Shuppim and Huppim sons of Ir, or Iri, a comparatively late descendant of Bela (see note on verse 7), he must mean that in his times these families had been adopted into and were reckoned with that of Ir, from which they were originally quite separate.

Hushim.] In Gen. xlvi. 23 "Hushim" is the son of Dan. He is mentioned next in succession to the Benjamites and immediately before Naphtali. Hence it has been argued by Bertheau that the author of Chronicles did not really omit Dan altogether from his list, but introduced him at this point. But in that case the original text must have been entirely lost, and a reading introduced of which no reasonable account can be given. It seems better to regard the Hushim here mentioned as a different person (or tribe) from the Hushim of Genesis.

the sons of Aher.] The use of the plural "sons" here may be explained by the plural form of the name "Hushim," which designates a tribe rather than an individual. Nothing is known of "Aher," for there is no reason to regard him as identical with the "Ahiram" of Num. xxvi. 38, who is called, not "Aher," but "Aharah" in the next chapter (ch. viii. 1).

13. *The sons of Naphtali.*] Compare Gen. xlvi. 24 and Num. xxvi. 48, where the four names are very nearly the same.

14. *Ashriel, whom she bare.*] There is clearly some defect in the text here. Either the name of Ashriel's mother has fallen out; or if, as the Hebrew allows, Maachah the Aramite concubine was Ashriel's mother, then there is an omission of a female name before the words "bare Machir." This Ashriel is probably identical with the Asriel, called a "son of Gilead," in Num. xxvi. 31, who is probably the Asriel of Josh. xvii. 2.

Machir the father of Gilead.] Compare Gen. l. 23; Num. xxvi. 29; Josh. xvii. 1. 3.

15. *The name of the second was Zelophehad.*] This is very obscure, more especially as we find from Numbers (xxvi. 33) and Joshua (xvii. 3) that Zelophehad was a son of Hepher, who was a grandson of Machir. It may be suspected that the text has here undergone some considerable depravation.

Zelophehad had daughters.] Compare Josh xvii. 3-6, where the claim made by these persons to an inheritance among their brethren, and its allowance, are related.

16-17. *Peresh . . . Sheresh . . . Ulam . . . Rakem . . . Bedan.*] None of these descendants of Machir are elsewhere men-

17 And the sons of Ulam; *f* Bedan. These *were* the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh.

18 And his sister Hammoleketh bare Ishod, and Abiezer, and Mahalah.

19 And the sons of Shemidah were, Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam.

20 ¶ And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son,

21 ¶ And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath *that were* born in *that* land slew, because

f 1 Sam. 12. 11.

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tioned, unless "Bedan" is the "judge" of that name, united in 1 Sam. xii. 11 with Gideon, Jephthah, and Samuel.

17. *These were the sons of Gilead.*] These descendants of Machir, that is, were reckoned to the family of Gilead. The name "Gilead" prevailed above all others in the line of Manasseh, the term "Gileadite" almost taking the place of "Manassite."

18. *Abiezer.*] From Josh. xvii. 2 we should have supposed Abiezer to have been an actual son of Manasseh; but this passage seems to give his true position in the genealogy. He was the son of Hammoleketh, Gilead's sister, the grandson of Machir, and consequently the great grandson of Manasseh. His descendants formed one of the most important branches of the Manassites. They furnished to Israel the greatest of the Judges, Gideon (Jud. vi. 11, 24, 34), and were regarded as the leading family among the so-called "sons of Gilead." (See Num. xxvi. 30, where they are called "Jeezerites," and compare Josh. xvii. 2.)

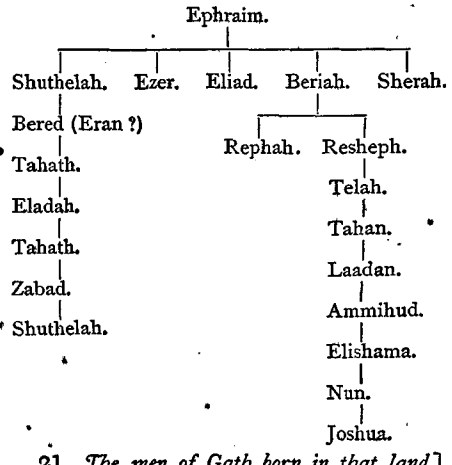
19. *Shemidah.*] The writer has not mentioned Shemidah before, and his position in the list is left quite uncertain here. In Num. xxvi. 32 he appears among the "sons of Gilead," and in Josh. xvii. 2 among the "male children of Manasseh." He may have been an actual son of Gilead, or he may have been a more distant relative whose family was reckoned among the Gileadites.

Shechem.] The "Shechemites" appear as a distinct branch of the Gileadites in Num. xxvi. 31. They obtained a separate "lot" at the division of the Holy Land under Joshua (Josh. xvii. 2), when "the children of Shemida" had another "lot."

20. *The sons of Ephraim.*] In Numbers three "sons of Ephraim" are mentioned—Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan. Shuthelah has one son, Eran (xxvi. 35, 36). In the present passage the genealogy is difficult to follow. According to the most natural construction, the line is carried from Ephraim through seven generations to a younger Shuthelah, whom, together with his brothers, Ezer and Elead, "the men of Gath slew." Ephraim their father, who is represented as still alive, mourned their loss, and in allusion to it named a son, born to him soon after, Beriah. Beriah became, through seven or eight generations, the ancestor of Joshua. The difficulty here is to imagine Ephraim outliving his seventh descendant, and still retaining such vigour as to be the father of another child. To meet this some have suggested that "Ephraim" here does not mean the individual, but his representative, the head of the tribe at the time of the calamity, which they refer to a period later than Joshua. But this explanation is very forced. The best suggestion seems to be that thrown out by Bertheau, that the words "and Ezer and Elead," in verse 21, are to be joined on to the word "Shuthelah" in verse 20, those individuals not having been sons of Zabad and brothers of the second Shuthelah, but natural sons of Ephraim. The passage would then run—

"And the sons of Ephraim, Shuthelah (and Bered *was* his son, and Tahath, his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son) and Ezer and Elead, whom the men of Gath slew."

The genealogy of Ephraim would then be as follows:—



21. *The men of Gath born in that land.*] The settled inhabitants, as contrasted with the nomadic Hebrews, Amalekites, &c.

they came down to take away their cattle.

22 And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him.

23 ¶ And when he went in to his wife, she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house.

24 (And his daughter *was* Sherah, who built Beth-horon the nether, and the upper, and Uzzen-sherah.)

25 And Rephah *was* his son, also Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son,

26 Laadan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son,

‖ Or, *Nun*, Num. 13. 27 ‖Non his son, Jehoshuah his son.

28 ¶ And their possessions and habitations *were*, Beth-el and the towns thereof, and eastward [a]Naaran, and westward Gezer, with the [†]towns thereof; Shechem also and the towns thereof, unto [‖]Gaza and the towns thereof:

29 And by the borders of the children of [b]Manasseh, Beth-shean and her towns, Taanach and her towns, [c]Megiddo and her towns, Dor and her towns. In these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel.

30 ¶ [d]The sons of Asher; Imnah, and Isuah, and Ishuai, and Beriah, and Serah their sister.

31 And the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel, who *is* the father of Birzavith.

[a] Josh. 16. 7.
[†] Heb. *daughter.*
[‖] Or, *Adasa*, 1 Mac. 7. 45.
[b] Josh. 17. 7.
[c] Josh. 17 11.
[d] Gen. 46. 17.

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they came down.] This expression has been thought unsuitable to an attack on the Philistine country *from Egypt;* but the marauders would not improbably fetch a circuit in order to come upon their enemies unprepared, and might in that case have "come down" on them from the hill country of southern Palestine.

22. *His brethren came to comfort him.*] Compare Gen. xxxvii. 35.

23. *Beriah.*] That is, "in evil." Some, however, regard the word as meaning "a gift," and translate the whole passage—"he called his name Beriah, because there was a gift to his house." But the rendering of our Version seems preferable.

24. *His daughter was Sherah.*] It is not clear whether Sherah is to be regarded as a daughter of Beriah or a daughter of Ephraim. In either case, she could scarcely herself have built the Palestinian cities here mentioned, which must belong to a time not earlier than Joshua. By "she built" we must understand "her descendants built."

Beth-horon, the nether and the upper.] See note on Josh. x. 10.

Uzzen-sherah.] This place is not elsewhere mentioned; for it is certainly not the "Timnath-serah" of Josh. xix. 50; xxiv. 30. It was clearly named after Sherah herself.

26. *Ammihud . . . Elishama.*] Elishama, the son of Ammihud, was the head of the tribe of Ephraim at the time of the Exodus, and is mentioned Num. i. 10; ii. 18; vii. 48-53; and x. 22. The descent of Joshua from these personages appears only from the present passage.

28. *Naaran.*] Probably the same place as Naarath (or rather, Naarah), a city of the lower Jordan valley, about five miles from Jericho. (See note on Josh. xvi. 7.)

unto Gaza.] In the formal division of the Holy Land under Joshua, Gaza was assigned to Judah, to which by its southern position it naturally belonged (Josh. xv. 47); and it would seem that at one time Judah actually obtained possession of it (Jud. i. 18). But it soon reverted to the Philistines (Jud. xvi. 1, 21) and continued to be held by them, excepting for a few short intervals, down to the Persian conquest. It is difficult to understand how Ephraim can at any time have even claimed a possession so far to the south. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to read "Gaja" for Gaza, which is found in some MSS. Of "Gaja," however, nothing more is known.

29. *Beth-shean, Taanach, Megiddo.*] See notes on 1 K. iv. 12.

Dor.] See note on 1 K. iv. 11.

30. *The sons of Asher.*] This account agrees exactly with Gen. xlvi. 17, if we make allowance for some slight changes in the spelling of some of the names. In Numbers (xxvi. 44) the second son, Isuah or Ishuah, is omitted.

31. *The father of Birzavith.*] "Birzavith" is probably a place, where the Malchielites settled. (Compare ch. iv. 50-51: iv. 5, &c.) Its situation is wholly unknown to us.

32 And Heber begat Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua their sister.

33 And the sons of Japhlet; Pasach, and Bimhal, and Ashvath. These *are* the children of Japhlet.

34 And the sons of Shamer; Ahi, and Rohgah, Jehubbah, and Aram.

35 And the sons of his brother Helem; Zophah, and Imna, and Shelesh, and Amal.

36 The sons of Zophah; Suah, and Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah,

37 Bezer, and Hod, and Shamma, and Shilshah, and Ithran, and Beera.

38 And the sons of Jether; Jephunneh, and Pispah, and Ara.

39 And the sons of Ulla; Arah, and Haniel, and Rezia.

40 All these *were* the children of Asher, heads of *their* father's house, choice *and* mighty men of valour, chief of the princes. And the number throughout the genealogy of them that were apt to the war *and* to battle *was* twenty and six thousand men.

32. *Shomer.*] Called "Shamer" in verse 34.

Hotham.] Called "Helem" in verse 35.

34. *The sons of Shamer, Ahi and Rohgah.*] The proper translation of this passage is undoubtedly—"The sons of Shamer, **his brother**, Rohgah, &c." (See additional note at the end of the chapter).

35. *The sons of . . . Helem.*] In the Hebrew, it is "son," not "sons." But the letter *yod* has probably fallen out.

37. *Ithran.*] Called "Jether" in verse 38.

39. *The sons of Ulla.*] The name "Ulla," which has not occurred before, must either have dropped out of some previous verse, or have undergone some considerable corruption. It cannot be reasonably compared with any of the preceding names.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 34.

For ובני שמר אחי ורוהגה, we should read ובני שמר אחיו רוהגה; since, if Ahi were a name, Rohgah would have followed without a connective.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The sons and chief men of Benjamin.* 33 *The stock of Saul and Jonathan.*

[e] Gen. 46. 21. Num. 26. 38.

NOW Benjamin begat [e] Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the second, and Aharah the third,

2 Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth.

3 And the sons of Bela were, [f] Addar, and Gera, and Abihud,

[f] Or, *Ard*, Gen. 46. 21.

4 And Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah,

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Benjamin begat Bela.*] The reason of this return to the genealogy of the Benjamites seems to be the desire to connect the genealogical introduction with the historical body of the work. As the history is to begin with Saul, the genealogical portion is made to end with an account of the family of this Benjamite monarch. (See verses 33-40 of this chapter, and verses 35-44 of the next.)

Ashbel, the second.] On the omission from this list of Becher, who was really Benjamin's second son (Gen. xlvi. 21), see note on ch. vii. 6.

Aharah, the third.] The "Aharah" of this passage is clearly the "Ahiram" of Num. xxvi. 38, who was the progenitor of the Ahiramites. He is perhaps the "Ehi" of Gen. xlvi. 21, who occurs there in the sixth place among the sons of Benjamin.

2. *Nohah . . . Rapha.*] These "sons of Benjamin" are not elsewhere mentioned. Probably they were born to him after his descent into Egypt.

3. *Addar.*] This name is given as "Ard," both in Numbers (xxvi. 40) and in Genesis (xlvi. 21) the change arising from a mere transposition of two very similar letters. Though called a "son" of Benjamin in Genesis, Ard appears to have been really a grandson.

4. *Naaman.*] Compare Num. xxvi. 40.

5 And Gera, and [1]Shephuphan, and Huram.

6 And these *are* the sons of Ehud: these are the heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Geba, and they [f] removed them to Manahath:

7 And Naaman, and Ahiah, and Gera, he removed them, and begat Uzza, and Ahihud.

8 And Shaharaim begat *children* in the country of Moab, after he had sent them away; Hushim and Baara *were* his wives.

9 And he begat of Hodesh his wife, Jobab, and Zibia, and Mesha, and Malcham,

10 And Jeuz, and Shachia, and Mirma. These *were* his sons, heads of the fathers.

11 And of Hushim he begat Ahitub, and Elpaal.

12 The sons of Elpaal; Eber, and Misham, and Shamed, who built Ono, and Lod, with the towns thereof:

13 Beriah also, and Shema, who *were* heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who drove away the inhabitants of Gath:

[1] Or, *Shupham*, Num. 26. 39.

[f] ch. 2. 52.

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5. *And Gera.*] The occurrence of the name "Gera" twice over among the sons of Bela is strange. Probably in one or other of the two places the real name has been corrupted.

Shephuphan and Huram.] It has been generally seen that these persons must be the "Shupham and Hupham" of Num. xxvi. 39, who can scarcely be different from the "Muppim and Huppim" of Gen. xlvi. 21, or from the Shuppim and Huppim of 1 Chr. vii. 12. Whether they were actual sons of Benjamin, or sons of Bela, is perhaps uncertain; but as they went with Benjamin into Egypt when he was under forty, they cannot have been further removed from him than the second generation. (See note on ch. vii. 12.)

6. *Ehud.*] Some regard this "Ehud" as identical with the "Ehud" mentioned in ch. vii. 10 as a descendant of Benjamin. The two names, however, are not the same in the Hebrew; and the "Ehud" of this place ought to have been mentioned previously *in the present passage.* It is, therefore, more probable that we have here once more a case of corruption, and that this "Ehud" is either the "Abihud" of verse 3 or the "Ahoah" of verse 4. The latter of these names differs from Ehud in the original by only one letter. (See note A at the end of the chapter.)

Geba.] On this important Benjamite town, see note on Josh. xviii. 24, where in our version it is called "Gaba."

and they removed them to Manahath.] "They" has no antecedent; and it is difficult to supply one. Almost all commentators suppose that there has been some corruption in the place, from which, however, we may gather that the "sons of Ehud" (Ahoah?) were originally settled at Geba, but afterwards removed to a place called Manahath, which was probably a town in the vicinity. The "Gera" of the next verse directed the movement.

7. *And Naaman.*] "And" here is due probably to the mistake of a scribe, and should be cancelled. Naaman, Ahiah, and Gera will then stand as the three "sons of Ehud," chiefs of the inhabitants of Geba, whose names are the complement of the introductory phrase, "These are the sons of Ehud."

He removed them.] He, *i.e.* Gera, the last antecedent, removed the Ehudites from Geba to Manahath. (See the last note on verse 6.)

8. *And Shaharaim.*] Houbigant proposes to repeat these words, and to make the passage run thus—"Gera . . . begat Uzza, and Ahihud, and Shaharaim. And Shaharaim begat children in the land of Moab, &c."

after he had sent them away.] A corruption in the Hebrew text produces the word "them," which comes in so awkwardly here. (See note B at the end of the chapter.) Translate, "after he had **divorced his wives**, Hushim and Baara."

12. *Ono and Lod.*] These places are again mentioned together in Ezra ii. 33 and also in Neh. vii. 37. There can be no doubt that "Lod" was the same as "Lydda" (Acts ix. 32), which is now *Lydd.* Ono, according to Eusebius, was in the immediate neighbourhood, being only three Roman miles distant from Lydda. Its site has not yet been identified.

13. *Beriah also and Shema.*] These names are to be attached to those in the last verse. They complete the list of the sons of Elpaal.

Aijalon.] Aijalon (now *Yalo*) was originally allotted to the tribe of Dan. (Josh. xix. 42); but the Danites were unable to conquer it (Jud. i. 35). Later it was reckoned to Ephraim (ch. vi. 66, 69); but the present passage shows that it came ultimately to be possessed by the Benjamites. Hence it formed part of the kingdom of Judah, and, as a frontier town, was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 10).

14 And Ahio, Shashak, and Jeremoth,
15 And Zebadiah, and Arad, and Ader,
16 And Michael, and Ispah, and Joha, the sons of Beriah;
17 And Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and Hezeki, and Heber,
18 Ishmerai also, and Jezliah, and Jobab, the sons of Elpaal;
19 And Jakim, and Zichri, and Zabdi,
20 And Elienai, and Zilthai, and Eliel,
21 And Adaiah, and Beraiah, and Shimrath, the sons of ‖Shimhi;
22 And Ishpan, and Heber, and Eliel,
23 And Abdon, and Zichri, and Hanan,
24 And Hananiah, and Elam, and Antothijah,
25 And Iphedeiah, and Penuel, the sons of Shashak;
26 And Shamsherai, and Shehariah, and Athaliah,
27 And Jaresiah, and Eliah, and Zichri, the sons of Jeroham.
28 These *were* heads of the fathers, by their generations, chief *men*. These dwelt in Jerusalem.
29 And at Gibeon dwelt the ‖father of Gibeon; whose [ε] wife's name *was* Maachah:
30 And his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Nadab,
31 And Gedor, and Ahio, and ‖Zacher.
32 And Mikloth begat ‖Shimeah. And these also dwelt with their brethren in Jerusalem, over against them.
33 ¶ And [h] Ner begat Kish, and

‖ Or, *Shema*, ver. 13.
‖ Called *Jehiel*, ch. 9. 35.
[ε] ch. 9. 35.
‖ Or, *Zechariah*, ch. 9. 37.
‖ Or, *Shimeam*, ch. 9. 38.
[h] 1 Sam. 14. 51.

Who drove away the inhabitants of Gath.] Some see in these words an allusion to the same circumstances which are touched upon in verse 21 of ch. vii., noting that the name "Beriah" is common to both narratives. But as the two Beriahs have different fathers, and belong to different tribes, the recurrence of the name fails to establish any connection. A defeat of the Gittites by the Benjamites of Aijalon, long subsequent to the events related in ch. vii. 21 is probably here noticed.

18. *The sons of Elpaal.*] The "Heber," "Meshullam," and "Ishmerai" of this list may reprecent the "Eber," "Misham," and "Shamed" of verse 12. The remaining names are new.

21. *The sons of Shimhi.*] The "Shimhi" of this verse is probably the "Shema" of verse 13.

25. *The sons of Shashak.*] Compare verse 14, where Shashak is mentioned among the sons of Beriah.

27. *The sons of Jeroham.*] The "Jeroham" of this verse is probably the same person as the "Jeremoth" of verse 14, the name having in one place or the other suffered corruption.

28. *These dwelt at Jerusalem.*] Jerusalem was partly within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28); but we do not hear of Benjamites inhabiting it until after the return from the captivity. There we are expressly told that "in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin" (1 Chr. ix. 3; Neh. xi. 4).

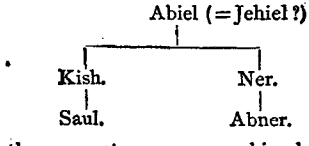
29. *Gibeon.*] Gibeon is not to be confounded with Gibeah, the capital of Saul's kingdom (1 Sam. x. 26; xiii. 2, 15; xv. 34). It is represented by the modern *El-Jib*, distant about 5 or 6 miles from Jerusalem.

the father of Gibeon.] That is, the chief of the city. (Compare note on ch. vii. 31.) His name, Jehiel, which has dropt out here, is recovered from ch. ix. 35, where this whole genealogy is repeated.

30. *Baal and Nadab.*] After "Baal" the words "and Ner" seem to have slipped out. They may be restored from ch. ix. 36.

31. *Zacher.*] After "Zacher" (or rather "Zachariah") should be added the words "and Mikloth." (Compare ch. ix. 37.)

33. *Ner begat Kish.*] From 1 Sam. ix. 1, and xiv. 50, 51, we should naturally have arranged the genealogy of Saul as follows:—



But the present passage, combined with ch.

Kish begat Saul, and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and [1]Esh-baal.

34 And the son of Jonathan *was* [1]Merib-baal; and Merib-baal begat Micah.

35 And the sons of Micah *were*, Pithon, and Melech, and [1]Tarea, and Ahaz.

36 And Ahaz begat Jehoadah; and Jehoadah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza,

37 And Moza begat Binea: Rapha *was* his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son:

38 And Azel had six sons, whose names *are* these, Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan. All these *were* the sons of Azel.

39 And the sons of Eshek his brother *were*, Ulam his firstborn, Jehush the second, and Eliphelet the third.

40 And the sons of Ulam were mighty men of valour, archers, and had many sons, and sons' sons, an hundred and fifty. All these *are* of the sons of Benjamin.

[1] Or, *Ish-bosheth*, 2 Sam. 2. 8.
[1] Or, *Mephibosheth*, 2 Sam. 4. 4.
[1] Or, *Tahrea*, ch. 9. 41.

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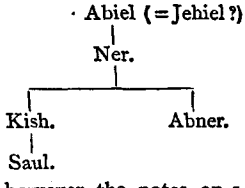
ix. 35-39, seems to show that the real descent was rather—



Compare, however, the notes on 1 Sam. xiv. 50 and 51.

Saul begat Jonathan, &c.] In 1 Sam. xiv. 49 the sons of Saul are given as, (1) Jonathan; (2) Ishui; and (3) Melchi-shua; while in 1 Sam. xxxi. 2 they are (1) Jonathan; (2) Abinadab; (3) Melchi-shua. From this it has been generally concluded that Saul's second son bore the two names of "Ishui" and "Abinadab." But the order of the names here—(1) Jonathan; (2) Melchi-shua; and (3) Abinadab—suggests another explanation, viz., that Ishui, the second son, died young, and that Abinadab was really the fourth son.

Esh-baal.] It has been already noticed that, previously to the introduction of the Phœnician Baal-worship into Israel by Ahab, the word "Baal" had no bad sense in Hebrew, but was simply an equivalent of the more ordinary *El*, "God." (See note on 1 Chr. iii. 8.) Hence, there is nothing strange in the use at this time of the names, "Esh-baal" ("man of God"), "Baal," "Beel-iada," "Merib-baal," &c. Later on in the history, however, such names became offensive to pious ears, and were changed for the better, or for the worse, "Beel-iada" becoming "El-iada" ("let God aid")—"Esh-baal," "Ish-bosheth" ("man of shame")—"Merib-baal," "Mephi-bosheth"; and the like.

On the history of Esh-baal, or Ish-bosheth, see 2 Sam. ii. 8-10; iii. 6-15; iv. 1-12.

34. *The son of Jonathan was Merib-baal.*] There can be no doubt that Merib-baal is the same as Mephibosheth, since Mephi-bosheth had a son called Micah (2 Sam. ix. 12), and since Jonathan appears to have had only one son. The object of changing the *first* element in the name is not apparent.

36. *Jehoadah.*] For "Jehoadah," the parallel genealogy in the next chapter has "Jarah" (verse 42); and for the "Rapha" of verse 37, "Rephaiah" (verse 43).

38. *Bocheru.*] The absence of the *vau* conjunctive before this word, both here and in ch. ix. 44, makes it probable that the true meaning is "**his first-born**," as the LXX render. The "six" sons of Azel are however in this case reduced to five.

40. *Sons and sons' sons.*] This genealogy of the house of Saul appears by the number of the generations to belong probably to the time of Hezekiah. (Compare ch. iv. 41.) Ulam's "sons' sons" are in the 13th generation from Jonathan, as Hezekiah is in the 13th generation from David.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 6 and 8.

NOTE A, on verse 6.

The "Ehud" of ch. vii. 10 is in the original אהוד, while the "Ehud" of this passage is אחוד. The Ahoah of verse 4 is אחוח.

NOTE B, on verse 8.

Instead of מן־שלחו אתם חושים ואת־בערא (which is ungrammatical, since את should occur before both names or neither) we must read מן־שלחו את־חושים ואת־בערא.

CHAPTER IX.

1 The original of Israel's and Judah's genealogies. 2 The Israelites, 10 the priests, 14 and the Levites, with Nethinims, which dwelt in Jerusalem. 27 The charge of certain Levites. 35 The stock of Saul and Jonathan.

SO all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they *were* written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, *who* were carried away to Babylon for their transgression.

2 ¶ Now the first inhabitants that *dwelt* in their possessions in their cities *were*, the Israelites, the priests, Levites, and the Nethinims.

3 And in [t] Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children [t] Neh. 11.

CHAP. IX. 1. The Masoretic text should be here followed; and the translation should be:—

"So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they were written in the Book of the Kings of Israel. **And Judah was** carried away captive to Babylon for their transgressions."

It would, perhaps, have been best to have attached the first sentence to ch. viii., and to have commenced the present chapter with the words "And Judah was carried away captive."

they were written.] The author refers here to the source from which he has derived the preceding genealogies. They were, he tells us, registered in the 'Book of the Kings of Israel.' (Compare Ezr. ii. 59.) The 'Book' of which he speaks is probably that compilation which he commonly calls 'The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' (or 'Judah and Israel'), but which he also sometimes designates by the abbreviated form employed in this place. (See 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18.)

2. *The first inhabitants.*] *I.e.* the first inhabitants of the Holy Land after the return from the captivity. (Compare a very similar expression in Neh. vii. 5.)

the Israelites, &c.] The returned exiles are enumerated under four heads: (1) Israelites, *i.e.* the mass of the laity, whether belonging to the Ten Tribes or the Two; (2) priests; (3) Levites; and (4) the lowest order of the ministry, the Nethinims. These last, whose name is derived from the root *nathan*, "to give," were a sort of *hieroduli*, or sacred slaves—persons "given" to the Levites to perform the lower and more laborious duties of the sanctuary. Some were "given" as early as the time of Moses (Num. xxxi. 47); a great accession to the number took place on the submission of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 23); and a further enlargement was made by David (Ezr. viii. 20). At the time of the return from the captivity, owing to the small number of Levites who came back (ib. ii. 40-42) the services of the Nethinims became very important. They are mentioned under the name of Nethinims only in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

3. *In Jerusalem dwelt, &c.*] There is a remarkable correspondence, and, at the same time, a remarkable diversity, between the account here given of the settlers at Jerusalem after the captivity, and that contained in Nehemiah xi. 4-19. The correspondence is such as unmistakably to indicate that both writers speak of the same time (which seems to be Nehemiah's time) and intend (in the main) to set before us the same list. The diversity is due, no doubt, in part to corruption; but corruption will not account for the whole of it. Both writers probably drew from a document which contained a much fuller description of the whole matter than either of the two sacred historians wished to set before his readers. From this fuller list of the early settlers at Jerusalem, they selected, in some instances, different names. They also frequently expressed the genealogies of the same persons differently, both going on the principle of compression by means of omissions, but omitting from their lists different links of the chain.

of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim, and Manasseh;

4 Uthai the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri, the son of Bani, of the children of Pharez the son of Judah.

5 And of the Shilonites; Asaiah the firstborn, and his sons.

6 And of the sons of Zerah; Jeuel, and their brethren, six hundred and ninety.

7 And of the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah, the son of Hasenuah,

8 And Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and Elah the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri, and Meshullam the son of Shephathiah, the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah;

9 And their brethren, according to their generations, nine hundred and fifty and six. All these men *were* chief of the fathers in the house of their fathers.

10 ¶ And of the priests; Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin,

11 And Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God;

12 And Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchijah, and Maasiai the son of

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4. *Uthai.*] "Uthai" is no doubt the same as the "Athaiah" with which Nehemiah commences his list (xi. 4)—the two names closely resembling each other in the Hebrew. But of Uthai's five ancestors, only two can be identified with those assigned to Athaiah, viz., "Imri," who is doubtless "Amariah," and "Pharez," who is the same as "Perez." Bani, Omri, and Ammihud, are ancestors not mentioned by Nehemiah; and Mahaleel, Shephatiah, Zechariah, and Uzziah, are ancestors not mentioned by the author of Chronicles. The complete list no doubt contained all these names, and probably more.

5. *Asaiah.*] Called "Maaseiah" in Neh. xi. 5, where his genealogy is given through six generations up to "Shiloni," the founder of the Shilonites.

6. *The sons of Zerah.*] These are not mentioned by Nehemiah in the parallel passage; though afterwards he speaks of a descendant of Zerah as a high officer of state, and therefore probably an inhabitant of Jerusalem, at this time (xi. 24).

7. *Sallu.*] Sallu's genealogy, like Uthai's, is traced differently in Nehemiah. He is given the same father, Meshullam, but among the rest of his ancestors (of whom six are enumerated) there are no names that correspond to either Hodaviah or Hasenuah (Neh. xi. 7). Here again it would seem that the two writers have selected different names out of a list more complete than that given by either. (See note on verse 4.)

8. *Ibneiah . . Elah . . Meshullam.*] For "Ibneiah, Elah, and Meshullam," Nehemiah has "Gabbai and Sallai" (xi. 8); who are probably quite different people.

9. *Nine hundred and fifty-six.*] Nehemiah estimates the number of the Benjamites at 928 (xi. 8). The discrepancy may arise from corruption.

10. *Jedaiah and Jehoiarib.*] Nehemiah has "Jedaiah, *the son of* Joiarib" (xi. 10); but this is probably a corruption. "Jedaiah," "Jehoiarib," and "Jachin," are not here names of individuals but of priestly families. (See below, ch. xxiv. 7-17, where it appears that Jehoiarib was the original head of the first "course," Jedaiah of the second, and Jachin of the twenty-first.)

11. *Azariah.*] Called "Seraiah" by Nehemiah (xi. 11), a variation which looks like a corruption. (See note A at the end of the chapter.) The other names in this priestly line are given without any change in Nehemiah. (Compare 1 Chr. vi. 11-14, and Ezr. vii. 1, 2.)

the ruler of the house of God.] It has been proposed to understand by this, not the high-priest, but the "second priest" or *sagan* (2 K. xxv. 18), since the high-priest in Nehemiah's time was Eliashib. But it is not unlikely that Eliashib is himself intended, and is called "Azariah" or "Seraiah" as the living representative of that great priestly house.

12. *Adaiah.*] Compare Neh. xi. 12, where Adaiah holds the same place, but is traced through *five* ancestors up to Malchijah. Three of the five are here omitted for the sake of brevity. Malchijah was the head of David's fifth "course" (ch. xxiv. 9).

Maasiai.] In Nehemiah (xi. 13) this name appears as "Amashai" (or rather "Amashsai")—a variation due probably to corruption. Both writers trace "Maasiai" (or rather

Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer;

13 And their brethren, heads of the house of their fathers, a thousand and seven hundred and threescore; †very able men for the work of the service of the house of God.

† Heb. *mighty men of valour.*

14 And of the Levites; Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari;

15 And Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal, and Mattaniah the son of Micah, the son of Zichri, the son of Asaph;

16 And Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun, and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites.

17 And the porters *were*, Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon, and Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum *was* the chief;

18 Who hitherto *waited* in the king's gate eastward: they *were* porters in the companies of the children of Levi.

19 And Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah, and his brethren, of the house of his father, the Korahites, *were* over the work of the service, keepers of the †gates of the tabernacle: and their fathers, *being* over the host of the LORD, *were* keepers of the entry.

† Heb. *thresholds.*

"Ma'sai") through Meshillemith to Immer, the head of David's 16th "course"; but Nehemiah places two names only before Meshillemith instead of three, and his names differ from those of Chronicles. It is possible, however, that the difference may in each case have arisen from corruption. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

13. *A thousand and seven hundred and threescore.*] In Nehemiah the number of the priests is given in three sums, which are respectively 822, 242, and 128, producing a total of 1192 instead of 1760. It is probable that the numbers have in the one case or the other suffered from corruption.

14. *And of the Levites.*] In their account of the chief Levites at this time, Nehemiah and the author of Chronicles fairly agree. The principal differences are that Nehemiah contracts the name "Obadiah" into "Abda" (verse 17), gives Shemaiah an additional ancestor, Bunni (verse 15), and in the genealogy of Mattaniah substitutes "Zabdi" for "Zichri" (verse 16).

15. *Bakbakkar.*] "Bakbakkar" seems to be the "Bakbukiah" of Nehemiah (xi. 17)—"the second among his brethren" of the sons of Asaph. "Heresh and Galal" are omitted in Nehemiah, who names instead "Shabbethai and Jozabad" (verse 16). There were of course numerous secondary officers; and the choice of two independent writers might well fall upon different names.

16. *Berechiah.*] Omitted in Nehemiah.

Netophathites.] See note on ch. ii. 54.

17. *The porters.*] *I.e.* the keepers of the temple gates. It is curious that Nehemiah omits "Shallum, the *chief* porter," as well as "Ahiman," mentioning only "Akkub and Talmon" (xi. 19). Shallum, Akkub, and Talmon recur in Ezr. ii. 42 and Neh. vii. 45, where they are joined with Ater, Hatita, and Shobai. Some have proposed to reject "Ahiman" from the present list; but the "*four* chief porters" are mentioned again (verse 26).

18. *Who hitherto waited.*] Rather "who **to this day waits.**" The words refer to Shallum, and imply that, whereas Shallum (or his house) had originally the general superintendence of the gates ("Shallum was the chief"), a change had been made when the author wrote, and Shallum's charge had become the east gate only.

they were porters, &c.] Translate:—"These were **the** porters in the **stations** of the sons of Levi." That is, "these were the porters in those fixed stations at the outer gates of the Temple, which corresponded to the camp stations of the Levites who guarded the tabernacle in the early times."

19. *And Shallum, the son of Kore.*] This is a different person from the Shallum of verse 17, and a different office is assigned to him, viz., the "keeping of the thresholds of the tabernacle," or guarding of the inner doors of the temple. The name "Shallum" seems to be used here, as Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin are in verse 10, not of an individual, but of a family. The actual Shallum, Shelemaiah, or Meshelemaiah, was a Levite of the time of David (see below, ch. xxvi. 14). His descendants, who were still called

20 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar was the ruler over them in time past, *and* the LORD *was* with him.

21 *And* Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah *was* porter of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

22 All these *which were* chosen to be porters in the gates *were* two hundred and twelve. These were reckoned by their genealogy in their villages, whom David and Samuel the seer †did ordain in their ‖set office.

† Heb. *founded.* ‖ Or, *trust.*

23 So they and their children *had* the oversight of the gates of the house of the LORD, *namely*, the house of the tabernacle, by wards.

24 In four quarters were the porters, toward the east, west, north, and south.

25 And their brethren, *which were* in their villages, *were* to come after seven days from time to time with them.

26 For these Levites, the four chief porters, were in *their* ‖set office, and were over the ‖chambers and treasuries of the house of God.

‖ Or, *trust.* ‖ Or, *storehouses.*

27 ¶ And they lodged round about the house of God, because the charge *was* upon them, and the opening thereof every morning *pertained* to them.

28 And *certain* of them had the charge of the ministering vessels, that they should †bring them in and out by tale.

† Heb. *bring them in by tale, and carry them out by tale.*

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by his name, had now the important charge of "keeping the thresholds" assigned to them.

and their fathers.] Rather, "as their fathers (*i.e.* their ancestors), who were over the host of the Lord (in the wilderness), were keepers of the entry (to the tabernacle)."

20. *And Phinehas.*] The object of this verse is to mark the time to which the writer refers in the verse preceding. It might be rendered, "*when* Phinehas the son of Eleazar was the ruler over them."

21. *Zechariah.*] Compare ch. xxvi. 2, 14. As Zechariah, the actual son of Shallum (or Meshelemaiah, had a special charge in the arrangements of David), so his descendants had now a peculiar office in the new temple erected by Zerubbabel.

22. *Two hundred and twelve.*] In Nehemiah the sum of the porters is reckoned at 172 (xi. 19), which is probably the true number. (See note on verse 25.)

reckoned.] Or "registered." See note on ch. iv. 33.

in their villages.] The porters, like the singers (Neh. xii. 29), dwelt for the most part in the villages round Jerusalem (see verse 25), and relieved each other at the gates, each course or set taking the duty for a week at a time.

whom David, &c.] The persons employed were the descendants of those originally selected for the work by David. David's arrangements are here regarded as having had the sanction of Samuel—which would imply that he planned them in the lifetime of Saul, while he was still a fugitive and an outlaw.

the seer.] This is the regular title of Samuel in Chronicles. (Compare 1 Chr. xxvi. 28, and xxix. 29.) For its origin, see 1 Sam. ix. 9.

24. *In four quarters.*] Compare the arrangements of David (infra, ch. xxvi. 14-16).

25. *After seven days.*] See 2 K. xi. 5 and 2 Chr. xxiii. 4. The new warders entered upon the duties of their office on the Sabbath day, and were succeeded by a fresh set the next Sabbath. If the number of warders was, as stated in Nehemiah (xi. 19) 172 (*i.e.* 168 besides the 4 chief warders), and the number employed at any one time was, as under David (1 Chr. xxvi. 17, 18), twenty-four, then the turn of the courses to keep ward came every seven weeks (for $24 \times 7 = 168$). The intrinsic probability of such an arrangement confirms Nehemiah's number.

26. *For these Levites, &c.*] Rather, "For the four chief porters, **who were themselves Levites, were in trust, who also** had the charge of the chambers, &c." A contrast seems intended between the four chief porters, whose charge was constant, and the remainder, who kept watch by turns.

the chambers and treasuries.] On these see 1 K. vi. 5; 2 K. xi. 2, 3; xii. 18; xxii. 14; &c.

28. *By tale.*] Literally "by number." It was the business of some to see that the vessels for service taken out of the treasury

29 *Some* of them also *were* appointed to oversee the vessels, and all
‖ Or, *vessels.* the ‖instruments of the sanctuary, and the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the frankincense, and the spices.

30 And *some* of the sons of the
[a] Ex. 30. 23. priests made [a]the ointment of the spices.

31 And Mattithiah, *one* of the Levites, who *was* the firstborn of
‖ Or, *trust.* Shallum the Korahite, had the ‖set office over the things that were made
‖ Or, *on flat plates, or, slices.* ‖in the pans.

32 And *other* of their brethren, of the sons of the Kohathites, *were* over
† Heb. *bread of ordering.* the †shewbread, to prepare *it* every sabbath.

33 And these *are* the singers, chief of the fathers of the Levites, *who remaining* in the chambers *were* free: for †they were employed in *that* work day and night.
† Heb. *upon them.*

34 These chief fathers of the Levites *were* chief throughout their generations; these dwelt at Jerusalem.

35 ¶ And in Gibeon dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jehiel, whose wife's name *was* [b]Maachah:
[b] ch. 8. 29.

36 And his firstborn son Abdon, then Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab,

37 And Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth.

38 And Mikloth begat Shimeam. And they also dwelt with their brethren at Jerusalem, over against their brethren.

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were counted, and that the same number were returned to the treasury after the service was over.»

31. *Mattithiah . . . the first-born of Shallum the Korahite.*] This Shallum would seem to be the person mentioned in verse 19, whose actual first-born was Zechariah (infra, ch. xxvi. 2). Mattithiah may have been his eldest lineal descendant at the time here spoken of.

33. *And these are the singers.*] This statement is very difficult to explain, since no names follow, and no "singers" have been mentioned later than verse 16. Some propose to read for the word translated "singers" one which means "ministers." But this does not remove the difficulty, since the form of expression used is one which naturally introduces fresh names. Apparently, the names of the "singers" have fallen out.

in the chambers.] See verse 26.

were free.] "Free," *i.e.* from any special duties besides those of supervision, and therefore able to devote themselves to that uninterruptedly.

day and night.] The supervision was so arranged among the overseers that some one exercised it during every part of both day and night.

34. *Chiefs throughout their generations.*] The superintendants, that is, were the genealogical heads of the different Levitical divisions, and bore special rule, each over those of his own blood and race. The hereditary principle prevailed, not only in the high-priesthood, but also in the priestly offices of the second rank.

35-44. This passage is an almost exact repetition of ch. viii. 29-38; and some therefore propose to cancel it in the one place, or in the other. But this is unnecessary, since it occurs *fitly* in both places; and the repetition is probably one which was intentionally made by the author. In ch. viii. he was giving an account of the subdivisions of the tribe of Benjamin, and could not properly omit the most celebrated family of that tribe, the family of Saul. In the present place he is bent on connecting the genealogical section of his work with the historical, and finds it most convenient to effect the junction by re-introducing the genealogy of the person with whose death his historical section opens. Being the original writer, he is not bound to an exact following of his own words, and he in fact makes some slight alterations: (1) In the spelling of names, which probably varied in his day, *e.g.* "Shimea*m*" for "Shimea*h*" in verse 38; "Ta*b*rea" for "Tarea" in verse 41; and "Rephai*ah*" for "Repha" (or rather "Rephah") in verse 43. (2) In the form of phrases; as in the last words of verse 44. (3) In the way of addition: *e.g.*, the name of "Jehiel" in verse 35. The other differences between the two passages seem to have arisen from corruption in the one place or the other.

35. *Whose wife's name.*] The present Hebrew text has "sister" instead of "wife" here. This, however, is clearly a corruption, and must be corrected from ch. viii. 29. The difference in the original is one of only a

[c] ch. 8. 33. 39 [c]And Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul; and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Esh-baal.

40 And the son of Jonathan *was* Merib-baal: and Merib-baal begat Micah.

41 And the sons of Micah *were*, Pithon, and Melech, and Tahrea,

[d] ch. 8. 35. [d]*and Ahaz.*

42 And Ahaz begat Jarah; and Jarah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza;

43 And Moza begat Binea; and Rephaiah his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son.

44 And Azel had six sons, whose names *are* these, Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Shearíah, and Obadiah, and Hanan: these *were* the sons of Azel.

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single letter. (See note C at the end of the chapter.)

40. *Merib-baal.*] The Hebrew has first "Merib-baal" and then "Meri-baal." But the latter is probably a corruption.

41. *And Ahaz.*] The words "and Ahaz" are not in the present Hebrew text. But there can be little doubt that they have slipped out; as have the words "and Ner," "and Mikloth" in verses 30 and 31 of the parallel passage (ch. viii.).

42. *Jarah.*] "Jarah" for "Jehoadah" (ch. viii. 36) is in part a contracted mode of spelling (like Joram for Jehoram, Joash for Jehoash, &c.); in part a corruption of the one name or the other, arising from the close similarity of the Hebrew *r* and *d*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 11, 12, and 35.

NOTE A, on verse 11.

Azariah, עזריה, becomes Seraiah, שריה, by a copyist mistaking the *ain* and *zain*, ע ז, for a ש; or *vice versâ*, Seraiah becomes Azariah by the opposite error.

NOTE B, on verse 12.

It requires only a little fading in a couple of letters for "Adiel" עדיאל, to be read as "Azariel," עזריאל. There is a greater difference between "Jahzerah," יחזרה, and "Ahasai," אחזי; but still the similar position of the *beth* and *zain* seems to indicate an original identity here also

NOTE C, on verse 35.

"His sister" is אחתו, "his wife" אשתו. The only difference is that the second radical is *beth*, ח in the one, *shin*, ש, in the other.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Saul's overthrow and death.* 8 *The Philistines triumph over Saul.* 11 *The kindness of Jabesh-gilead towards Saul and his sons.* 13 *Saul's sin, for which the kingdom was translated from him to David.*

[e] 1 Sam. 31. 1, 2. NOW [e]the Philistines fought against Israel; and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down [f]slain in mount Gilboa.

[f] Or, *wounded.*

2 And the Philistines followed hard after Saul, and after his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and [f]Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul.

[f] Or, *Ishui,* 1 Sam. 14. 49.

CHAP. X. The writer, having brought his genealogical introduction to a close by an account of the family of Saul, commences now the history, which is the main subject of his work, by an account of Saul's last battle and death. The two portions of his work are thus ingeniously connected.

The present chapter corresponds most closely with 1 S. xxxi. from which however it is not wholly drawn, since it contains two facts not found in that document—the fastening of Saul's head in the temple of Dagon (verse 10), and the burial of his bones, and those of his sons, under an *oak* (verse 12). Otherwise the narrative differs from 1 S. xxxi. only by being abbreviated (see especially verses 6, 7, 11, and 12), and by having some moral reflections attached to it (verses 13 and 14).

2. *The sons of Saul.*] Rather "sons of Saul." The original is without the article. The writer had mentioned, a few verses

3 And the battle went sore against Saul, and the ᵇarchers †hit him, and he was wounded of the archers.

† Heb. *shooters with bows.*

4 Then said Saul to his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and ‖abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. So Saul took a sword, and fell upon it.

† Heb. *found him.*

‖ Or, *mock me.*

5 And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he fell likewise on the sword, and died.

6 So Saul died, and his three sons, and all his house died together.

7 And when all the men of Israel that *were* in the valley saw that they fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, then they forsook their cities, and fled: and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

8 ¶ And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his sons fallen in mount Gilboa.

9 And when they had stripped him, they took his head, and his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry tidings unto their idols, and to the people.

10 And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon.

11 ¶ And when all Jabesh-gilead heard all that the Philistines had done to Saul,

12 They arose, all the valiant men, and took away the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, and brought them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the oak in Jabesh, and fasted seven days.

13 ¶ So Saul died for his transgression which he †committed against

† Heb. *transgressed.*

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earlier (ix. 39), that Saul had *four* sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, Malchishua, *and Esh-baal* (or Ish-bosheth).

3. *He was wounded of the archers.*] Some translate, "he *trembled before* the archers," which is a possible meaning of the original. The LXX. have, however, *ἐπόνεσεν*, here; and in 1 S. xxxi. 3, *ἐτραυματίσθη*.

6. *All his house died together.*] By "all his house" the writer cannot mean the whole of his family, or even "all his sons." It was a notorious fact that Ishbosheth survived Saul, and succeeded him in a portion of his kingdom. (See 2 S. ii. 8-16, iii. 6-15, iv. 1-12.) The writer could not have intended to deny this. Either he must have meant "all of Saul's family that had been mentioned in the previous narrative," in which case the words would be pleonastic, being simply equivalent to "his three sons;" or else he must have intended "all his *household*," "all that numerous body of attendants that had accompanied him to the war." In this case "all his house" would be an abbreviation of the expression in the parallel passage of Samuel—"his armourbearer and all his men" (1 S. xxxi. 6).

7. *The valley.*] Rather "**the plain.**" The plain of Esdraelon, on the edge of which Mount Gilboa stood, is doubtless intended.

10. *The house of their gods.*] The writer of Samuel is more exact here, and tells us that the armour was deposited in the temple of Ashtaroth (2 S. xxxi. 10). The custom of depositing the spoils of war in their temples was common to almost all the heathen.

fastened his head in the temple of Dagon.] It is curious that the writer of Samuel does not tell us what the Philistines did with Saul's head, which he says they cut off (verse 9). The writer of Chronicles supplies this omission.

12. *Took away the body of Saul.*] From 1 S. xxxi. 10, 12, we learn that the bodies of Saul and his sons had been fastened to the wall of Beth-shan, which was now in the possession of the Philistines, and that the men of Jabesh-gilead took them from thence. The writer of Chronicles does not think it necessary to notice these particulars.

and buried their bones.] The bodies, as we learn from 1 S. xxxi. 12, were burnt. Consequently nothing remained to be buried but the bones. The narrative of Chronicles thus incidentally confirms that of Samuel.

under the oak.] In Samuel (1 S. xxxi. 13) the expression used is "under the tree." The substitution of the word "oak" for "tree" implies that the author does not draw his account wholly from Samuel, but has access to a distinct source,—that probably from which the writer of Samuel drew.

13. *For his transgression.*] Compare ch. ix. 1. The "transgression" intended is probably

the LORD, [a]*even* against the word of the LORD, which he kept not, and also for asking *counsel* of *one that had* a familiar spirit, [b]to enquire *of it;*

14 And enquired not of the LORD: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of [†]Jesse.

[a] 1 Sam. 15. 23.

[b] 1 Sam. 28. 7.

[†] Heb. *Isai.*

the disobedience with respect to Amalek, recorded in 1 S. xv. 1-9. (Compare 1 S. xxviii. 17, 18.)

14. *And enquired not of the Lord.*] Saul did inquire of Jehovah to a certain extent (1 S. xxviii. 6); but, not receiving any immediate answer, he grew weary, and betook himself to the witch of Endor, instead of persevering, and "continuing instant" in his consultation of God by authorized ways. Such unpersevering inquiry is regarded by the inspired writer as equivalent to no inquiry at all.

David the son of Jesse.] *I.e.* the David mentioned in chs. ii. and iii. who was declared to have been "the son of Jesse" in ch. ii. 13-15. The history is thus again connected with the precedent genealogies.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *David by a general consent is made king at Hebron.* 4 *He winneth the castle of Zion from the Jebusites by Joab's valour.* 10 *A catalogue of David's mighty men.*

[c] 2 Sam. 5. 1. THEN [c]all Israel gathered themselves to David unto Hebron, saying, Behold, we *are* thy bone and thy flesh.

[†] Heb. *both yesterday and the third day.* 2 And moreover [†]in time past, even when Saul was king, thou *wast* he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the LORD thy God said

[‡] Or, *rule.* unto thee, Thou shalt [‡]feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel.

3 Therefore came all the elders of Israel to the king to Hebron; and David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the LORD; and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the word of the LORD [†]by [d]Samuel.

[†] Heb. *by the hand of.*

[d] 1 Sam. 16. 13.

4 ¶ And David and all Israel [e]went to Jerusalem, which *is* Jebus; where the Jebusites *were*, the inhabitants of the land.

[e] 2 Sam. 5. 6.

5 And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which *is* the city of David.

CHAP. XI. The writer here passes by the 7½ years of David's reign over Judah, at which he had glanced in his introductory section (ch. iii. 4), and hastens to the glorious period of his inauguration as king over the whole people of Israel. This, as we learn from Samuel (2 S. iv. v.) was at the death of Ish-bosheth, who succeeded Saul as king over all the tribes except that of Judah.

The chapter runs parallel with 2 S. v. as far as verse 9, after which it has to be compared with 2 S. xxiii. 8-39, as far as verse 41, the remainder (verses 41-47) being an addition, to which Samuel has nothing corresponding.

1. *Unto Hebron.*] Compare ch. iii. 4, and for the grounds on which Hebron was selected as the capital, see note on 2 S. ii. 1.

3. *A covenant.*] It is the same word that is used here and in 2 S. v. 3, where the A.V. has "league."

according to the word of the Lord by Samuel.] Compare verse 10. This clause is added by the writer of Chronicles to mark the divine origin of the Davidic monarchy, which he had not previously declared. It was unnecessary in Samuel, where a full account of the choice of David for king after the rejection of Saul had been given (1 S. xvi. 1-13).

4. *Jerusalem, which is Jebus.*] See Josh. xv. 8; Judg. xix. 10.

5. *The inhabitants of Jebus said.*] For the full speech of the Jebusites on this occasion, see 2 S. v. 6. The writer of Chronicles here as elsewhere generally, abbreviates.

the castle of Zion.] The "stronghold" of

6 And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be †chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up, and was chief.

† Heb. *head.*

7 And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called ‖it the city of David.

‖ That is, *Zion,* 2 Sam. 5. 7.

8 And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about: and Joab †repaired the rest of the city.

† Heb. *revived.*

9 So David †waxed greater and greater: for the LORD of hosts *was* with him.

† Heb. *went in going and increasing.*

10 ¶ *f* These also *are* the chief of the mighty men whom David had, who ‖strengthened themselves with him in his kingdom, *and* with all Israel, to make him king, according to the word of the LORD concerning Israel.

f 2 Sam. 23. 8.

‖ Or, *held strongly with him.*

11 And this *is* the number of the mighty men whom David had; Jashobeam, ‖an Hachmonite, the chief of the captains: he lifted up his spear against three hundred slain *by him* at one time.

‖ Or, *son of Hachmoni.*

12 And after him *was* Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, who *was one* of the three mighties.

13 He was with David at ‖Pas-dammim, and there the Philistines were gathered together to battle, where was a parcel of ground full of barley; and the people fled from before the Philistines.

‖ Or, *Ephes-dammim,* 1 Sam. 17. 1.

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2 S. v. 7 is better than the "castle" of this place. The Hebrew word means "a fortified place."

6-8. The narrative here given fills out a manifest defect in 2 S. v. 8, where something has evidently dropped out of the text. It has been urged that Joab could not have been made chief and captain in consequence of his bravery on this occasion (Bertheau), since he was already at the head of David's warriors, as appears from 2 S. ii. 13, 26, &c.; but if David made the proclamation here recorded, and Joab was the first to scale the wall, his success would involve a re-appointment to the supreme command, which he would have lost had another preceded him. Moreover, the office of Joab after this time appears to have been a more formal one than before, with higher powers attaching to it. (See below, verse 8.)

The prowess of Joab on this occasion, and the part which he took in the building of the city of David (verse 8), are known to us only from this passage of Chronicles.

9. *David waxed greater and greater.*] In 2 S. v. 9, the A.V. has "David went on and grew great." The Hebrew is the same in both passages.

10. *These also are the chief of the mighty men.*] The mention of Joab's position as captain of David's host, leads naturally to an enumeration of his other principal warriors—heads of the *Gibborim* (or "heroes"). In Samuel the list is not given till nearly the end of David's reign (2 S. xxiii. 8-39).

strengthened themselves.] Or "*exerted* themselves"—"strenuously assisted with all Israel in making David king." We must regard the list therefore as belonging to David's reign at Hebron.

11. *This is the number.*] As the Hebrew here is ungrammatical, the pronoun being in the plural, and the noun in the singular, and as moreover the *number* is not given by the writer, it is suspected that some corruption has taken place. Houbigant proposes to restore the reading which we have in 2 S. xxiii. 8, and translates, "These are the *names.*"

Jashobeam, an Hachmonite.] Literally, as in the margin, "son of Hachmoni." His real father, however, appears to have been Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2), Hachmoni having been a more remote ancestor.

chief of the captains.] Or, "of the thirty," according to another and better reading (see verses 15 and 25). Jashobeam was the commander of the first monthly course of 24,000 soldiers (infra, xxvii. 2). He is probably the warrior of the name who joined David at Ziklag (ch. xii. 6).

three hundred.] Compare 2 S. xxiii. 8 where the present text has 800. One or other of these two numbers must be corrupt.

12. *Eleazar, &c.*] See notes on 2 S. xxiii. 9.

the three mighties.] These appear to have been Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah (2 S. xxiii. 11-17), whose name has slipped out of the present text of Chronicles.

13. *Pas-dammim.*] Pas-dammim or Ephes-dammim (1 S. xvii. 1) was the place where David slew Goliath. It lay between Shocoh and Azekah (ib.) near the western edge of

14 And they [1]set themselves in the midst of *that* parcel, and delivered it, and slew the [2]Philistines; and the LORD saved *them* by a great [3]deliverance.

15 ¶ Now [1]three of the thirty captains went down to the rock to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines encamped in the valley of Rephaim.

16 And David *was* then in the hold, and the Philistines' garrison *was* then at Bethlehem.

17 And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Beth-lehem, that *is* at the gate!

18 And the three brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that *was* by the gate, and took *it*, and brought *it* to David: but David would not drink *of* it, but poured it out to the LORD,

19 And said, My God forbid it me, that I should do this thing: shall I drink the blood of these men [†]that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with *the jeopardy of* their lives they brought it. Therefore he would not drink it. These things did these three mightiest.

20 ¶ [h]And Abishai the brother of Joab, he was chief of the three: for lifting up his spear against three hundred, he slew *them*, and had a name among the three.

21 [h]Of the three, he was more honourable than the two; for he was their captain: howbeit he attained not to the *first* three.

[1] Or, *stood.* [2] 2 Sam. 23. 13. [3] Or, *salvation.*

[1] Or, *three captains over the thirty.*

[†] Heb. *with their lives.*

[h] 2 Sam. 23. 19, &c.

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the hill country of Judah, and not far from the great Plain of the Philistines.

where was a parcel of ground.] A comparison of this place with the corresponding one in 2 S. xxiii. makes it probable that a passage of considerable length has here fallen out. This is supplied by Kennicott as follows:

"And the Philistines were there gathered to battle [and the men of Israel fled; but he arose and smote the Philistines, until his hand was weary, and his hand clave unto the sword; and the Lord wrought a great deliverance on that day; and the people returned, only to spoil.

And after him was Shammah, the son of Agee, the Hararite. And the Philistines were gathered together at Lehi,] where was a piece of ground, &c." The eye of a transcriber passed from the first clause where the gathering of the Philistines was mentioned to the second, omitting the intermediate sentences.

full of barley.] In 2 S. xxiii. 11, the plot of ground is said to have been "full of *lentiles*." The words for barley and lentils are so similar in the Hebrew that we may fairly explain the diversity by an accidental corruption. (See note A at the end of the chapter.)

14. *They set themselves* (marg.) *stood.*] Rather "he stood." The three verbs of this sentence, which are all in the plural, should be in the singular as we find them in 2 S. xxiii. 12. They describe the exploit of Shammah.

15. *Three of the thirty.*] "The thirty" had, it is probable, been previously mentioned in verse 11. (See note ad loc.) Some have supposed that the "three" here intended are Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah; but in that case the numeral would have taken the article.

to the rock.] For "to the rock" we find, in 2 S. xxiii. 13, "in the harvest-time." The reading of Chronicles is undoubtedly the right one. (See note on 2 S. xxiii. 13.)

16. *In the hold.*] This is preferable to the rendering of 2 S. xxiii. 14—"in *an* hold." "The hold" was probably a rock fortress near the cave of Adullam.

the Philistines' garrison.] According to the existing text of Chronicles, the translation should be, "the Philistines' prefect" or "officer." But the text of Chronicles ought, no doubt, to be here corrected from that of Samuel. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

17-19. See notes on 2 S. xxiii. 15-17.

20. *Abishai . . . was chief of the three.*] Apparently, Abishai was chief of the second three, those mentioned in the story told in verses 15-19. Like Jashobeam, he slew 300 men with his own hand; yet still he was not reckoned on a par with the first three, Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah. (See verse 21).

22 Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, † who had done many acts; he slew two lionlike men of Moab: also he went down and slew a lion in a pit in a snowy day.

† Heb. *great of deeds.*

23 And he slew an Egyptian, † a man of *great* stature, five cubits high; and in the Egyptian's hand *was* a spear like a weaver's beam; and he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.

† Heb. *a man of measure.*

24 These *things* did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had the name among the three mighties.

25 Behold, he was honourable among the thirty, but attained not to the *first* three: and David set him over his guard.

26 ¶ Also the valiant men of the armies *were*, Asahel the brother of Joab, Elhanan the son of Dodo of Beth-lehem,

27 Shammoth the ‖ Harorite, Helez the Pelonite,

‖ Or, *Harodite*, 2 Sam. 23. 25.

28 Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Antothite,

21-22. See notes on 2 S. xxiii. 19, 20.

23. *A man of great stature.*] In the corresponding passage of Samuel (1 S. xxiii. 21) we read, "a man of appearance"—*i.e.* "a man whose appearance was remarkable"—where probably superior height was in the mind of the writer. To render this more clear, the author of Chronicles changes the expression, and adds the exact height of the man, which he must have found recorded in his authorities. The height (7 ft. 6 in.) is not so great as that recorded of other giants (1 S. xvii. 4; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 16; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xviii. 4, § 5, &c.).

a spear like a weaver's beam.] The same comparison is used by the writer of Samuel with respect to the spears of the two Goliaths (1 S. xvii. 7; 2 S. xxi. 19).

24. *Had the name among the three mighties.*] Rather, "had a name. Compare verses 20 and 21. Benaiah, like Abishai, was one of the second three, and held apparently the second place in it. The third member of this triad is not mentioned either here or in Samuel.

25. *David set him over his guard.*] Gesenius translates, "David took him into his privy council;" and the marginal rendering of 2 S. xxiii. 23, is to the same effect. But the meaning given in the text is preferred by Bertheau. (Compare 2 S. viii. 18, xx. 23, and 1 K. i. 38.)

26. *The valiant men of the armies.*] The list of names here given corresponds generally with that in 2 S. xxiii. 24-39, but presents several remarkable differences. (1.) The number in Chronicles is 47; in Samuel 31. (2.) Of the first thirty-one names in the List of Chronicles there are four (Ilai, Hepher, Ahijah, and Mibhar) which cannot be recognised in the other catalogue. (3.) Conversely the catalogue of Samuel contains five names (Elika, Zalmon, the second Shammah, Eliam, and Bani) which are absent from the list of Chronicles. (4.) Many of the other names, both personal and local, vary in the two lists, and must be incorrectly given in the one place or the other. Very elaborate efforts have been made by Bp. Kennicott and others to bring the two lists into harmony; and it has been shown to be highly probable that much corruption has crept into both. But it may be doubted whether ingenuity of conjecture has not been pushed too far, since it is quite possible that the two lists varied to some extent originally. The writer of Chronicles distinctly states that he gives the list as it stood at the time of David's becoming king over all Israel (verse 10). The writer of Samuel does not assign his list to any definite period of David's reign, but probably delivers it to us as it was constituted at a later date. It is quite possible therefore that the names which occur only in Chronicles are those of persons who had died or quitted the army before the other list was made out, and that the new names in Samuel are the names of those who had taken their places.

27. *Shammoth the Harorite.*] Compare ch. xxvii. 8, where the same warrior seems to be called "Shamhuth the Izrahite." the latter term designating his family descent, the former his place of abode. "Harorite" should however be corrected from 2 S. xxiii. into "Harodite," or native of Harod. (See Judg. vii. 1.)

Helez the Pelonite.] Or "Paltite" (2 S. xxiii. 26). But "Pelonite" is again read in 1 Chr. xxvii. 10, and is confirmed by the LXX., who even in 2 S. xxiii. give ὁ Φελλωνεί (Cod. Alex.).

29 Sibbecai the Hushathite, Ilai the Ahohite,
30 Maharai the Netophathite, Heled the son of Baanah the Netophathite,
31 Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah, *that pertained* to the children of Benjamin, Benaiah the Pirathonite,
32 Hurai of the brooks of Gaash, Abiel the Arbathite,
33 Azmaveth the Baharumite, Eliahba the Shaalbonite,
34 The sons of Hashem the Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shage the Hararite,
35 Ahiam the son of Sacar the Hararite, Eliphal the son of Ur,
36 Hepher the Mecherathite, Ahijah the Pelonite,
37 Hezro the Carmelite, Naarai the son of Ezbai,
38 Joel the brother of Nathan, Mibhar [1]the son of Haggeri,
39 Zelek the Ammonite, Naharai the Berothite, the armourbearer of Joab the son of Zeruiah,

[1] Or, *the Haggerite.*

29. *Sibbecai the Hushathite.*] The name is given as "Mebunnai" in Samuel (xxiii. 27), but as "Sibbecai" again in 1 Chr. xxvii. 11. "Mebunnai" is no doubt a corruption. (See note C at the end of the chapter.)

Ilai the Ahohite.] In Sam. we have "Zalmon the Ahohite," which seems to be a different name, though here too some explain the difference by a corruption. (See note D at the end of the chapter.)

30. *Heled.*] In Sam. the name is given as "Heleb;" but it is Heled (Heldai) again in 1 Chr. xxvii. 15.

32. *Hurai.*] Or "Hiddai" (2 Sam. xxiii. 30). The confusion between *resh* and *daleth* is constant.

Abiel.] Called "Abi-albon" in 2 Sam., but "Abiel" is probably the true reading. (See note on 2 S. xxiii. 31.)

34. *The sons of Hashem, the Gizonite.*] It is impossible that this can be the true reading, since an individual warrior must be spoken of. Kennicott, altering the Hebrew slightly, would translate, "Of the sons of Hashem, Gouni." (See note E at the end of the chapter.) Bertheau, on the other hand, suggests that the word *beni*, "sons," should be retrenched, since it is (he thinks) a mere accidental repetition of the last half of the preceding word "Shal*boni*." But it is strange that the same accident should have also occurred in the parallel passage of Samuel (2 S. xxiii. 32). Perhaps the most probable conjecture is that the "Beni Hashem" of Chronicles and the "Beni Jashen" of Samuel alike conceal some single name of a man which cannot now be recovered.

Jonathan, the son of Shage.] The "Shage" of this place is probably the "Agee" of 2 S. xxiii. 11, who was the father of "Shammah the Hararite," and the real grandfather of Jonathan. (See note on 2 S. xxiii. 33.)

35. *Sacar.*] In 2 Sam. this name is given as "Sharar." It is doubtful which is the true reading.

Eliphal.] The "Elipheltt" of 2 Sam. is preferable.

36. *Hepher the Mecherathite.*] "Hepher" is omitted in 2 S. xxiii. 34; but it may be suspected that his name was originally in the text of that passage, which is manifestly corrupted. For "Mecherathite" it is best to read, with 2 Sam., "Maachathite."

Ahijah the Pelonite.] This warrior occupies the place which in 2 Sam. is assigned to "Eliam, the son of Ahitophel, the Gilonite." Attempts have been made to identify the two, but perhaps it is more probable that "Eliam" was advanced to the position previously occupied by "Ahijah."

37. *Naarai, the son of Ezbai.*] In 2 Sam. we have "Paarai, the Arbite" in this place. It is impossible to say which of the two names, or which of the two designations, is the correct one. The original text was probably the same in both places. (See note F at the end of the chapter.)

38. *Joel, the brother of Nathan.*] For this we have in Samuel, "Igal, the son of Nathan" (2 S. xxiii. 36). "Igal," which differs from "Joel" by only one letter, may or may not be the true name. "Brother" is preferable to "son," since it would scarcely have been introduced into the text by a copyist who had before him the usual term "son."

Mibhar, the son of Haggeri.] The reading of Samuel is "Bani, the Gadite,"—which seems at first sight to point to a different person. In the Hebrew, however, "Bani the Gadite" and "the son of Haggeri" differ only in two letters, while "Mibhar" corresponds closely with the expression "of Zobah," attached in 2 Sam. to the name of Nathan. Probably, therefore, the two lists

40 Ira the Ithrite, Gareb the Ithrite,
41 Uriah the Hittite, Zabad the son of Ahlai,
42 Adina the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a captain of the Reubenites, and thirty with him,
43 Hanan the son of Maachah, and Joshaphat the Mithnite,
44 Uzzia the Ashterathite, Shama and Jehiel the sons of Hothan the Aroerite,
45 Jediael the ‖son of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite,
46 Eliel the Mahavite, and Jeribai, and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaam, and Ithmah the Moabite,
47 Eliel, and Obed, and Jasiel the Mesobaite.

‖Or, *Shimrite.*

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were here alike originally, and ran as follows:—"Joel (or Igal), the brother of Nathan of Zobah; Bani, the Gadite." (See note G at the end of the chapter.)

41. *Zabad.*] From this point the names in Chronicles are wholly additional to those given in Samuel. They are sixteen in number, and contain among them no name of any person mentioned elsewhere.

42. *And thirty with him.*] Kennicott understands the expression here used to mean, "and the thirty were over him." But in that case the numeral should have had the article. Probably Adina was a chief of thirty picked Reubenites.

43. *The Mithnite.*] Native, *i.e.* of a place called Methen, which, however, is not otherwise known.

44. *The Ashterathite.*] Or "native of Ashterath," a trans-Jordanic city, in the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 31), but assigned to the Levites (1 Chr. vi. 71).

the Aroerite.] Or "native of Aroer." There were several cities of this name, the most famous being that on the Arnon. (See above, note on ch. v. 8.)

47. *The Mesobaite.*] This term is regarded by some as meaning "native of Zobah;" but it is more probable that we have here, as in the terms "Mithnite" (verse 43), "Tizite" (verse 45), and "Mahavite" (verse 46), an indication of some place not otherwise known to us.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 13, 15, 16, 29, 34, 37, and 38.

NOTE A, on verse 13.

"Barley" is, in the plural, שְׂעֹרִים, while "lentiles" is עֲדָשִׁים. Two of the three radicals of the two words are identical, while the third radical of the one, ר, closely resembles that of the other, ד. A careless copyist might easily write שְׂעֹרִים for the less common עֲדָשִׁים.

NOTE B, on verse 16.

For ונציב פלשתים אז בבית לחם it is best to read (as in 2 S. xxiii. 14) ומצב פלשתים. Compare 1 S. xiii. 23; xiv. 1, 4, 6, &c.

NOTE C, on verse 29.

"Sibbecai" and "Mebunnai" are not very different in the Hebrew, the former being סִבְּכַי and the latter מְבֻנַּי. A *samech* may easily pass into a *mem* and a *kaph* into a *nun*.

NOTE D, on verse 29.

Kennicott regards "Ilai," עִילַי, as the true reading, and "Zalmon," צַלְמוֹן, as a corruption from it. He remarks with reason that *ain* and *tsadi* (ע and צ) are liable to be mistaken one for the other; but he does not attempt to explain how מון could grow out of י.

NOTE E, on verse 34.

Kennicott would read מבני השם הגווני, instead of בני השם הגזוני, and would render "Of the sons of Hashem, Gouni." He remarks that "Gouni" occurs as a man's name in 1 Chr. v. 15, and notes that the LXX. have Υἱοὶ Ἀσάμ ὁ Γωννί (Cod. Alex.).

NOTE F, on verse 37.

The text of Chronicles is נערי בן אזבי—פערי הארבי that of Kings . . . . . , the differences being only three, 1. the substitution of פ for נ in the hero's name; 2. the replacing of בן by ה; and 3. the change of ז into ר. The text of Chronicles is on the whole preferable.

NOTE G, on verse 38.

The following are the texts of the two passages:—

Chron. יואל אחי נתן מבחר בן הגרי
Sam. יגאל בן נתן מצבה בני הגדי

By taking the first half of Chronicles and the last half of Samuel, we obtain

יואל אחי נתן מצבה: בני הגדי:

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The companies that came to David at Ziklag.*
23 *The armies that came to him at Hebron.*

[a] 1 Sa. 27. 1.
† Heb. being *yet shut up.*

NOW [a]these *are* they that came to David to Ziklag, †while he yet kept himself close because of Saul the son of Kish: and they *were* among the mighty men, helpers of the war.

2 *They were* armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left in *hurling* stones and *shooting* arrows out of a bow, *even* of Saul's brethren of Benjamin.

‖ Or, *Hasmaah.*

3 The chief *was* Ahiezer, then Joash, the sons of ‖Shemaah the Gibeathite; and Jeziel, and Pelet, the sons of Azmaveth; and Berachah, and Jehu the Antothite,

4 And Ismaiah the Gibeonite, a mighty man among the thirty, and over the thirty; and Jeremiah, and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and Josabad the Gederathite,

5 Eluzai, and Jerimoth, and Bealiah, and Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite,

6 Elkanah, and Jesiah, and Azareel, and Joezer, and Jashobeam, the Korhites,

7 And Joelah, and Zebadiah, the sons of Jeroham of Gedor.

8 And of the Gadites there separated themselves unto David into the hold to the wilderness men of might, *and* men †of war *fit* for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces *were like* the faces of lions, and *were* †as swift as the roes upon the mountains;

† Heb. *of the host.*
† Heb. *as the roes upon the mountains to make haste.*

CHAP. XII. This chapter is composed wholly of matter that is new to us, no corresponding accounts occurring in Samuel. It comprises four lists,—(1) One of men, chiefly Benjamites, who joined David at Ziklag (verses 1-7); (2) A second of Gadites who united themselves to him when he was in a stronghold near the desert (verses 8-15); (3) A third of Manassites, who came to him when he was dismissed by the Philistines upon suspicion (verses 19-22); and (4) A fourth list of the numbers from the different tribes who attended and made him king at Hebron (verses 23-40).

1. *These are they that came to David to Ziklag.*] The writer has said nothing previously of David being at Ziklag, or of his having to "keep himself close because of Saul;" but he assumes that his readers will be acquainted with the history as delivered in Samuel, and tacitly refers to 1 S. xxvii.-xxx.

while he yet kept himself close because of Saul.] Or, "while he was still shut out from the presence of Saul" (Gesenius, Bertheau).

2. *Armed with bows, &c.*] The skill of the Benjamites as archers is noted 1 Chr. viii. 40, and 2 Chr. xiv. 8. Their proficiency in using the left hand appears in the narrative of Judges (iii. 15, and xx 16), where their peculiar excellency as slingers is also noticed.

even of Saul's brethren.] Compare verse 29. Even of Saul's own tribe there were some who separated themselves from his cause, and threw in their lot with David.

3. *Shemaah.*] Rather, as in the margin, "Hasmaah" (or "Hashmaah").

sons of Azmaveth.] Sons, probably, of the "Azmaveth" mentioned in the last chapter (verse 33), who was a native of Bahurim of Benjamin.

the Antothite.] Or, "native of Anathoth," a famous town of Benjamin (Josh. xxi. 18; 1 K. ii. 26; 1 Chr. vi. 60; Jer. i. 1, &c.).

4. *Ismaiah.*] As Ismaiah's name does not appear in either of the two lists of "the thirty," it is supposed that he died before David obtained the kingdom.

the Gederathite.] Or, "native of Gederah." No town, however, of this name is known to have belonged to Benjamin.

6. *The Korhites.*] Not "Korhites" of the tribe of Levi, which is the general meaning of the term, but descendants of some Benjamite Korah, otherwise unknown to us.

7. *Gedor.*] Gedor of Benjamin is not elsewhere mentioned; but the name occurs as that of a man in the genealogy of Saul (supra, viii. 31, ix. 37). It would seem that there were at least three Gedors.

8. *Into the hold to the wilderness.*] Rather, "into the hold **towards** the wilderness." Some understand by this Ziklag, some Engedi (1 S. xxiv. 1, 2); but it seems most probable that the stronghold of Adullam is intended. (See above, ch. xi. 15, 16.)

9 Ezer the first, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third,
10 Mishmannah the fourth, Jeremiah the fifth,
11 Attai the sixth, Eliel the seventh,
12 Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth,
13 Jeremiah the tenth, Machbanai the eleventh.
14 These *were* of the sons of Gad, captains of the host: ‖ one of the least *was* over an hundred, and the greatest over a thousand.
15 These *are* they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had †overflown all his ‡banks; and they put to flight all *them* of the valleys, *both* toward the east, and toward the west.
16 And there came of the children of Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David.
17 And David went out †to meet them, and answered and said unto them, If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, mine heart shall †be knit unto you: but if *ye be come* to betray me to mine enemies, seeing *there is* no ‖wrong in mine hands, the God of our fathers look *thereon*, and rebuke *it*.
18 Then †the spirit came upon Amasai, *who was* chief of the captains, *and he said*, Thine *are we*, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace *be* unto thee, and peace *be* to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee. Then David received them, and made them captains of the band.
19 And there fell *some* of Manasseh

‖ Or, *one that was least* could resist *an hundred, and the greatest a thousand.*
† Heb. *filled over.*
‡ Josh. 3. 15.
† Heb. *before them.*
† Heb. *be one.*
‖ Or, *violence.*
† Heb. *the spirit clothed Amasai.*

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13. *Jeremiah the tenth.*] Rather, "Jeremiahu." The name is written differently from that of the fifth Gadite.

14. *One of the least was over a hundred.*] The marginal rendering is preferable to that of the text. (Compare Lev. xxvi. 8.)

15. *These are they, &c.*] The whole of this passage, from verse 8 to 15 inclusive seems to be taken *verbatim* from an ancient source, the poetical expressions in verses 8 to 14 being especially unlike the usual style of our author. In the present verse the ancient writer who is quoted alluded to some well-known exploit of the Gadites, which needed only to be glanced at in order to be understood—when they crossed Jordan in the flood season and put to flight their enemies right and left. As, however, no other record of the exploit has come down to us, the slight sketch here given is in many respects obscure to us.

16. *To the hold.*] *I. e.* to Adullam; between which and the Ziklag of the first verse there is a manifest contrast.

17. *If ye be come peaceably.*] There must have been circumstances which roused David's suspicions on this occasion. He had received the first adhesion of Benjamites, apparently without any doubt or hesitation. But when a second desertion appeared from the same quarter, even though some of his own tribe accompanied the deserters, he feared treachery, and before receiving them made the solemn appeal which is here recorded. As David was certainly not of a suspicious temper, we must suppose that something had occurred to make him hesitate now.

18. *Then the spirit came upon* (marg. *clothed*) *Amasai.*] This is a very unusual expression. We hear constantly in the Old Testament of "the Spirit of God," but only here (and possibly in 1 Chr. xxviii. 12) of "the Spirit" absolutely. It is clear, however, that the two expressions mean the same. (Compare Jud. vi. 34, and 2 Chr. xxiv. 20.) Amasai spoke, not of himself, but as God's spiritual influence moved him.

Amasai.] Some suppose this Amasai to be the same as Amasa, David's nephew, who was made captain of the host by Absalom (2 S. xvii. 25) and murdered by Joab (ib. xx. 10). But it seems unlikely that David would have misdoubted a band led by his own nephew.

thine are we, &c.] The passionate earnestness of Amasai's speech is strongly marked in the original, and will be better seen by omitting the words which our version adds in italics. The passage runs—"And the Spirit clothed Amasai, chief of the captains;—Thine, David, and with thee, son of Jesse! Peace, peace unto thee, and to thy helpers, for thy God helpeth thee." Here again, as in verses 8-15, we have manifestly the actual words of a very ancient record.

19. *When he came with the Philistines &c.*] See 1 S. xxix. 1-11.

to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battle: but they helped them not: for the lords of the Philistines upon advisement
[c] 1 Sa. 29. 4. sent him away, saying, [c] He will fall
[†] Heb. *on our heads.* to his master Saul [†] to *the jeopardy of* our heads.

20 As he went to Ziklag, there fell to him of Manasseh, Adnah, and Jozabad, and Jediael, and Michael, and Jozabad, and Elihu, and Zilthai, captains of the thousands that *were* of Manasseh.

[‖] Or, *with a band.* 21 And they helped David [‖] against the band *of the rovers:* for they *were* all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host.

22 For at *that* time day by day there came to David to help him, until *it was* a great host, like the host of God.

[‖] Or, *captains, or, men.* [†] Heb. *heads.* 23 ¶ And these *are* the numbers of the [‖†] bands *that were* ready armed to the war, *and* came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to the word of the LORD.

24 The children of Judah that bare shield and spear *were* six thousand and eight hundred, ready [‖] armed to the war. [‖] Or, *prepared.*

25 Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of valour for the war, seven thousand and one hundred.

26 Of the children of Levi four thousand and six hundred.

27 And Jehoiada *was* the leader of the Aaronites, and with him *were* three thousand and seven hundred;

28 And Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two captains.

29 And of the children of Benjamin, the [†] kindred of Saul, three thousand: for hitherto [†] the greatest part of them had kept the ward of the house of Saul. [†] Heb. *brethren.* [†] Heb. *a multitude of them.*

30 And of the children of Ephraim twenty thousand and eight hundred, mighty men of valour, [†] famous throughout the house of their fathers. [†] Heb. *men of names.*

31 And of the half tribe of Manasseh eighteen thousand, which were expressed by name, to come and make David king.

32 And of the children of Issachar, *which were men* that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel

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21. *The band of the rovers.*] The Amalekite band which sacked Ziklag during David's absence (1 S. xxx. 1, 2) is probably intended. The marginal rendering "with *a* band" is certainly wrong, since the word "band" has the article.

22. *Like the host of God.*] Literally, "like *a* camp of God." It was usual among the Hebrews to call very great trees, mountains, cities, &c., "trees, mountains, cities *of God.*" (See Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxxx. 11; Jonah iii. 3; &c.) The phrase here used seems to be one of the same kind. (Compare 1 S. xiv. 15.)

23. *These are the numbers of the bands that were ready armed to the war.*] Rather, "These are the numbers of the **men**, ready equipped **for the host**, that came to David, &c."

according to the word of the Lord.] Compare ch. xi. 3 and 10.

27. *Jehoiada.*] Probably the father of Benaiah (ch. xi. 22), who is called in ch. xxvii. 5, "the chief priest." On this occasion, however, he appeared, not in his priestly, but in his civil character, as head of the house of Aaron.

28. *Zadok.*] Probably the son of Ahitub, who became high-priest at a later time (2 S. viii. 17; 1 K. i. 8).

29. *For hitherto the greatest part of them had kept the ward of the house of Saul.*] Rather, "For **still** the greatest part of them **maintained their allegiance to** the house of Saul." This is given as the reason of so few coming to Hebron. It shows us that, even after the death of Ishbosheth, the Benjamites had hopes of furnishing a third king to the nation.

31. *Which were expressed by name.*] *I.e.* "who were nominated and deputed by the rest of the tribe to go to Hebron and make David king."

32. *Men that had understanding of the times.*] This is best interpreted politically—"men who had wisdom to discern the times and see the right course to take on each occasion." (Compare Esth. i. 13.)

ought to do; the heads of them *were* two hundred; and all their brethren *were* at their commandment.

33 Of Zebulun, such as went forth to battle, ‖expert in war, with all instruments of war, fifty thousand, which could ‖keep rank: *they were* †not of double heart.

34 And of Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield and spear thirty and seven thousand.

35 And of the Danites expert in war twenty and eight thousand and six hundred.

36 And of Asher, such as went forth to battle, ‖expert in war, forty thousand.

37 And on the other side of Jordan, of the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and of the half tribe of Manasseh, with all manner of instruments of war for the battle, an hundred and twenty thousand.

38 All these men of war, that could keep rank, came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel: and all the rest also of Israel *were* of one heart to make David king.

39 And there they were with David three days, eating and drinking: for their brethren had prepared for them.

40 Moreover they that were nigh them, *even* unto Issachar and Zebulun and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, *and* ‖meat, meal, cakes of figs, and bunches of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep abundantly: for *there was* joy in Israel.

‖ Or, *rangers of battle*, or, *ranged in batile.*
‖ Or, *set the battle in array.*
† Heb. *without a heart and a heart.*
‖ Or, *keeping their rank.*
‖ Or, *victual of meat.*

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all their brethren.] *I. e.* the rest of the tribe, or rather such of them as went up to Hebron. The number seems accidentally to have fallen out.

33. *Expert in war, &c.*] Rather "**arrayed for battle** with all harness of battle"—excelling, that is, in the matter of their arms and accoutrements. The writer notes in each tribe the point in which it was most admirable.

which could keep rank: they were not of double heart.] In the original this is a single clause, and the meaning is simply, "who set the battle in array with no double heart." Nothing seems to be gained by breaking up the clause into two.

35. *Expert in war.*] See note on verse 33.

37. *And on the other side of Jordan.*] Rather, "And **from** the other side."

38. *That could keep rank.*] Literally, "arrayers of battle," "men that could set the battle in array." (See note on verse 33.)

all the rest were of one heart.] This must be understood as a general statement admitting of particular exceptions; since we have already been told that the Benjamites generally stood aloof through their fidelity to the house of Saul (verse 29).

40. *Even unto Issachar, &c.*] Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali were among the remotest of the tribes; and it is thus implied that provisions came for the assembly at Hebron from almost every part of the land.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verses 24—37.

On the Number of those who flocked to Hebron to make David King.

The quotas sent by the various tribes arranged in the order of numerical greatness, are as follows:—

1. Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh	120,000
2. Zebulun	50,000
3. Asher	40,000
4. Naphtali	38,000
5. Dan	28,600
6. Ephraim	20,800
7. Half Manasseh	18,000
8. Levi	8,322
9. Issachar (200 heads, therefore about)	7,600 (?)
10. Simeon	7,100
11. Judah	6,800
12. Benjamin	3,000
Total	348,222

Several points in the above list are calculated to excite surprise, as especially the following:—(1.) The large number sent by the Trans-Jordanic tribes, which is more than one-third of the whole, whereas two-and-a-half tribes would seem to be less than one-

fifth of the nation. (2.) The great size of the quotas from Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, all tribes somewhat remote, and generally speaking undistinguished. (3.) The small size of the contingent from Judah, which is generally represented as numerically superior to every other tribe, and which might have been expected to be especially zealous on behalf of its own prince and tribesman. These anomalies, especially the last, throw some doubt upon the numbers, which may be suspected of having in some instances undergone corruption.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *David fetcheth the ark with great solemnity from Kirjath-jearim.* 9 *Uzza being smitten, the ark is left at the house of Obed-edom.*

AND David consulted with the captains of thousands and hundreds, *and* with every leader.

2 And David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If *it seem* good unto you, and *that it be* of the LORD our God, †let us send abroad unto our brethren every where, *that are* left in all the land of Israel, and with them *also* to the priests and Levites *which are* †in their cities *and* suburbs, that they may gather themselves unto us:

3 And let us †bring again the ark of our God to us: for we enquired not at it in the days of Saul.

4 And all the congregation said that they would do so: for the thing was right in the eyes of all the people.

5 So [c] [a] David gathered all Israel together, from Shihor of Egypt even unto the entering of Hemath, to bring the ark of God from Kirjath-jearim. [a] 1 Sam. 7. 1. 2 Sam. 6. 2.

6 And David went up, and all Israel, to [b] Baalah, *that is*, to Kirjath-jearim, which *belonged* to Judah, to bring up thence the ark of God the LORD, that dwelleth *between* the cherubims, whose name is called *on it*. [b] Josh. 15. 9.

7 And they †carried the ark of God in a new cart out of the house of Abinadab: and Uzza and Ahio drave the cart.

† Heb. *let us break forth* and *send.*

† Heb. *in the cities of their suburbs.*

† Heb. *bring about.*

† Heb. *made the ark to ride.*

CHAP. XIII. This chapter corresponds closely with 2 S. vi. 1-11, differing only in the first five verses, which expound what in Samuel is stated with extreme brevity in a single verse (verse 1)—"And David gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand."

1. *The captains of thousands and hundreds.*] It is suspected with some reason that such an organisation as this phrase implies, had been established generally through the tribes prior to the time of David. (Compare Num. xxxi. 14; 1 S. viii. 12, xvii. 18; 1 Chr. xii. 20, &c.) David, however, seems to have been the first to recognise in these officers of the host representatives of the people, to consult them on public affairs, and to give them a certain political position. (See, besides the present place, ch. xv. 25, xxvi. 26, xxviii. 1, &c.)

and with every leader.] Rather, "**who were under each** leader."

2. *All the congregation.*] *I.e.* all whom he had assembled, viz., the "captains" and "leaders" of verse 1.

that are left.] That remain at home, not having been summoned to the meeting, or not having come.

3. *We enquired not at it in the days of Saul.*] Compare 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2; xxviii. 6; 1 Chr. x. 14.

5. *From Shihor of Egypt.*] It is doubtful whether "Shihor of Egypt" is the Nile, or the *Wady el Arish*—the "river of Egypt," which is generally regarded as forming the boundary of the Holy Land southwards. (See note on 1 K. viii. 65.) On the whole the balance of argument seems to be in favour of regarding "Shihor of Egypt" as the *Wady*. (See 'Bibl. Dict.' ad voc. SHIHOR; and compare note on Josh. xiii. 3.)

the entering of Hemath.] "Hemath" is the same as "Hamath," which is the true form of the Hebrew word. The "entering of Hamath" or "entering in of Hamath" is the point of the Cœle-Syrian valley which forms the watershed between the Orontes and the Litany. (See note on Num. xxxiv. 8.)

from Kirjath-jearim.] Again the writer assumes that the narrative of Samuel is known, and speaks of the ark being brought

8 And David and all Israel played before God with all *their* might, and with †singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets.

9 ¶ And when they came unto the threshingfloor of ‖Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to hold the ark; for the oxen ‖stumbled.

10 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because he put his hand to the [c]ark: and there he died before God.

11 And David was displeased, because the LORD had made a breach upon Uzza: wherefore that place is called ‖Perez-uzza to this day.

12 And David was afraid of God that day, saying, How shall I bring the ark of God *home* to me?

13 So David †brought not the ark *home* to himself to the city of David, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom the Gittite.

14 And the ark of God remained with the family of Obed-edom in his house three months. And the LORD blessed [d]the house of Obed-edom, and all that he had.

† Heb. *songs.*

‖ Called *Nachon*, 2 Sam. 6. 6.

‖ Or, *shook it.*

[c] Num. 4. 15.

‖ That is, *The breach of Uzza.*

† Heb. *removed.*

[d] As chap. 26. 5.

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from Kirjath-jearim without having told us that it was there—much less, how it came to be there. For a full account of the circumstances under which it was brought there, see 1 Sam. vi. and vii., 1, 2.

6–14. On the remainder of this chapter, which follows closely 2 Sam. vi. 2-11, the notes upon that passage will be found sufficient comment.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *Hiram's kindness to David.* 2 *David's felicity in people, wives, and children.* 8 *His two victories against the Philistines.*

[e] 2 Sam. 5. 11, &c.

NOW [e]Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and timber of cedars, with masons and carpenters, to build him an house.

2 And David perceived that the LORD had confirmed him king over Israel, for his kingdom was lifted up on high, because of his people Israel.

† Heb. *yet.*

3 ¶ And David took †more wives at Jerusalem: and David begat more sons and daughters.

4 Now these *are* the names of *his* children which he had in Jerusalem; Shammua, and Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon,

5 And Ibhar, and Elishua, and Elpalet,

6 And Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia,

7 And Elishama, and ‖Beeliada, and Eliphalet.

‖ Or, *Eliada*, 2 Sam. 5. 16.

8 ¶ And when the Philistines heard that [f]David was anointed king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek David. And David heard *of it*, and went out against them.

[f] 2 Sam. 5. 17.

CHAP. XIV. runs parallel with 2 Sam. v. 11-25, and presents a general verbal identity, which is insufficiently represented by the authorised version. The only important variations from 2 Sam. v. are in verses 4-7 and 12, in the former of which passages the sons of David are given somewhat differently, while in the latter the fact is added that the idols taken from the Philistines were burned.

1. *Hiram.*] Elsewhere in Chronicles the form used is always "Huram" (2 Chr. ii. 3, 11; viii. 18; ix. 10, 21); and this is the Masoretic reading in the present passage.

3. *More wives.*] As the parallel passage of Samuel has "more concubines and wives," the writer of Chronicles has been accused of wishing to conceal the fact that David had concubines. But he expressly mentions it in ch. iii. 9.

4. *These are the names of his children.*] On the differences between the three lists of David's sons (2 Sam. v. 14-16; 1 Chr. iii. 5-9; and 1 Chr. xiv. 4-7), see note on 1 Chr. iii. 6.

8. *David . . . went out against them.*]

9 And the Philistines came and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim.

10 And David enquired of God, saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines? and wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD said unto him, Go up; for I will deliver them into thine hand.

11 So they came up to Baal-perazim; and David smote them there. Then David said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand like the breaking forth of waters: therefore they called the name of that place ‖Baal-perazim.

‖ That is, *a place of breaches.*

12 And when they had left their gods there, David gave a commandment, and they were burned with fire.

13 And the Philistines yet again spread themselves abroad in the valley.

14 Therefore David enquired again of God; and God said unto him, Go not up after them; turn away from them, *f* and come upon them over against the mulberry trees. *f* 2 Sam. 5. 23.

15 And it shall be, when thou shalt hear a sound of going in the tops of the mulberry trees, *that* then thou shalt go out to battle: for God is gone forth before thee to smite the host of the Philistines.

16 David therefore did as God commanded him: and they smote the host of the Philistines from Gibeon even to Gazer.

17 And the fame of David went out into all lands; and the LORD brought the fear of him upon all nations.

Here a general phrase is substituted for the more particular one of Samuel, "he went down to the hold," since there was nothing in the rest of the narrative that required "the hold" to be mentioned.

12. *When they had left their gods there.*] The practice of carrying images of the gods to battle was common among the nations of antiquity, and arose from the belief that there was virtue in the images themselves, and that military success would be obtained by means of them. (See Herod. v. 75, 80; viii. 64, 83; Strab. viii. p. 558; Macrob. 'Sat.' i. 23; and compare 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 330.) A similar belief seems to have induced the Israelites to carry the ark of the covenant with them to battle in the days of Eli (1 Sam. iv. 4-11).

they were burned with fire.] The writer of Samuel says "David and his men *took them away.*" (See note ad loc.) The present passage has been called a "contradiction" of this; but at the utmost it is an addition. We may either understand the phrase "took them away" as equivalent to "destroyed them;" or we may take it literally, and conclude that David, in the first instance, carried the images as trophies to Jerusalem; but that when he had exhibited them there, he obeyed the injunctions of the law (Deut. vii. 5, 25), and destroyed them with fire.

16. *From Gibeon even to Gazer.*] The present text of Samuel (2 Sam. v. 25) has "Geba" here instead of "Gibeon." Both towns were in the same neighbourhood, Geba (*Jeba*) lying about two miles east and a little north of Gibeon (*el Jib*). Both moreover lay within less than three miles of Jerusalem; and it is therefore evident that the city was on this occasion threatened by the Philistines, who had advanced from their own low plain into the hill country of Benjamin, and were proceeding to attack the city on its weak side, the north. The position of Gazer (or Gezer) is uncertain; but it is beyond a doubt that it lay somewhere on the maritime plain, in the proper Philistine country, perhaps at *Jimzo*, or possibly near Joppa. Hence it is evident that the defeat of the Philistines was complete. They were driven headlong beyond the Jewish frontier, and pursued with slaughter deep into their own land. Hence the reflection with which the writer concludes his narrative (verse 17), and which is peculiar to him, may be pronounced very appropriate.

CHAPTER XV.

1 David, having prepared a place for the ark, ordereth the priests and Levites to being it from Obed-edom. 25 He performeth the solemnity thereof with great joy. 29 Michal despiseth him.

AND *David* made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent.

† Heb. It is *not to carry the ark of God, but for the Levites.*

2 Then David said, †None ought to carry the *ark of God but the Levites: for them hath the LORD chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever.

* Num. 4. 2, 15.

3 And David gathered all Israel together to Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the LORD unto his place, which he had prepared for it.

4 And David assembled the children of Aaron, and the Levites:

5 Of the sons of Kohath; Uriel the chief, and his ‖brethren an hundred and twenty:

‖ Or, *kinsmen.*

6 Of the sons of Merari; Asaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred and twenty:

7 Of the sons of Gershom; Joel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and thirty:

8 Of the sons of Elizaphan; Shemaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred:

9 Of the sons of Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore:

10 Of the sons of Uzziel; Amminadab the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twelve.

11 And David called for Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the Levites, for Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and Amminadab,

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CHAP. XV. The bulk of this chapter consists of new matter, which the writer of Chronicles found in his authorities, and regarding as important for his purpose, introduced at this point into the narrative. Only verses 25-29 are parallel with 2 Samuel, corresponding to ch. vi. 12-23.

1. *David made him houses.*] See above, ch. xi. 8. David employed the interval of three months, while the ark was with Obed-edom, in erecting various buildings in his new city.

and pitched for it a tent.] The old "tent" or "tabernacle" was still in existence at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39; 2 Chr. i. 3); but the ark had long been separated from it, and David probably thought that something newer and more magnificent was requisite. He therefore allowed the former tabernacle to keep its place, and had another made and erected.

2. *Then David said.*] The writer of Chronicles at this point interposes a narrative which redounds to the honour of the Levites, whose part in the bringing up of the ark had not been particularly mentioned by the writer of Samuel. Still there is nothing like a discrepancy between the accounts of the two authors, the narrative of Chronicles merely filling out and supplementing that of Samuel.

none ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites.] Compare Num. i. 50; iv. 15, &c. We can easily understand that David, after the "breach upon Uzza" (ch. xiii. 11) had carefully considered all the legal requirements with respect to moving the ark, and was anxious that they should be strictly observed. (Compare verse 13.)

3. *David gathered all Israel.*] Chosen men probably, like the 30,000 of 1 Chr. xiii. 1, 2. (See below, verse 25,)

4. *The children of Aaron.*] *I.e.* the priests.

5. *The sons of Kohath.*] The order of the sons of Levi according to primogeniture is, Gershom, Kohath, Merari (Gen. xlvi. 11; Ex. vi. 16; 1 Chr. vi. 1, 16). But the Kohathites, of whom came the priestly family of the Aaronites, had precedence in all respects. To them especially was committed the attendance upon the ark and the bearing of it (Num. iii. 30, 31; iv. 15, &c.).

8. *Elizaphan.*] Elizaphan, or Elzaphan, was a great-grandson of Aaron, and belonged to the family of the Kohathites (Ex. vi. 16-22), but, as appears from this passage, was reckoned the head of a distinct house.

9. *Hebron.*] Hebron was a son of Kohath, and consequently a grandson of Aaron (Ex. vi. 18).

10. *Uzziel.*] Uzziel was brother to Hebron and father of Elizaphan. Of the six Levitical families therefore one only was descended from Gershom, one from Merari, and four from Kohath.

11. *Zadok and Abiathar the priests.*] See note on 2 Sam. viii. 17.

12 And said unto them, Ye *are* the chief of the fathers of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, *both* ye and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the LORD God of Israel unto *the place that* I have prepared for it.

13 For because ye *did it* not at the first, the LORD our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after the due order.

14 So the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark of the LORD God of Israel.

15 And the children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with the staves thereon, as [a] Moses commanded according to the word of the LORD.

16 And David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren *to be* the singers with instruments of musick, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding, by lifting up the voice with joy.

17 So the Levites appointed [b] Heman the son of Joel; and of his brethren, [c] Asaph the son of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari their brethren, [d] Ethan the son of Kushaiah;

18 And with them their brethren of the second *degree*, Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, the porters.

19 So the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, *were appointed* to sound with cymbals of brass;

20 And Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries on Alamoth;

[a] Ex. 25. 14.

[b] ch. 6. 33.

[c] ch. 6. 39.

[d] ch. 6. 44.

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12. *Sanctify yourselves.*] *I.e.* "Purify yourselves from any legal defilement that you may have contracted," in order that you may be fit for the solemn duties about to be assigned you. (Compare Lev. xi. 44; Num. xi. 18; 2 Chr. xxix. 5; &c.)

13. *Because ye did it not at the first.*] This can scarcely mean "because ye did not sanctify yourselves at the first." Rather it is "because ye did not at first take your proper part in the ceremony of removing the ark"—in other words, "because ye did not bear it upon your shoulders."

made a breach.] Compare ch. xiii. 11.

after the due order.] The "due order" was that the ark should be borne on the shoulders of Kohathite Levites—not that it should be placed upon a cart, drawn by oxen, and rudely shaken.

15. *With the staves thereon, as Moses commanded.*] Compare Ex. xxv. 14.

16. *The singers.*] Singing had long been recognised as appropriate to religious ceremonies (Ex. xv. 21; Judg. v. 1; 1 Chr. xiii. 8); but this is the first occasion on which we find the duty of conducting musical services expressly laid on the Levites. Hitherto music seems to have been chiefly cultivated in the "schools of the prophets" (1 Sam. x. 5). Henceforth the services of the tabernacle and the temple were regularly choral, and a considerable section of the Levites was trained in musical knowledge, and set apart to conduct this portion of the national worship. (Compare below, ch. xxiii. 5; xxv. 1-31; 2 Chr. v. 12; vii. 6; xxix. 25-30; xxxv. 15; &c.)

17. *Heman, &c.*] Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, had been already mentioned as the chief singers in the time of David. (See above, ch. vi. 33, 39, and 44.) Ethan in vi. 44 is called "the son of *Kishi*."

18. *Zechariah, Ben.*] The name "Ben" is suspicious. No such name is elsewhere found in the Bible, and it is unlikely that a word simply meaning "son" should be given as a name. Moreover, if it were a name, it would have had the conjunction "and" before it, like all the other names in the verse. (See the next note.) And it would also have recurred in verse 20, where it is wanting. Probably, Zechariah's father was originally mentioned, but his name which followed the word *ben*, "son," dropped out.

Eliab.] In the original it is, "and Eliab."

the porters.] These words probably apply to Obed-edom and Jeiel only. (See verse 24, where it is explained that Obed-edom and Jeiel—there called "Jehiah"—were "door-keepers for the ark.")

20. *Aziel.*] Or "Jaaziel," as in verse 18.

with psalteries on Alamoth.] This phrase is variously explained. According to Gesenius it means "psalteries of high pitch,"

21 And Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps ‖on the Sheminith to excel.

‖ Or, *on the eighth to oversee.*

22 And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, ‖*was* for †song: he instructed about the song, because he *was* skilful.

‖ Or, *was for the carriage: he instructed about the carriage.*

† Heb. *lifting up.*

23 And Berechiah and Elkanah *were* doorkeepers for the ark.

24 And Shebaniah, and Jehoshaphat, and Nethaneel, and Amasai, and Zechariah, and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the trumpets before the ark of God: and Obed-edom and Jehiah *were* doorkeepers for the ark.

25 ¶ So [e]David, and the elders of Israel, and the captains over thousands, went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the house of Obed-edom with joy.

[e] 2 Sam. 6. 12, 13, &c

26 And it came to pass, when God helped the Levites that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, that they offered seven bullocks and seven rams.

27 And David *was* clothed with a robe of fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of the ‖song with the singers: David also *had* upon him an ephod of linen.

‖ Or, *carriage.*

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psalteries whose tone resembled the voices of girls (*alamoth*). (The same explanation has been given with much probability to the "female flutes" of the Lydians. Herod. i. 17).

21. *Azaziah.*] Azaziah had not been mentioned before. It is supposed that his name must have dropped out from verse 18.

with harps on the Sheminith to excel.] The meaning of "harps on the Sheminith" is exceedingly doubtful. "Sheminith" means properly "the eighth," and has been compared with the modern musical term "octave." Gesenius regards "Sheminith" and "Alamoth" as opposed, and suggests that the harps of Mattithiah and his companions were pitched an octave below the psalteries of Zechariah and his brethren. The word translated "to excel," he understands as meaning "to lead," or "so that they should lead," and he supposes that Mattithiah, &c., led the music with their deep-toned harps, and that Zechariah, &c., followed with their shriller psalteries. This may be the right explanation; but in modern music the treble invariably leads and the bass follows.

22. *Chenaniah, chief of the Levites.*] Rather "a chief." He was not among the six principal chiefs. (See verses 5-12.)

was for song.] Or (marg.) "for the carriage." The best Hebraists are still at variance as to the meaning of this passage, some supposing elevation of the voice, others elevation of the ark, to be intended. On the former side are Dathe, Gesenius, Fürst, and Prof. Lee; on the latter, Geddes, Boothroyd, and Bertheau.

23. *Berechiah.*] Perhaps the father of Asaph. (See verse 17.)

24. *The priests, did blow with the trumpets.*] Compare 1 S. vi. 10. As by God's direction the sacred trumpets were to sound when the ark was moved in the wilderness (Num. x. 2), so now David arranged that they should be blown at the present removal. That the trumpets were to be sounded by the priests was commanded in Num. x. 8.

26. *When God helped the Levites.*] This expression takes the place occupied in Samuel by the clause, "when they that bare the ark had gone six paces;" and it is reasonable to suppose that it is another mode of expressing the same fact. The death of Uzza had deeply impressed both David and the Levites, and it was doubted whether God would allow the ark to be moved any more. Sacrificial animals were held ready, and when it appeared by the movement of the ark six paces, without any manifestation of the Divine displeasure, that God was not opposing but rather helping the Levites in their task, the victims were at once offered. David directed the offering (1 S. vi. 13), and the Levites offered it. There is no reason to believe that the sacrifices were repeated.

27. *David was clothed with a robe of fine linen.*] "Fine linen" (*buts* or *byssus*) is here first spoken of as used for dress. It seems to have been reserved for nobles of the highest rank (Esth. viii. 15), for kings, and for priests (2 Chr. v. 12). David's robe was probably worn, like that of the high-priest, immediately under the ephod, and may, like that, have reached the feet.

and all the Levites.] It is not meant that the Levites wore similar robes to David's, but only that they formed part of the procession.

master of the song.] Or "carriage" (marg.) See note 2 on verse 22.

with the singers.] There is no "with" in the original, and it may be suspected that

28 Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the LORD with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps.

29 ¶ And it came to pass, *as* the ark of the covenant of the LORD came to the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looking out at a window saw king David dancing and playing: and she despised him in her heart.

"the singers" is an explanation of the word translated "song," which has crept into the text from the margin.

an ephod.] See note on 1 S. ii. 18.

28. *All Israel.*] See verse 3, and compare 2 S. vi. 19. For the true meaning, see above, verse 25.

and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps.] Rather, "**and with loud-sounding cymbals**, with psalteries and with harps." Compare above, verse 19.

29. This verse is nearly identical with 2 S. vi. 16. Almost the only difference is in the terms by which David's dancing is described, which seem to be somewhat softened down in Chronicles.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *David's festival sacrifice.* 4 *He ordereth a choir to sing thanksgiving.* 7 *The psalm of thanksgiving.* 37 *He appointeth ministers, porters, priests, and musicians, to attend continually on the ark.*

f 2 Sam. 6. 17. SO *f* they brought the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it: and they offered burnt sacrifices and peace offerings before God.

2 And when David had made an end of offering the burnt offerings and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the LORD.

3 And he dealt to every one of Israel, both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon *of wine*.

4 ¶ And he appointed *certain* of the Levites to minister before the ark of the LORD, and to record, and to thank and praise the LORD God of Israel:

5 Asaph the chief, and next to him Zechariah, Jeiel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and Eliab, and Benaiah, and Obed-edom: and Jeiel † with psalteries and with harps; but Asaph made a sound with cymbals;

† Heb. *with instruments of psalteries and harps*

CHAP. XVI. The division between this chapter and the preceding is awkward; since the first three verses of ch. xvi. form part of the narrative commenced ch. xv. 25. Compare 2 S. vi. 17-19, where the passage is not torn from its proper context.

4-42. This passage is interposed by the writer of Chronicles between two consecutive sentences of Samuel, which he repeats unaltered in verse 3 and verse 43. It contains a detailed account of the service which David instituted at this time, a service out of which grew the more elaborate service of the Temple. The language of much of the passage is remarkably archaic, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is in the main an extract from a record of the time of David.

4. *And to record.*] Rather, "to **celebrate**." The verb used is nearly equivalent to the two others which follow, and are translated respectively "thank" and "praise." Compare the titles of Ps. xxxviii. and lxx.

5. *And Jeiel.*] The occurrence of the name "Jeiel" twice in this list is suspicious. Our translators, by placing a colon after the name "Obed-edom," have detached from the list the second Jeiel, and made it appear as if he alone played "with psalteries and with harps." But in the original the names run on without interruption, all from Zechariah to the second Jeiel being represented as players on these instruments. (Compare ch. xv. 20, 21.) Probably the first "Jeiel" is a corrupt reading for "Aziel" (xv. 20), or "Jaaziel" (xv. 18).

Asaph . . . with cymbals.] Probably Asaph, as leader, kept the time with his cymbals.

6 Benaiah also and Jahaziel the priests with trumpets continually before the ark of the covenant of God.

7 ¶ Then on that day David delivered first *this psalm* to thank the LORD into the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

8 [g] Give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name, make known his deeds among the people.

9 Sing unto him, sing psalms unto him, talk ye of all his wondrous works.

10 Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.

11 Seek the LORD and his strength, seek his face continually.

12 Remember his marvellous works that he hath done, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth;

13 O ye seed of Israel his servant, ye children of Jacob, his chosen ones.

14 He *is* the LORD our God; his judgments *are* in all the earth.

15 Be ye mindful always of his covenant; the word *which* he commanded to a thousand generations;

16 *Even of the* [h] *covenant* which he made with Abraham, and of his oath unto Isaac;

17 And hath confirmed the same to Jacob for a law, *and* to Israel *for* an everlasting covenant,

18 Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, [†] the lot of your inheritance;

19 When ye were but [†] few, [i] even a few, and strangers in it.

20 And *when* they went from nation to nation, and from *one* kingdom to another people;

21 He suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, he [k] reproved kings for their sakes,

22 *Saying*, [l] Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.

23 [m] Sing unto the LORD, all the earth; shew forth from day to day his salvation.

24 Declare his glory among the heathen; his marvellous works among all nations.

25 For great *is* the LORD, and greatly to be praised: he also *is* to be feared above all gods.

26 For all the gods [n] of the people *are* idols: but the LORD made the heavens.

27 Glory and honour *are* in his presence; strength and gladness *are* in his place.

[g] Ps. 105. 1.

[h] Gen. 17. 2. & 26. 3. & 28. 13.

[†] Heb. *the cord.*

[†] Heb. *men of number.*

[i] Gen. 34. 30.

[k] Gen. 12. 17. & 20. 3.

[l] Ps. 105. 15.

[m] Ps. 96. 1.

[n] Lev. 19. 4.

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6. *Benaiah and Jahaziel the priests.*] These "priests" are distinct persons from Benaiah and Jaaziel the *Levites*. Benaiah the priest was mentioned in ch. xv. 24.

7. *On that day David delivered first this psalm to thank the Lord.*] Rather, "on that day David first **appointed to Asaph and his brethren that they should** praise the Lord [saying]." The writer wishes to lay stress on the fact that Asaph and his brethren were first appointed to their office on the day of the bringing in of the ark. We learn nothing from the passage as to the order in which David composed, or published, his psalms.

8. *Give thanks, &c.*] The psalm here put before us by the Chronicler as sung liturgically by Asaph and his brethren on the day of the ark's entrance into Jerusalem, accords closely with the following passages of our present Book of Psalms:—

Verses 8-22 with Ps. cv. 1-15.
Verses 23-33 with Ps. xcvi.
Verse 34 with Ps. cvii. 1.
Verses 35-36 with Ps. cvi. 47, 48.

It is, apparently, a thanksgiving service composed for the occasion out of psalms previously existing.

13. *Ye seed of Israel.*] In Ps. cv. 6, we have "Abraham" instead of "Israel." "Israel" is preferable on account of the parallelism. (Compare Ps. cv. 23; Is. xliv. 1, 21; Jer. xlvi. 27, &c.)

15. *Be ye mindful.*] In Ps. cv. 8, we read, "*he hath been* mindful." Some suppose that the text here was originally the same; but the use of the 2nd pers. pl. in verse 19 accords with its use here, and confirms the existing reading.

23. *Sing unto the Lord.*] Verses 1 and 2 of Ps. xcvi. are here thrown together, one clause being taken from each.

27. *Strength and gladness are in his place.*] Ps. xcvi. 6 has, instead of this, "strength and *beauty* are in his *sanctuary*." The Hebrew

28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the people, give unto the LORD glory and strength.

29 Give unto the LORD the glory *due* unto his name: bring an offering, and come before him: worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.

30 Fear before him, all the earth: the world also shall be stable, that it be not moved.

31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice: and let *men* say among the nations, The LORD reigneth.

32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof: let the fields rejoice, and all that *is* therein.

33 Then shall the trees of the wood sing out at the presence of the LORD, because he cometh to judge the earth.

[a] Ps. 107. 1. & 118. 1. & 136. 1.

34 [a]O give thanks unto the LORD; for *he is* good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

35 And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, and gather us together, and deliver us from the heathen, that we may give thanks to thy holy name, *and* glory in thy praise.

36 Blessed *be* the LORD God of Israel for ever and ever. And all [b]the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.

[b] Deu. 27. 15.

37 ¶ So he left there before the ark of the covenant of the LORD Asaph and his brethren, to minister before the ark continually, as every day's work required:

38 And Obed-edom with their brethren, threescore and eight; Obed-edom also the son of Jeduthun and Hosah *to be* porters:

39 And Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests, before the tabernacle of the LORD in the high place that *was* at Gibeon,

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terms for "place" and "sanctuary" are similar, and either may have grown out of the other; but there is no resemblance between *chedvah*, "strength," and *tiph'ereth*, "beauty." Probably here Chronicles has preserved the original term, which is one rarely found, while in Ps. xcvi. a gloss has crept in from the margin.

29. *Come before him.*] The corresponding phrase of Ps. xcvi. 8, "Come *into his courts*," was more appropriate after the Temple had been built, but could not have been used on this occasion.

worship the Lord, &c.] This third clause is a violation of ordinary metrical law; and the violation is combined with such a derangement of the clauses of Ps. xcvi. as seems to imply that the text is here in some confusion. The general *nexus* of the sentences as given in Ps. xcvi. is decidedly to be preferred.

34. *O give thanks, &c.*] This verse is found at the commencement of four psalms, viz., Ps. cvi., cvii., cxviii. and cxxxvi. It was the ordinary Jewish doxology, and may be regarded as closing the first, or thanksgiving, portion of this service, which is then followed by a short prayer (verse 35), after which comes a second doxology.

35. *And say ye.*] These words, which are not found in Ps. cvi. 47, seem to be no part of the psalm, but a mere liturgical direction.

36. *And all the people said, Amen, and praised the Lord.*] Rather, "**And let all the people say 'Amen,' and 'Praise the Lord.'**" Here again we have liturgical directions—not parts of the psalms of thanksgiving. The psalm, as sung by the Levites, ended with the words "for ever and ever." Then the congregation said, "Amen. Praise the Lord."

38. *And Obed-edom with their brethren.*] As this passage now stands, the word "their" is ungrammatical. Probably the name of another Levite has fallen out after "Obed-edom."

39. *In the high place that was at Gibeon.*] This is the first mention that we have of Gibeon as the place at which the tabernacle of the congregation now rested. Previously it had been at Nob (1 S. xxi. 1-6), whence it was removed probably at the time of the slaughter of the priests by Doeg (1 S. xxii. 18, 19). It is uncertain whether Gibeon was regarded as a "high place" before the transfer to it of the tabernacle; but thenceforth till the completion of Solomon's temple it was the "great high place" (1 K. iii. 4)—a second centre of the national worship which remained for above 50 years in this anomalous condition—divided between Gibeon and Jerusalem. (See besides the present passage, ch. xxi. 29; 2 Chr. i. 3-6, and 1 K. iii. 4.)

40 To offer burnt offerings unto the LORD upon the altar of the
† Heb. *in the morning and in the evening.* burnt offering continually †morning and evening, and *to do* according to all that is written in the law of the LORD, which he commanded Israel;

41 And with them Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, who were expressed by name, to give thanks to the LORD, because his mercy *endureth* for ever;

42 And with them Heman and Jeduthun with trumpets and cymbals for those that should make a sound, and with musical instruments of God. And the sons of Jeduthun *were* †porters. † Heb. *for the gate.*

43 And all the people departed every man to his house: and David returned to bless his house.

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40. *Upon the altar of the burnt offering.*] The original altar of burnt offering (Ex. xxxviii. 1-2) continued at Gibeon with the tabernacle (see 2 Chr. i. 5). David must have erected a new altar for sacrifice at Jerusalem (ch. xvi. 1). The sacrifices commanded by the Law were, it appears, offered at the former place; at the latter were offered voluntary additional sacrifices.

41. *Jeduthun.*] "Jeduthun" is probably the same person as the "Ethan" of ch. vi. 44, and xv. 17, 19. He was the head of the Merarites, and the leader of the third Levitical choir. (See below, ch. xxv. 1-6; 2 Chr. v. 12, xxix. 13, 14, xxxv. 15.)

the rest that were chosen, who were expressed by name.] Rather, "**the rest of the chosen ones, who were mentioned by name.**" The "chosen ones" were "mentioned by name" in ch. xv. 17-24. A portion of them, viz., those named in ch. xvi. 5, 6, conducted the service in Jerusalem; the remainder were employed in the worship at Gibeon.

42. *And with them Heman and Jeduthun.*] The true meaning here is probably that indicated by the LXX., where we have καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν σάλπιγγες καὶ κύμβαλα—"and with them were trumpets and cymbals." The words "Heman and Jeduthun" may have come into the text from the preceding verse, or from a marginal note, intended to explain who were meant by "them." As the passage stands in the Hebrew, it is ungrammatical. Our translators have twice inserted the preposition "with"—before "trumpets" and before "instruments."

43. *And the people departed, &c.*] Compare 2 S. vi. 19, 20, where the same passage occurs with the difference of only one letter.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Nathan first approving the purpose of David, to build God an house,* 3 *after by the word of God forbiddeth him.* 11 *He promiseth him blessings and benefits in his seed.* 16 *David's prayer and thanksgiving.*

c 2 Sam. 7. 1, &c. NOW c it came to pass, as David sat in his house, that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo, I dwell in an house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of the LORD *remaineth* under curtains.

2 Then Nathan said unto David, Do all that *is* in thine heart; for God *is* with thee.

3 ¶ And it came to pass the same night, that the word of God came to Nathan, saying,

4 Go and tell David my servant, Thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in:

5 For I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up Israel unto this day; but †have gone from tent to tent, and from *one* tabernacle *to another.* † Heb. *have been.*

CHAP. XVII. This chapter is almost identical with 2 S. vii.; and the notes upon it will therefore be confined to the few points in which it presents anything more than a verbal difference.

4. *Thou shalt not build.*] In 2 S. vii. 5, the expression is, "Shalt thou build?" The author of Chronicles, understanding this as equivalent to a negative, varies the phrase, probably for the sake of greater distinctness.

6 Wheresoever I have walked with all Israel, spake I a word to any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me an house of cedars?

7 Now therefore thus shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, *even* †from following the sheep, that thou shouldest be ruler over my people Israel:

† Heb. *from after.*

8 And I have been with thee whithersoever thou hast walked, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thee, and have made thee a name like the name of the great men that *are* in the earth.

9 Also I will ordain a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, and they shall dwell in their place, and shall be moved no more; neither shall the children of wickedness waste them any more, as at the beginning,

10 And since the time that I commanded judges *to be* over my people Israel. Moreover I will subdue all thine enemies. Furthermore I tell thee that the LORD will build thee an house.

11 ¶ And it shall come to pass, when thy days be expired that thou must go *to be* with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons; and I will establish his kingdom.

12 He shall build me an house, and I will stablish his throne for ever.

13 [d] I will be his father, and he shall be my son: and I will not take my mercy away from him, as I took *it* from *him* that was before thee;

[d] 2 Sam. 7. 14, 15.

14 But I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and his throne shall be established for evermore.

15 According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so did Nathan speak unto David.

16 ¶ And David the king came and sat before the LORD, and said, Who *am* I, O LORD God, and what *is* mine house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?

17 And *yet* this was a small thing in thine eyes, O God; for thou hast *also* spoken of thy servant's house for a great while to come, and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree, O LORD God.

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6. *Spake I a word to any of the judges of Israel.*] In 2 S. vii. 7, the existing text has "tribes" instead of "judges." The two words are in the original very similar, and either might easily pass into the other. (See note A at the end of the chapter; and compare the note on 2 S. vii. 7.)

10. *Furthermore I tell thee.*] Some translate, "I *have told* thee," and regard the announcement as having been made previously on some occasion not recorded. But the tense used does not render this translation necessary.

13. *My son.*] The minatory clause which occurs after this in Samuel ("If he commit iniquity," &c.) is here omitted, because the writer is not about to record the sins of Solomon, or the sufferings (1 K. xi. 9-40) which he thereby brought upon himself.

14. *I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever.*] In Samuel these promises are made to David, and not, as here, to Solomon. Perhaps in the fuller document, which both writers had before them, it was made clear that the promises were to both, or (in other words) that they were made to David through or in respect of Solomon.

17. *And hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree.*] Many different explanations have been given of this difficult clause, which varies considerably from the parallel passage of Samuel (2 S. vii. 19) Compare 2 S. vii. Some see in it a reference to the Messiah—the true "man of high degree" (Pool, Schmidt). Others break the sentence up, and render, "Thou hast regarded me after the manner of men" (*i.e.* been familiar with me), "O Lord God of high degree" (Maurer). But the rendering of our translators, which is approved by Houbigant, Dathe, and others, appears to be preferable, and is to be understood as follows:—"Thou, O Lord God, hast regarded

18 What can David *speak* more to thee for the honour of thy servant? for thou knowest thy servant.

19 O LORD, for thy servant's sake, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all this greatness, in making known all *these* †great things.

† Heb. *greatnesses.*

20 O LORD, *there is* none like thee, neither *is there any* God beside thee, according to all that we have heard with our ears.

21 And what one nation in the earth *is* like thy people Israel, whom God went to redeem *to be* his own people, to make thee a name of greatness and terribleness, by driving out nations from before thy people, whom thou hast redeemed out of Egypt?

22 For thy people Israel didst thou make thine own people for ever; and thou, LORD, becamest their God.

23 Therefore now, LORD, let the thing that thou hast spoken concerning thy servant and concerning his house be established for ever, and do as thou hast said.

24 Let it even be established, that thy name may be magnified for ever, saying, The LORD of hosts *is* the God of Israel, *even* a God to Israel: and *let* the house of David thy servant *be* established before thee.

25 For thou, O my God, †hast told thy servant that thou wilt build him an house: therefore thy servant hath found *in his heart* to pray before thee.

† Heb. *hast revealed the ear of thy servant.*

26 And now, LORD, thou art God, and hast promised this goodness unto thy servant:

27 Now therefore ‖let it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may be before thee for ever: for thou blessest, O LORD, and *it shall be* blessed for ever.

‖ Or, *it hath pleased thee.*

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me in the light of a man of high degree." In other words, "thou hast elevated me above other men, by making my kingdom perpetual, regarding me as if I were a man of high degree."

18. *For the honour of thy servant.*] If the text is sound, this must mean "for the honour which thou hast done to thy servant." But probably the LXX. are right in omitting "thy servant" and rendering, "What can David say more to thee to glorify thee? For thou knowest," &c.

19. *For thy servant's sake.*] In 2 Sam. vii. 21 we read "for thy *word's* sake," which is preferable. The two phrases are very similar in the Hebrew. (See note B at the end of the chapter.)

21. *Whom God went to redeem to be his own people.*] Rather, "**to whom God came, to redeem to himself a people.**"

to make thee a name of greatness and terribleness.] The parallel passage of Samuel (2 Sam. vii. 23) shows that we are to refer the word "thee" to God, not to the people of Israel. It is possible that words meaning "and to do for them" have slipped out after "name" (as Bertheau thinks); but perhaps more probable that the writer of Chronicles contracted the two clauses of Samuel into one intentionally. The LXX. follow the present Hebrew text, and render, τοῦ θέσθαι ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα μέγα καὶ ἐπιφανές.

24. *Let it be even established, that thy name may be magnified for ever.*] Rather, "**And let thy name be established and** magnified for ever." That is to say: "Let not only thy promise stand firm, but let thy name also stand firm (continue to be held in honour) and be magnified," &c.

The Lord of hosts is the God of Israel, even a God to Israel.] Rather, "The Lord of hosts, **the God of Israel, is a God to Israel;**" *i.e.* "the Lord of hosts, the God whom Israel worships, is indeed by his kindness and care a God to Israel."

27. *Now therefore let it please thee*, marg., *it hath pleased thee.*] The actual text can only bear the sense given in the margin. To obtain the sense "let it please thee," we must assimilate Chronicles to Samuel. (See note C at the end of the chapter.)

for thou blessest, O Lord, and it shall be blessed for ever.] Or, "For thou, O Lord, hast blessed it, and may it be blessed for ever." Compare 2 Sam. vii. 29.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 6, 19, 27.

NOTE A, on verse 6.

The Hebrew word for "tribes" is שִׁבְטֵי, the word for "judges" is שִׁפְטֵי. The only difference is in the second radical, which in the one case is ב, in the other פ, a very similar letter.

NOTE B, on verse 19.

"For thy word's sake" is בעבור דברך; "for thy servant's sake" is בעבור עבדך. The chief noticeable difference is that *ain* in the one case replaces *daleth* in the other.

NOTE C, on verse 27.

ועתה הואלת לברך, which is the present reading of Chronicles, can only mean "And now thou hast been pleased to bless." To obtain the more appropriate sense, "Let it please thee," &c., we must substitute the reading of 2 S. vii. 29, ועתה הואל וברך.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *David subdueth the Philistines and the Moabites.* 3 *He smiteth Hadarezer and the Syrians.* 9 *Tou sendeth Hadoram with presents to bless David.* 11 *The presents and the spoil David dedicateth to God.* 13 *He putteth garrisons in Edom.* 14 *David's officers.*

[a] 2 Sam. 8. 1, &c.

NOW after this [a]it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines.

2 And he smote Moab; and the Moabites became David's servants, *and* brought gifts.

3 ¶ And David smote ‖Hadarezer king of Zobah unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates.

‖ Or, *Hadadezer*, 2 Sam. 8. 3.

4 And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: David also houghed all the chariot *horses*, but reserved of them an hundred chariots.

5 And when the Syrians of †Damascus came to help Hadarezer king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men.

† Heb. *Darmesek.*

CHAP. XVIII. This chapter is closely parallel with 2 Sam. viii., differing from it only in a few passages, which will be noticed as they occur. It contains an account of David's chief wars (verses 1-13), and a list of his principal officers (verses 15-17).

1. *After this.*] Compare 2 S. viii. 1, and see note ad loc.

took Gath and her towns.] Some commentators suggest that this is the true reading, of which the "took Metheg-ammah" of 2 Sam. viii. 1 is a corruption. Others regard it as an explanation of that difficult phrase. (See note ad loc.) It is no objection to this capture of Gath by David that we hear of its having a king under Solomon (1 K. ii. 39), for Solomon's empire was one in which all the subject states retained their native monarchs. (See 1 K. iv. 21, 24; 2 Chr. ix. 26.)

3. *Hadarezer.*] This is a corrupt form of the name which is given correctly in 2 S. viii. 3-12, and 1 K. xi. 23, as Hadadezer. It means "The Sun-God helps" or "has helped."

to stablish his dominion.] In Samuel, it is "to *recover* his border." The two verbs are in the original very similar; but it is not unlikely that the writer of Chronicles purposely changed the expression, preferring a word that could not be misunderstood. (See note on 2 Sam. viii. 3.)

4. *A thousand chariots and seven thousand horsemen.*] In Samuel the present text substitutes for this: "a thousand and seven hundred horsemen," no chariots being mentioned as taken, though their capture is implied afterwards. Probably the reading of Chronicles is right, since the numbers are fairly proportioned one to another.

5. *Damascus.*] The form "Darmesek" for "Dammesek," which occurs both here and in 2 Chr. xxviii. 5, is probably not the error of a scribe, but due to phonetic corruption. David's war with the Syrians of Damascus was noticed by the native writer, Nicolas, who appears to have drawn from native sources. He related that the name of David's adversary was Hadad, that several battles were fought, and that the last, wherein Hadad suffered a severe defeat, was near the

6 Then David put *garrisons* in Syria-damascus; and the Syrians became David's servants, *and* brought gifts. Thus the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.

7 And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadarezer, and brought them to Jerusalem.

8 Likewise from [1]Tibhath, and from Chun, cities of Hadarezer, brought David very much brass, wherewith [b]Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass.

9 ¶ Now when [1]Tou king of Hamath heard how David had smitten all the host of Hadarezer king of Zobah;

10 He sent [1]Hadoram his son to king David, [1]to enquire of his welfare, and [†]to congratulate him, because he had fought against Hadarezer, and smitten him; (for Hadarezer [†]had war with Tou;) and *with him* all manner of vessels of gold and silver and brass.

11 ¶ Them also king David dedicated unto the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he brought from all *these* nations; from Edom, and from Moab, and from the children of Ammon, and from the Philistines, and from Amalek.

12 Moreover Abishai the son of Zeruiah slew of the Edomites in the valley of salt eighteen thousand.

13 ¶ And he put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became David's servants. Thus the LORD preserved David whithersoever he went.

14 ¶ So David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice among all his people.

15 And Joab the son of Zeruiah *was* over the host; and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud, [‖]recorder.

16 And Zadok the son of Ahitub,

1 Called in the book of Samuel *Betah and Berothai.*

b 1 Kin. 7. 23. 2 Chr. 4. 15.

1 Or, *Toi*, 2 Sam. 8. 9.

1 Or, *Joram*, 2 Sam. 8. 10.

† Or, *to salute.*

† Heb. *to bless.*

† Heb. *was the man of wars.*

‖ Or, *remembrancer.*

Euphrates. (See 'Fr. Hist. Græc.' vol. iii. p. 373.)

6. *David put garrisons.*] The word "garrisons," which is absent from the present Hebrew text, is rightly restored from 2 Sam. viii. 6.

8. *Tibhath . . . Chun.*] Called "Betah" and "Berothai" in Samuel. The former name may be regarded as identical with Tibhath, the first two consonants having suffered an accidental inversion. The latter, if a sound reading, must be a later name of the town previously called "Berothai."

wherewith Solomon made the brasen sea, &c.] This clause is additional to Samuel, according to the present Hebrew text. The Septuagint, however, and the Vulgate, have in Samuel a clause nearly similar.

9. *Tou.*] In 2 Sam. viii. 9 this king is called "Toi." It is impossible to say which is the right reading.

10. *Hadoram.*] "Joram" in Samuel. "Hadoram" is preferable, since it is not likely that the Syrians would employ a name, of which one element is "Jehovah."

to enquire of his welfare, and congratulate him.] The words are the same here and in Samuel, where the A. V. has "to salute him and to bless him." "To greet him and congratulate him" would perhaps best represent the original.

all manner of vessels.] The purchase of foreign aid by means of gold and silver *vessels*, rather than by specie, receives illustration from the later Jewish history, where we find Ahaz bribing Tiglath-pileser with "the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord" (2 K. xvi. 8), as well as from the Assyrian records, which speak of a Babylonian monarch as procuring the help of the Elamites in the same way. ('Five Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 206, 2nd edition.)

11. *From Edom.*] The parallel passage of Samuel has "Aram" (Syria) in the place of Edom. It is in favour of the reading "Aram," that the conquest of Edom has not yet been mentioned.

12. *Abishai . . . slew of the Edomites . . . eighteen thousand.*] This is no doubt the victory assigned in 2 Sam. viii. 13 to David, and there wrongly described as a victory over the Syrians. That the "valley of salt" was in Edom appears from 2 K. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xxv. 11. That Abishai was the general who gained the victory for David we learn from this passage only. Other incidents of the Edomite war are related in 1 K. xi. 14-17.

16. *Abimelech.*] Rather "Ahimelech" as in 2 Sam. viii. 17, and 1 Chr. xxiv. 3, 6, 31. For "Abimelech, the son of Abiathar," it

and ‖Abimelech the son of Abiathar, *were* the priests; and ‖Shavsha was scribe;

17 And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada *was* over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the sons of David *were* chief †about the king.

‖ Called *Ahimelech*, 2 Sam. 8. 17.
‖ Called *Seraiah*, 2 Sam. 8. 17. and *Shisha*, 1 Kin. 4. 3.
† Heb. *at the hand of the king.*

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *David's messengers, sent to comfort Hanun the son of Nahash, are villanously entreated.* 6 *The Ammonites, strengthened by the Syrians, are overcome by Joab and Abishai.* 16 *Shophach, making a new supply of the Syrians, is slain by David.*

NOW [c]it came to pass after this, that Nahash the king of the children of Ammon died, and his son reigned in his stead.

[c] 2 Sam. 10. 1, &c.

2 And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, because his father shewed kindness to me. And David sent messengers to comfort him concerning his father. So the servants of David came into the land of the children of Ammon to Hanun, to comfort him.

3 But the princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun, †Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? are not his servants come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the land?

† Heb. *In thine eyes doth David, &c.*

4 Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them, and cut off their garments in the midst hard by their buttocks, and sent them away.

5 Then there went *certain*, and told David how the men were served. And he sent to meet them: for the men were greatly ashamed. And the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and *then* return.

6 ¶ And when the children of Ammon saw that they had made themselves †odious to David, Hanun and the children of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syria-maachah, and out of Zobah.

† Heb. *to stink.*

7 So they hired thirty and two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people; who came

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would seem that we ought to read, "Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech." (See note on 2 S. viii. 17.)

Shavsha.] A variant form of this name is "Shisha" (1 K. iv. 3). The "Sheva" of 2 Sam. xx. 25, and the "Seraiah" of 2 Sam. viii. 17, are probably corrupt readings.

17. *Chief about the king.*] The author of Chronicles avoids the ambiguous word used in Samuel (*cohanim*), and makes it clear that the sons of David were not "priests," but "princes" or "chief officers about the king." (Compare note on 2 Sam. viii. 18.)

CHAP. XIX. Ch. xix. travels over the same ground as 2 Sam. x., and very closely resembles it, only adding one or two touches, and varying in one or two of the numbers.

2. *Hanun.*] A Philistine king of this name is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser and warring with Sargon.

4. *Shaved them.*] Compare 2 Sam. x. 4, where we have the more particular account: "Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off *one-half of their beards.*" (Compare the story of the Egyptian thief in Herodotus ii. 121, § 4, who "shaved off the right side of all the soldiers' beards.")

6. *Sent a thousand talents of silver.*] This is one of the additions to the earlier narrative for which we are indebted to the author of Chronicles. From 2 Sam. x. we learn that the Syrians were "hired." Here alone we have the price mentioned. On the practice of hiring troops about this time in Western Asia, see 1 K. xv. 18; 2 K. vii. 6; 2 Chr. xxv. 6.

out of Mesopotamia.] The word "Mesopotamia" *(Aram-Naharaim)* here takes the place of "Syria of Beth-rehob" *(Aram-Beth-Rehob)* in Samuel. It is just possible that the former may be a corruption of the latter. If, however, the text is sound, we may suppose either that Aram-Naharaim is used here loosely to include the Euphrates valley west of the river, or that, though the Ammonites only succeeded in obtaining auxiliaries at the first from the Western Syrians (compare verse 16), yet that they *sent* across the river to ask the aid of the Eastern ones.

7. *They hired thirty and two thousand chariots.*] There can be no doubt that this reading is corrupt. Such a number as 32,000 chariots was never brought into battle on any occasion. The Pharaoh of the Exodus

and pitched before Medeba. And the children of Ammon gathered themselves together from their cities, and came to battle.

8 And when David heard *of it*, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men.

9 And the children of Ammon came out, and put the battle in array before the gate of the city: and the kings that were come *were* by themselves in the field.

10 Now when Joab saw that †the battle was set against him before and behind, he chose out of all the ‖choice of Israel, and put *them* in array against the Syrians.

† Heb. *the face of the battle was.*
‖ Or, *young men.*

11 And the rest of the people he delivered unto the hand of †Abishai his brother, and they set *themselves* in array against the children of Ammon.

† Heb. *Abshai.*

12 And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help thee.

13 Be of good courage, and let us behave ourselves valiantly for our people, and for the cities of our God: and let the LORD do *that which is* good in his sight.

14 So Joab and the people that *were* with him drew nigh before the Syrians unto the battle; and they fled before him.

15 And when the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled, they likewise fled before Abishai his brother, and entered into the city. Then Joab came to Jerusalem.

16 ¶ And when the Syrians saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they sent messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that *were* beyond the ‖river: and ‖Shophach the captain of the host of Hadarezer *went* before them.

‖ That is, *Euphrates.*
‖ Or, *Shoback*, 2 Sam. 10. 16.

17 And it was told David; and he gathered all Israel, and passed over Jordan, and came upon them, and set *the battle* in array against them. So when David had put the

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pursued after the Israelites with 600 chosen chariots (Ex. xiv. 7). Solomon maintained 1400 (1 K. x. 26), Shishak came up against Rehoboam with 1200 (2 Chr. xii. 3). Zerah the Ethiopian brought no more than 300 against Asa (ib. xiv. 9). The largest force which an Assyrian king ever speaks of his encountering is 3940 ('Five Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 103, note 7, 2nd ed.); nor is there any reason to believe that an Assyrian army ever boasted a greater number. Probably the words "and horsemen" have fallen out of the text after the word "chariots" (compare verse 6). The 32,000 would be the number of the warriors serving on horseback or in chariots; and this number would agree closely with 2 Sam. x. 6, as the following table shows:—

	MEN.
2 S. x. 6:—	
Syrians of Beth-rehob and Zobah	20,000
Syrians of Ish-tob	12,000
Syrians of Maachah	1,000
	33,000
1 Chr. xix. 7:—	
Syrians of Zobah, &c.	32,000
Syrians of Maachah (number not given)	[1,000]
	33,000

before Medeba.] Medeba is mentioned in Josh. xiii. 16 as a border city of the tribe of Reuben; but practically it seems almost always to have belonged either to Moab or Ammon. Here it is evidently an Ammonite town. Mesha, king of Moab, in his famous inscription (about B.C. 900) regards it as Moabite. So does Isaiah (xv. 2), nearly two centuries later. On its site, see note on Num. xxi. 30.

9. *Before the gate of the city.*] By "the city" here some understand the Ammonite capital, Rabbah (see xx. 1). But the context makes it almost certain that Medeba is meant.

the kings that were come.] It appears by this that other Syrian kings were present besides the king of Maachah. Probably each contingent was headed by its own monarch (compare 2 S. x. 19).

17. *And came upon them.*] In the parallel passage of Samuel we find, "and came *to Helam*," which is thought by many to be the true reading here also (see note at the end of the chapter). For an opposite view see Additional note on 2 Sam. x. 16.

battle in array against the Syrians, they fought with him.

18 But the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew of the Syrians seven thousand *men which fought in* chariots, and forty thousand footmen, and killed Shophach the captain of the host.

19 And when the servants of Hadarezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they made peace with David, and became his servants: neither would the Syrians help the children of Ammon any more.

18. *Seven thousand men which fought in chariots.*] In 2 Sam. x. 18 the number of the chariot-troops who were slain is given at 700, which is more probable.

forty thousand footmen.] "Forty thousand horsemen" in Samuel (l. s. c.). See the note on the passage.

19. *The servants of Hadarezer.*] *I.e. the kings who had come to help Hadarezer, and who would seem by this expression to have* been his tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 17.

The reading of 2 Sam., הלאמה, "to Helam," might no doubt arise out of the reading of Chronicles, אלהם, "to them," as easily as אלהם could arise from הלאמה. What makes the reading of Samuel preferable, *is the double occurrence of the term Helam in Samuel (in verse 16 as well as in verse 17), and the impossibility of reading* אלהם *in the former passage. Note also that* the LXX. have εἰς Αἰλαμ in both places.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Rabbah is besieged by Joab, spoiled by David, and the people thereof tortured.* 4 *Three giants are slain in three several overthrows of the Philistines.*

[a] 2 Sam. 11. 1. † Heb. *at the return of the year.*

[a] AND it came to pass, that †after the year was expired, at the time that kings go out *to battle*, Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem. And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it.

2 And David took the [b] crown of their king from off his head, and found it [†] to weigh a talent of gold, and *there were* precious stones in it; and it was set upon David's head: and he brought also exceeding much spoil out of the city.

[b] 2 Sam. 12. 26. † Heb. *the weight of.*

3 And he brought out the people that *were* in it, and cut *them* with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. Even so dealt David with all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem.

CHAP. XX. In this chapter such other warlike exploits belonging to David's reign, as the writer of Chronicles thinks it important to put on record, are collected together. The chapter is to be compared with the following passages of Samuel:—

Verse 1 with 2 S. xi. 1.
Verses 2, 3 with 2 S. xii. 26-31.
Verses 4-8 with 2 S. xxi. 19-22.

1. *And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it.*] We learn from 2 Sam. xii. 27-29, that before the actual fall of the Ammonite capital Joab sent for David, that the honour of the capture might be his; and that David took the command before the final assault was made. But, as the real merit of the success was Joab's (see 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27), the writer of Chronicles, studying brevity, speaks of Joab as the captor.

2. *David took the crown of their king.*] Or, according to some, "of Malcam," *i.e.* Moloch, their god. Here David's presence at the time of the fall of the city is assumed as known from Samuel, though the writer of Chronicles had not mentioned it (compare the last clause of verse 3).

4 ¶ And it came to pass after this, [c]that there [‖†]arose war at [‖]Gezer with the Philistines; at which time Sibbechai the Hushathite slew Sippai, *that was* of the children of [‖]the giant: and they were subdued.

5 And there was war again with the Philistines; and Elhanan the son of [‖]Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, whose spear staff *was* like a weaver's beam.

6 And yet again [d]there was war at Gath, where was [†]a man of *great* stature, whose fingers and toes *were* four and twenty, six *on each hand*, and six *on each foot*: and he also was [†]the son of the giant.

7 But when he [‖]defied Israel, Jonathan the son of [‖]Shimea David's brother slew him.

8 These were born unto the giant in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants.

[c] 2 Sam. 21. 18.
‖ Or, *continued.*
† Heb. *stood.*
‖ Or, *Gob.*
‖ Or, *Rapha.*
‖ Called also *Jaare-oregim*, 2 Sam. 21. 19.
[d] 2 Sam. 21. 20.
† Heb. *a man of measure.*
† Heb. *born to the giant*, or, *Rapha.*
‖ Or, *reproached.*
‖ Called *Shammah*, 1 Sam. 16. 9.

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4. *War at Gezer.*] The present text of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 19) substitutes "Gob" in the place of Gezeer here. Th two words are in the Hebrew very similar, and one is almost certainly a corruption of the other. As Gezer occurs frequently, whereas we nowhere else hear of Gob, it is probable that Gezer is the right reading.

Sippai.] "Sippai" is called "Saph" in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, the last letter (*yod*) being retrenched.

they were subdued.] The Philistines, *i.e.* were defeated. This is not stated in Samuel.

5. *Elhanan the son of Jair.*] In Samuel Elhanan is said to be the son of "Jaare-oregim," an undoubtedly corrupt reading. (See note at the end of the chapter.)

slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath.] There can scarcely be a doubt that the text was originally the same here and in 2 Sam. xxi. 19, where a few slight alterations of letters produce the meaning, "Elhanan, son of Jair, a Bethlehemite, slew Goliath" (see note at the end of the chapter). We must evidently either correct Samuel from Chronicles, or Chronicles from Samuel. In favour of the former are Michaelis, Kennicott, Dathe, Keil, and Thenius; in favour of the latter, Ewald and Bertheau. If we take the view of the two last-mentioned critics, we must regard the Goliath of this encounter as a different person from the adversary of David.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 5.

The two texts are as follows:—

Chron. אלחנן בן יעור .... את לחמי אחי גלית

Sam. אלחנן בן יערי־ארגים בית הלחמי את גלית

With the solitary exception of the word *oregim*, which has been wrongly intruded into the text from its occurrence at the end of the verse, the other differences are of that minute character which almost certainly implies corruption.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *David, tempted by Satan, forceth Joab to number the people.* 5 *The number of the people being brought, David repenteth of it.* 9 *David having three plagues propounded by Gad chooseth the pestilence.* 14 *After the death of seventy thousand, David by repentance preventeth the destruction of Jerusalem.* 18 *David, by Gad's direction, purchaseth Ornan's threshingfloor: where having built an altar, God giveth a sign of his favour by fire, and stayeth the plague.* 28 *David sacrificeth there, being restrained from Gibeon by fear of the angel.*

AND [e]Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.

[e] 2 Sam. 24. 1, &c.

CHAP. XXI. This chapter covers the same ground as the last chapter (ch. xxiv.) of the second Book of Samuel, but continues the narrative somewhat further, the last four verses (verses 27-30) and the latter part of verse 26 being additional to the earlier account. The resemblance to Samuel is throughout (verses 1-26) less close than usual; the additions are more numerous, the supernatural circumstances of the narrative being

2 And David said to Joab and to the rulers of the people, Go, number Israel from Beer-sheba even to Dan; and bring the number of them to me, that I may know *it*.

3 And Joab answered, The LORD make his people an hundred times so many more as they *be:* but, my lord the king, *are* they not all my lord's servants? why then doth my lord require this thing? why will he be a cause of trespass to Israel?

4 Nevertheless the king's word prevailed against Joab. Wherefore Joab departed, and went throughout all Israel, and came to Jerusalem.

5 ¶ And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people unto David. And all *they of* Israel were a thousand thousand and an hundred

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brought out into greater prominence, and some remarkable touches of a miraculous character, which are wholly new, being appended. The history is evidently not drawn from Samuel, but from some quite separate document, probably a contemporary account of the occurrence drawn up by Gad. (See below, ch. xxix. 29.)

1. *Satan . . . provoked David to number Israel.*] As the books of Scripture are arranged in our version, Satan is here for the first time by name introduced to us. In real order of time, doubtless, the mention in the Book of Job is the earliest; though, as the word there has the article, it is a descriptive epithet — "the Adversary" — rather than a proper name. So too in Zech. iii. 1. It is remarkable that in this place Satan appears, not merely as an "adversary" who seeks to injure man from without, but as a Tempter able to ruin him by suggesting sinful acts and thoughts from within. In this point of view, the revelation made of him here is the most advanced that we find in the Old Testament. Some commentators find a difficulty in reconciling the statement of Chronicles that "Satan provoked David to number Israel" with that of Samuel, that "the Lord moved David to say, Go number Israel and Judah" (2 S. xxiv. 1). But it is scarcely possible that any one who is familiar with the teaching of Scripture on the subject of temptation can feel this difficulty to be serious. All temptation is permitted by God. When evil spirits tempt us, they do so by permission. (Job i. 12, ii. 6; Luk. xxii. 31, &c.) If Satan therefore provoked David to number the people, God allowed him. And what God allows, he may be said to do. Thus, although "no man is tempted of God," we pray, "lead us not into temptation." (On the view that "Satan" here is not a proper name, but merely an "adversary," see note on 2 S. xxiv. 1.)

3. *But, my lord the king, are they not all my lord's servants?*] In the place of these words, we find in Samuel, "And that the eyes of my lord the king may see it"—a much more emphatic sentence. Bertheau thinks that Chronicles had originally the same text here as Samuel; and that the present one is a conjectural restoration by a scribe of a text which he found illegible.

why will he be a cause of trespass to Israel?] This clause does not occur in Samuel. It is perhaps added by the writer of Chronicles to show what was in Joab's mind: "Why wilt thou, by numbering them in a spirit of vainglory, run the risk of provoking God's wrath against Israel?"

4. *Joab . . . went throughout all Israel and came to Jerusalem.*] For the order in which the census was taken, and the time it occupied (nine months and twenty days), see 2 S. xxiv. 5-8. It appears both from this passage and from 2 S. xxiv. 8, that the *whole* country was traversed, and that the census was *professedly* complete. (See note on verse 6.)

5. *They of Israel were a thousand thousand, &c.*] According to Samuel the numbers were—

Israel	800,000 (instead of	1,100,000)
Judah	500,000 (,, ,,	470,000)
Total	1,300,000 (,, ,,	1,570,000)

To reconcile these differences, it has been suggested, 1. That the regular army of 288,000 men (ch. xxvii. 1-15) is included in Israel here, while excluded from the computation in Samuel; and 2. That a corps of 30,000, commanded by "the thirty" of ch. xi. 25, is included in Judah by the writer of Samuel, but omitted by our author. Both suppositions are, however, purely arbitrary; they involve the anomaly that each writer is supposed in one case to include and in the other to exclude the military; and the second of them is based on two assumptions not supported by any evidence, viz., that "the thirty" were all "captains of thousands," and that they and their thousands were all of the tribe of Judah. It seems far better to suppose, with most recent commentators, that the numbers have, in one passage or the

thousand men that drew sword: and Judah *was* four hundred threescore and ten thousand men that drew sword.

6 But Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them: for the king's word was abominable to Joab.

† Heb. *And it was evil in the eyes of the* LORD *concerning this thing.*

7 †And God was displeased with this thing; therefore he smote Israel.

8 And David said unto God, / I have sinned greatly, because I have done this thing: but now, I beseech thee, do away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.

/ 2 Sam. 24. 10.

9 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Gad, David's seer, saying,

10 Go and tell David, saying, Thus saith the LORD, I †offer thee three *things:* choose thee one of them, that I may do *it* unto thee.

† Heb. *stretch out.*

11 So Gad came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, †Choose thee

† Heb. *Take to thee.*

12 Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh *thee;* or else three days the sword of the LORD, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the LORD destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel. Now therefore advise thyself what word I shall bring again to him that sent me.

13 And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let me fall now into the hand of the LORD; for very ‖great *are* his mercies: but let me not fall into the hand of man.

‖ Or, *many.*

14 ¶ So the LORD sent pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men.

15 And God sent an £angel unto Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was destroying, the LORD beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand. And

£ 2 Sam. 24. 16.

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other (or possibly in both), suffered corruption.

6. *But Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them, for the king's word was abominable to Joab.*] Compare ch. xxvii. 24. The omission of the Levites would be a following of the precedent recorded in Num. i. 47-49. The omission of Benjamin must be ascribed to a determination on the part of Joab to frustrate the king's intention, whereby he might hope to avert God's wrath from the people. It is clear from verse 4 that he had gone through the whole land, and from verse 5 that he had formally made the return of the census to David, as though he had completed it. The omission of any allusion to these proceedings of Joab in Samuel is curious, and not easy to account for. Perhaps Joab's artifice had not been discovered at the time when 2 Sam. xxiv. was written.

7. *Therefore he smote Israel.*] These words are an anticipation of verses 14 and 15. They are placed here, interrupting the course of the narrative, to show that Joab's artifice was not successful—it did not avert God's wrath; David was punished for his intention, although that intention was not completely carried out by his subordinate.

12. *Three years' famine.*] In the parallel passage of Samuel we find "*seven* years." The LXX., however, have "three" even in that place; and the correspondency of "three years" with "three months" and "three days" indicates that the reading "three" is the right one.

and the angel of the Lord destroying, &c.] These words are not in Samuel, which puts the third alternative briefly: "Or that there be three days' pestilence in thy land." They prepare the way for the angelic appearance on which the author is about to lay so much stress, and are perhaps best regarded as his rhetorical expansion of the shorter and simpler phrase actually used by Gad.

15. *God sent an angel unto Jerusalem.*] Instead of this we have in Samuel, "And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem." It has been proposed to restore this text to Chronicles; but, on the whole, it would perhaps be preferable to assimilate to the existing text of Chronicles the corresponding passage in Samuel. (See Additional note at the end of the chapter.)

as he was destroying.] It has been thought by some that the destruction was only *about* to begin in Jerusalem, when "the Lord repented;" but this expression makes it clear that the work of death was in progress. The same is implied by the words, "the angel that destroyed," both here and also in Samuel (2 S. xxiv. 16).

the angel of the LORD stood by the threshingfloor of [1]Ornan the Jebusite.

16 And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the LORD stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders *of Israel, who were* clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces.

17 And David said unto God, *Is it* not I *that* commanded the people to be numbered? even I it is that have sinned and done evil indeed; but *as for* these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O LORD my God, be on me, and on my father's house; but not on thy people, that they should be plagued.

18 ¶ Then the [k]angel of the LORD commanded Gad to say to David, that David should go up, and set up an altar unto the LORD in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite.

19 And David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of the LORD.

20 [1]And Ornan turned back, and saw the angel; and his four sons with

[1] Or, *Araunah*, 1 Sam. 24. 18.

[k] 2 Chr. 3. 1.

[1] Or, *When Ornan turned back and saw the angel, then he and his four sons with him hid themselves.*

Ornan.] This is one of some seven or eight forms whereby the foreign name of this Jebusite was expressed among the Jews. The earlier spelling varied between "Araunah," "Aranyah," and "Haornah." (See 2 S. xxiv. 16, 18, 20, &c.)

16. *David . . . saw the angel of the Lord stand between the heaven and the earth, &c.*] Here a picture of awful grandeur takes the place of the bare statement of the earlier historian (2 S. xxiv. 17), that "David saw the angel." It has been argued that the passage contradicts the previous statement, that "the angel stood *by the threshing-floor* of Ornan" (verse 15), and insinuated that the details of the picture are derived from the imagination of the writer, who gratified his love of the marvellous by thus expanding the simple words of his predecessor. But it is clear that the angel might stand "by," or "near," the threshing-floor, and yet "between the earth and the heaven"—*i. e.* in mid air, his feet not touching the ground. And it is a pure assumption to suppose that the writer was without authority for his description. Here, as elsewhere, he probably extracts from the ancient documents such circumstances as harmonise with his general plan. As the sanctity of the Temple was among the points whereon he was most anxious to lay stress, he gives in full all the miraculous circumstances attending this first designation of what became the Temple site (2 Chr. iii. 1) as a place "holy to the Lord."

David and the elders . . . clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces.] Again we have facts recorded additional to the narrative of Samuel; but they are facts natural in themselves, and in harmony with that narrative. On the bursting out of the pestilence it would be natural that David and the elders should put on sackcloth (see 2 S. iii. 31; 1 K. xxi. 27; 2 K. vi. 30, &c.); and on seeing the angel it would be natural that they should veil their faces. (See Ex. iii. 6; 1 K. xix. 13).

18. *Then the angel of the Lord commanded Gad.*] In the original it is "an angel." We should gather from Samuel (2 S. xxiv. 18, 19) that Gad was divinely commissioned to command David to build an altar on the threshing-floor, but not that the commission was given to him *by an angel*. It has been observed that it is only in books of a late period that angels are brought forward as intermediaries between God and the prophets (Bertheau). This, no doubt, is true; and it is certainly unlikely that the records, from which the author of Chronicles drew, spoke of Gad as receiving his knowledge of God's will from an angel. The touch may be regarded as coming from the writer of Chronicles himself, who expresses the fact related by his authorities in the language of his own day (see especially Zech. i. 9, 14, 19, ii. 3, iv. 1, v. 5, &c.); language, however, which we are not to regard as rhetorical, but as strictly in accordance with truth, since angels were doubtless employed as media between God and the prophets as much in the time of David as in that of Zechariah.

20. *And Ornan turned back and saw the angel.*] The LXX. and one Hebrew MS. have "king" instead of "angel;" but this cannot be the true reading, since Ornan's seeing the king is the main point of the next verse. We must accept the text as we have it, and understand that Ornan and his four sons were threshing wheat on the threshing-floor, when, either accidentally or from something calling his attention that way, Ornan turned round from his work and saw the angel. His sons must also have done so, for in their alarm they hid themselves. The whole narrative is additional to the account in Samuel; its parts hang together; and there is no sufficient ground for suspecting it.

him hid themselves. Now Ornan was threshing wheat.

21 And as David came to Ornan, Ornan looked and saw David, and went out of the threshingfloor, and bowed himself to David with *his* face to the ground.

22 Then David said to Ornan, † Grant me the place of *this* threshingfloor, that I may build an altar therein unto the LORD: thou shalt grant it me for the full price: that the plague may be stayed from the people.

† Heb. *Give.*

23 And Ornan said unto David, Take *it* to thee, and let my lord the king do *that which is* good in his eyes: lo, I give *thee* the oxen *also* for burnt offerings, and the threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat offering; I give it all.

24 And king David said to Ornan, Nay; but I will verily buy it for the full price: for I will not take *that* which *is* thine for the LORD, nor offer burnt offerings without cost.

25 So [a] David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight.

[a] 2 Sam. 24. 24.

26 And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, and called upon the LORD; and he answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt offering.

27 And the LORD commanded the angel; and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof.

28 ¶ At that time when David saw that the LORD had answered him in the threshingfloor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there.

29 For the tabernacle of the LORD, which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of the burnt offering, *were* at that season in the high place at [b] Gibeon.

[b] 1 Kin. 3. 4. ch. 16. 39. 2 Chr. 1. 3.

30 But David could not go before it to enquire of God: for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the LORD.

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23. *And the wheat for the meat offering.*] Compare Lev. ii. 1. This clause is not in Samuel.

25. *David gave . . . for the place six hundred shekels of gold.*] In Samuel we read that "David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver" (2 S. xxiv. 24). Various attempts have been made to reconcile these statements; the latest being, that "the place" and "the threshing-floor" are different, and that consequently two different transactions are recorded by the two writers. David gave fifty shekels of silver for the threshing-floor and the cattle, six hundred shekels of gold for the place within which the threshing-floor stood. (Keil.) But this is scarcely satisfactory. Neither writer gives the least hint of two transactions; and it is most improbable that two transactions did take place. Again, "the place" mentioned as purchased in verse 25 is "the place *of the threshing-floor*" of verse 22, not any larger place within which the threshing-floor stood. Probably here, as elsewhere when a difficulty is connected with numbers, the true explanation is that there has been corruption in one place or the other. It may be conjectured that we should read "six" for "six hundred" here, since, according to the later Jewish system, six gold shekels were nearly equal in value to fifty silver ones. (For another explanation see note on 2 S. xxiv. 24.)

26. *He answered him from heaven by fire.*] It is not so very surprising that this fact is not mentioned by the author of Samuel, since his object is to give an account of the sin of David, the punishment which it provoked, and the circumstances by which that punishment was brought to a close, not to connect those wonderful circumstances with anything further in the history. With the writer of Chronicles the case is different. He would probably have omitted the whole narrative, as he has the sin of David in the matter of Uriah, but for its connection with the fixing of the Temple site, which he goes on to relate in ch. xxii. Now it was no doubt mainly the fact that God answered him by fire from heaven on this altar, which determined David, and Solomon after him, to build the Temple on the spot so consecrated.

28. *Then he sacrificed there.*] *I.e.* "Then (from the time of the fall of fire from heaven) David made this his regular place for offering sacrifice."

29. *The tabernacle . . . was at Gibeon.*] Compare ch. xvi. 39, 40, and 2 Chr. i. 3-5.

30. *David could not go before it . . . for he was afraid.*] Some have supposed that

the terror which David had felt at the sight of the destroying angel (verse 16) produced a bodily infirmity which made it physically impossible for him to go to Gibeon; but probably no more than a moral impediment is meant. David, knowing that by sacrifice on this altar he had caused the angel to stay his hand, was afraid to transfer his offerings elsewhere, lest the angel should resume his task and pestilence again break out.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 15.

The present texts are:—

Chron.—וישלח האלהים מלאך לירושלם

Sam.—וישלח ידו המלאך ירושלם

Probably that of Samuel was originally

וישלח יהוה מלאך ירושלם

"Jehovah sent an angel to Jerusalem." The first ה of יהוה having faded was taken for a ד.

Note that the substitution of האלהים, "God" for יהוה, "Jehovah" is common in Chronicles. (See above, verse 8, and below, verse 17).

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *David, foreknowing the place of the temple, prepareth abundance for the building of it.* 6 *He instructeth Solomon in God's promises, and his duty in building the temple.* 17 *He chargeth the princes to assist his son.*

THEN David said, This *is* the house of the LORD God, and this *is* the altar of the burnt offering for Israel.

2 And David commanded to gather together the strangers that *were* in the land of Israel; and he set masons to hew wrought stones to build the house of God.

3 And David prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of the gates, and for the joinings; and brass in abundance without weight;

4 Also cedar trees in abundance: for the Zidonians and they of Tyre brought much cedar wood to David.

5 And David said, [c]Solomon my [c] ch. 29. 1. son *is* young and tender, and the house *that is* to be builded for the LORD *must be* exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries: I will *therefore* now make

CHAP. XXII. This chapter, which consists entirely of new matter, helps to fill up the gap which had been left by the earlier authors between 2 S. xxiv. and 1 K. i.

1. *This is the house of the Lord God.*] The double miracle—that of the angelic appearance and that of the fire from heaven—had convinced David that here he had found the destined site of that "house" which it had been told him that his son should build (1 Chr. xvii. 12, and infra, verse 10). He therefore publicly announces that "this is the house of the Lord God"—the spot, *i. e.* whereon the Temple is to be built. (Compare 2 Chr. iii. 1.)

2. *The strangers.*] *I. e.* the aliens—the non-Israelite population of the land. Some light is thrown on this passage by 2 Chr. ii. 17, where we find that David took a census of these aliens, obviously with the design of employing them (as Solomon afterwards did, 2 Chr. ii. 18) in forced labours, as hewers of wood and stone, bearers of burthens, &c. The discovery of the proper site for the Temple seems to have given a fresh impetus to the preparations which he had long begun (ch. xviii. 11) for the great work which was to be the glory of his son's reign.

3. *For the joinings.*] *I. e.* the girders, or cramps—pieces of iron to be used in joining beams or stones together.

brass in abundance.] See above, ch. xviii. 8.

4. *The Zidonians and they of Tyre brought much cedar wood to David.*] Hiram had previously sent David cedars for his house (ch. xiv. 1). Now, either he made him fresh presents of the same kind, or David established a trade with Phœnicia for the timber whereof he was in need. The mode in which the timber was conveyed is mentioned in 2 Chr. ii. 16. On the precedency of Sidon over Tyre in respect of the arts, see note on 1 K. v. 6.

5. *Young and tender.*] Compare ch. xxix. 1, and 1 K. iii. 7. The exact age of Solomon at this time is uncertain; but it cannot have been more than twenty-four or twenty-five. It may have been as little as fourteen or fifteen.

preparation for it. So David prepared abundantly before his death.

6 ¶ Then he called for Solomon his son, and charged him to build an house for the LORD God of Israel.

7 And David said to Solomon, My son, as for me, it was in my mind to build an house unto the name of the LORD my God:

8 But the word of the LORD came to me, saying, [d] Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.

[d] 2 Sam. 7. 13. ch. 28. 3.

9 Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be ‖Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days.

‖ That is, *Peaceable.*

10 He shall build an house for my name; and he shall be my son, and I *will be* his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever.

11 Now, my son, the LORD be with thee; and prosper thou, and build the house of the LORD thy God, as he hath said of thee.

12 Only the LORD give thee wisdom and understanding, and give thee charge concerning Israel, that thou mayest keep the law of the LORD thy God.

13 Then shalt thou prosper, if thou takest heed to fulfil the statutes and judgments which the LORD charged Moses with concerning Israel: be strong, and of good courage; dread not, nor be dismayed.

14 Now, behold, ‖in my trouble I have prepared for the house of the LORD an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand

‖ Or, *in my poverty.*

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7. *It was in my mind to build a house.*] See above, ch. xvii. 1-4, and compare 2 S. vii. 1-5.

8. *The word of the Lord came to me saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly.*] The reference here is clearly not to the message of Nathan (ch. xvii. 4-15), which assigned no ground for the prohibition laid on David, but to some other occasion on which God had intimated to him, not only his will, but the reason for it. (Compare below, ch. xxviii. 3.) On the bloody character of David's wars, see 2 S. viii. 2, 5, x. 18, xii. 31; and 1 K. xi. 16.

9. *A son shall be born to thee.*] Rather "a son is born to thee." The prophecy was delivered to David after Solomon's birth, not before.

his name shall be called Solomon.] Solomon had two names, viz., Solomon, "peaceful," and Jedidiah, "beloved of Jehovah" (2 Sam. xii. 25). The former name prevailed, probably on account of this prophecy, which attached to the name the promise of a blessing.

I will give peace . . in his days.] For the fulfilment of this prophecy, see 1 K. iv. 20-23; v. 4.

11. *The Lord be with thee and prosper thou.*] Literally, "the Lord shall be with thee, and thou shalt prosper." But the future may have an imperative sense.

12. *The Lord give thee wisdom and understanding.*] Compare Ps. lxxii. 1; and for the fulfilment of the prayer, see 1 K. iii. 12; 2 Chr. i. 12.

13. *Be strong, &c.*] David addresses Solomon in the very same words at a somewhat later period. See ch. xxviii. 20. He adopts, as exactly fitting the two occasions, the words of Moses to the Israelites (Deut. xxxi. 6) and to Joshua (ib. verse 7) shortly before his death. Words not very different were addressed to Joshua by God himself shortly after Moses' death. (See Josh. i. 6, 7.)

14. *In my trouble*, (marg.) *poverty.*] Bertheau renders "by my strenuous labour," and refers, in confirmation of his rendering, to Gen. xxxi. 42. But the word employed seems, in both places, to be better translated by "affliction" or "poverty." David refers to the manifold troubles of his reign, which had prevented him from accumulating very much treasure.

an hundred thousand talents of gold, &c.] It is no doubt true that we do not know the value of the Hebrew talent at this period, and it is therefore just possible that these numbers may be sound. But in that case we must suppose an enormous difference between the pre-Babylonian and the post-Baby-

talents of silver; and of brass and
[c] As ver. 3. iron without [c]weight; for it is in abundance: timber also and stone have I prepared; and thou mayest add thereto.

15 Moreover *there are* workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and
[h] That is, masons and carpenters. [h]workers of stone and timber, and all manner of cunning men for every manner of work.

16 Of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, *there is* no number. Arise *therefore*, and be doing, and the LORD be with thee.

17 ¶ David also commanded all the princes of Israel to help Solomon his son, *saying*,

18 *Is* not the LORD your God with you? and hath he *not* given you rest on every side? for he hath given the inhabitants of the land into mine hand; and the land is subdued before the LORD, and before his people.

19 Now set your heart and your soul to seek the LORD your God; arise therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the LORD God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of the LORD.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *David in his old age maketh Solomon king.* 2 *The number and distribution of the Levites.* 7 *The families of the Gershonites.* 12 *The sons of Kohath.* 21 *The sons of Merari.* 24 *The office of the Levites.*

SO when David was old and full of days, he [f] made Solomon his [f] ch. 28. 5 son king over Israel.

2 ¶ And he gathered together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the Levites.

3 Now the Levites were numbered from the age of [g] thirty years and upward: and their number by their polls, [g] Num. 4. 3. man by man, was thirty and eight thousand.

4 Of which, twenty and four thousand *were* [i] to set forward the work of [i] Or, *to oversee.* the house of the LORD; and six thousand *were* officers and judges:

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lonian talents—such a difference as is most improbable. Estimated according to the value of the post-Babylonian Hebrew talent, the gold here spoken of would be worth more than 1000 millions of our pounds sterling, while the silver would be worth above 400 millions. Accumulations to anything like this amount are, of course, quite inconceivable under the circumstances, and we must therefore either suppose the talents of David's time to have been little more than the hundredth part of the later talents, or regard the numbers of this verse as augmented at least a hundredfold by corruption. Of the two the latter is certainly the more probable supposition.

15. *Cunning men.*] On the preparation of skilled workmen made by David, see 2 Chr. ii. 7.

19. *The holy vessels of God.*] *I. e.* the pot of manna, the golden candlestick, the snuffers and snuff-dishes, the censers, &c., which belonged to the old worship of the tabernacle.

CHAP. XXIII. 1. *David . . . made Solomon . . . king.*] For full particulars of the circumstances connected with this event, see 1 Kings, ch. i. The author of Chronicles, who does not concern himself with the domestic history of David, naturally omits the circumstances, and merely states the fact.

2. *He gathered together all the princes.*] David, *i.e.* made his new arrangement of the Levites in a solemn assembly of the princes. Compare ch. xxv. 1.

3. *The Levites were numbered.*] The tribe of Levi had not been numbered at the general census of the people recently taken (ch. xxi. 6); but in preparation for the arrangements now contemplated, a special census was made of them.

from the age of thirty.] The pattern of the Mosaic census was followed, and those only were reckoned who had attained the age of thirty. We may assume that the other limit, mentioned in the Pentateuch (Num. iv. 3, 23) was also observed, and that none were counted who exceeded fifty.

4. *Officers and judges.*] The employment of a portion of the Levites as local judges or magistrates is mentioned again in ch. xxvi. 29, and in 2 Chr. xix. 8-10. This office resembled that of the modern Mahometan *cadi*.

5 Moreover four thousand *were* porters; and four thousand praised the LORD with the instruments which I made, *said David*, to praise *therewith*.

6 And [k] David divided them into [†] courses among the sons of Levi, *namely*, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

7 ¶ Of the [‡] Gershonites *were*, [‖] Laadan, and Shimei.

8 The sons of Laadan; the chief *was* Jehiel, and Zetham, and Joel, three.

9 The sons of Shimei; Shelomith, and Haziel, and Haran, three. These *were* the chief of the fathers of Laadan.

10 And the sons of Shimei *were*, Jahath, [‖] Zina, and Jeush, and Beriah. These four *were* the sons of Shimei.

11 And Jahath was the chief, and Zizah the second: but Jeush and Beriah [†] had not many sons; therefore they were in one reckoning, according to *their* father's house.

12 ¶ The sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, four.

13 The sons of [a] Amram; Aaron and Moses: and [b] Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the LORD, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name for ever.

14 [c] Now *concerning* Moses the man of God, his sons were named of the tribe of Levi.

15 [d] The sons of Moses *were*, Gershom, and Eliezer.

16 Of the sons of Gershom, Shebuel *was* the chief.

17 And the sons of Eliezer *were*, [e] Rehabiah [‖] the chief. And Eliezer had none other sons; but the sons of Rehabiah [†] were very many.

18 Of the sons of Izhar; Shelomith the chief.

[k] Ex. 6. 16. ch. 6. 1, &c. 2 Chr. 8. 14. & 29. 25.
[†] Heb. *divisions.*
[‡] ch. 26. 21.
[‖] Or, *Libni*, ch. 6. 17.
[‖] Or, *Zizah*, ver. 11.
[†] Heb. *did not multiply sons.*
[a] Ex. 6. 20.
[b] Ex. 28. 1. Heb. 5. 4.
[c] Ex. 2. 22.
[d] Ex. 18. 3, 4.
[e] ch. 26. 25.
[‖] Or, *the first.*
[†] Heb. *were highly multiplied.*

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5. *Porters.*] *I.e.* keepers of the doors, both by day and night. Ps. cxxxiv. is the chaunt of the night sentries.

the instruments which I made, said David.] The harps, psalteries, and cymbals used in the service of the temple were known in later times as "the instruments of David" (2 Chr. xxix. 26; Neh. xii. 36), who probably made certain improvements in them which caused him to be regarded as an inventor of musical instruments (Am. vi. 5).

7. *Of the Gershonites were Laadan.*] "Laadan" is called "Libni" in ch. vi. 17, and this form is the one used in the Pentateuch (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18).

9. *The sons of Shimei.*] Not the "Shimei" of verse 7, but another, a descendant of Laadan. Compare verse 10.

the chief of the fathers of Laadan.] *I.e.* "the patriarchal chiefs of the house of Laadan."

10. *Zina.*] Or "Zizah," as in the next verse. Neither name occurs elsewhere.

13. *Aaron was separated.*] Aaron and his descendants were separated off to be priests, and thus the Aaronites are not included in the 38,000 Levites. (Compare verse 14.)

to burn incense . . . to minister . . . and to bless.] This is evidently intended as an enumeration of the chief functions of the priests: most of their ordinary duties would come under the head of "ministering." On the duties of offering incense, and blessing, see Ex. xxx. 7, 8, and Num. vi. 23-27.

14. *Moses, the man of God.*] This honourable appellation is given to Moses five times in the whole of Scripture: once in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxiii. 1), once in Joshua (xiv. 6), twice in Chronicles (here and in 2 Chr. xxx. 16), and once in Ezra (iii. 2). It is also assigned thrice to David (2 Chr. viii. 14; Neh. xii. 24, 36), and once to the prophet Shemaiah (1 K. xii. 22). "Man of God," without the article, is common.

his sons were named of the tribe of Levi.] The sons of Moses, *i.e.* unlike those of Aaron (see note on verse 13), were reckoned among the ordinary Levites.

15. *The sons of Moses.*] Compare Ex. xviii. 3, 4.

16. *Shebuel.*] Called in ch. xxiv. 20, by a slight change in the order of the letters, "Shubael," but in ch. xxvi. 24 again "Shebuel." (The vocalisation, however, is even there somewhat different.)

17. *Rehabiah, the chief* (marg.) *the first.*] Compare ch. v. 7, 12, &c. The first-born is called the "head" or "chief" of the family

19 Of the sons of Hebron; Jeriah the first, Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, and Jekameam the fourth.

20 Of the sons of Uzziel; Micah the first, and Jesiah the second.

21 ¶ The sons of Merari; Mahli, and Mushi. The sons of Mahli; Eleazar, and Kish.

22 And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but daughters: and their ‖brethren the sons of Kish took them.

‖ Or, *kinsmen.*

23 The sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and Jeremoth, three.

24 ¶ These *were* the sons of Levi after the house of their fathers; *even* the chief of the fathers, as they were counted by number of names by their polls, that did the work for the service of the house of the LORD, from the age of twenty years and upward.

f Num. 10. 24.

g Num. 1. 3.

25 For David said, The LORD God of Israel hath given rest unto his people, ‖that they may dwell in Jerusalem for ever:

‖ Or, *and he dwelleth in Jerusalem,* &c.

26 And also unto the Levites; they shall no *more* carry the tabernacle, nor any vessels of it for the service thereof.

27 For by the last words of David the Levites *were* †numbered from twenty years old and above:

† Heb. *number.*

28 Because †their office *was* to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the LORD, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things, and the work of the service of the house of God;

† Heb. *their station* was *at the hand of the sons of Aaron.*

29 Both for the shewbread, and for *h*the fine flour for meat offering, and for the unleavened cakes, and for *that which is* baked in the ‖pan, and for that which is fried, and for all manner of measure and size;

h Lev. 6. 21. ch. 9. 29, &c.

‖ Or, *flat plate.*

30 And to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD, and likewise at even;

31 And to offer all burnt sacrifices unto the LORD in the sabbaths, in the

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without any reference to his having, or not having, brothers.

21. *The sons of Merari.*] We commonly hear of two sons of Merari, and no more (see Num. iii. 20; 1 Chr. vi. 19); but a notice in ch. xxiv. (verse 26) seems to assign him a third son, Jaaziah. This Jaaziah had three families of descendants; and thus the houses of the Merarites in the time of David seem to have been seven, while those of the Gershonites and Kohathites were nine each. (See above, verses 7-20).

22. *Their brethren . . . took them.*] *I. e.* the daughters of Eleazar were taken to wife by their kindred, belonging to the family of Kish, as the Law directed. (Num. xxxvi. 6.)

24. *From the age of twenty years.*] The Levites had hitherto not entered upon their regular functions until the age of thirty (see verse 3). Certain lighter duties were by the Law imposed on them at twenty-five (Num. viii. 24); but it was not until they were five years older that they became liable to the full service of the sanctuary. David appears now to have made a change. By his "last words" (verse 27) the time for the Levites to enter on the full duties of their office was advanced from thirty to twenty. This change was based upon the lighter character of the labours imposed on them now that the ark had ceased to be carried from place to place and obtained a permanent habitation (verse 26). The limit of age continued in after times where David had fixed it. (See Ezr. iii. 8.)

27. *The last words of David.*] By the "last words of David" some understand a historical work on the latter part of his reign, drawn up probably by Gad or Nathan (compare ch. xxvii. 24, and xxix. 29). Others suppose that he left behind him a work containing directions for the service of the sanctuary.

28. *The purifying of all holy things.*] *I. e.* the keeping clean the sacred vessels and other holy things.

29. *The fine flour, &c.*] The materials for all the chief kinds of meat-offerings are here alluded to (compare Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, and 7).

for all manner of measure and size.] To superintend the measuring of the fine flour, wine, oil, &c., used in offerings, the quantities and proportions of which were often fixed by the Law. (See Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 23, 24; Lev. vi. 20, xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 4-10, &c.)

31. *And to offer all burnt sacrifices unto*

new moons, and on the set feasts, by number, according to the order commanded unto them, continually before the LORD:

32 And that they should keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the holy *place*, and the charge of the sons of Aaron their brethren, in the service of the house of the LORD.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *The divisions of the sons of Aaron by lot into four and twenty orders:* 20 *The Kohathites,* 27 *and the Merarites divided by lot.*

NOW *these are* the divisions of the sons of Aaron. [i] The sons of Aaron; Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

[i] Lev. 10. 1.

[k] Num. 3. 4. & 26. 61.

2 But [k] Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had no children: therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priest's office.

3 And David distributed them, both Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, according to their offices in their service.

4 And there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar; and *thus* were they divided. Among the sons of Eleazar *there were* sixteen chief men of the house of *their* fathers, and eight among the sons of Ithamar according to the house of their fathers.

5 Thus were they divided by lot, one sort with another; for the governors of the sanctuary, and governors

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the Lord] Though the Levites were not allowed by themselves to offer sacrifice, yet there were many respects in which they assisted the priests when sacrifice was offered. (See 2 Chr. xxix. 34; xxxv. 11, 12.)

the set feasts.] The Passover, feast of Pentecost, and feast of Tabernacles. (See Lev. xxiii. 5, 16, 34.)

by number.] The exact number of each kind of cattle to be offered at the various festivals was fixed by the Law (Num. xxviii. 9, 11, 19, 27, xxix. 2, 8, 13). The Levites were to see that the right number was offered.

32. *That they should keep the charge of the tabernacle, &c.*] The duties of the Levites are finally summed up in words taken with scarcely a change from Num. xviii. 3-6. They were to have the charge of the tabernacle, the charge of the holy place, or sanctuary, and the duty of attendance on their brethren, the priests or "sons of Aaron." This passage (verses 8 to 32) gives the most complete account to be found in Scripture of the nature of the Levitical office.

CHAP. XXIV. 1. *Now these are the divisions, &c.*] The ellipse filled up by our translators with the words "these are," is best supplied from verse 6 of the preceding chapter. The author had there stated, that "to the sons of Levi David assigned their courses." He now adds: "To the sons of Aaron also [David assigned] their courses. The sons of Aaron [were] Nadab, &c."

2. *Nadab and Abihu died, &c.*] See Lev. x. 1, 2. That Nadab and Abihu died childless is mentioned in Num. iii. 4.

3. *And David distributed them, both Zadok, &c.*] Rather, "And David distributed them, **and** Zadok:" *i.e.* Zadok and Ahimelech (Abiathar) assisted David in drawing up the priestly courses. So the "princes of the host" assisted him in making the divisions of the singers (ch. xxv. 1).

Ahimelech.] Rather, "Abiathar." See note on ch. xviii. 16.

4. *More chief men.*] *I.e.* "more patriarchal heads of families."

and thus were they divided. Among the sons, &c.] Rather, "**and they divided them, so that for the patriarchal chiefs of the sons of Eleazar there were sixteen [divisions], and for the patriarchal chiefs of the sons of Ithamar eight.**"

5. *Thus were they divided by lot, one sort with another.*] Literally, "And they divided them by lot, these with those." That is, "the assignment of their order in the courses was made by lot to the families belonging to Eleazar, and to the families belonging to Ithamar equally."

for the governors, &c.] Rather, "**for there had been princes of the sanctuary and princes of God both among the sons of Eleazar and among the sons of Ithamar.**" Both houses had furnished functionaries of the highest class, and therefore no preference was now given to either over the other.

of the house of God, were of the sons of Eleazar, and of the sons of Ithamar.

6 And Shemaiah the son of Nethaneel the scribe, *one* of the Levites, wrote them before the king, and the princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, and *before* the chief of the fathers of the priests and Levites: one †principal household being taken for Eleazar, and *one* taken for Ithamar.

† Heb. *house of the father.*

7 Now the first lot came forth to Jehoiarib, the second to Jedaiah,

8 The third to Harim, the fourth to Seorim,

9 The fifth to Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin,

10 The seventh to Hakkoz, the eighth to [l]Abijah,

[l] Luke 1. 5.

11 The ninth to Jeshuah, the tenth to Shecaniah,

12 The eleventh to Eliashib, the twelfth to Jakim,

13 The thirteenth to Huppah, the fourteenth to Jeshebeab,

14 The fifteenth to Bilgah, the sixteenth to Immer,

15 The seventeenth to Hezir, the eighteenth to Aphses,

16 The nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth to Jehezekel,

17 The one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and twentieth to Gamul,

18 The three and twentieth to Delaiah, the four and twentieth to Maaziah.

19 These *were* the orderings of them in their service to come into the house of the LORD, according to their manner, under Aaron their father, as the LORD God of Israel had commanded him.

20 ¶ And the rest of the sons of Levi *were these:* Of the sons of Amram; Shubael: of the sons of Shubael; Jehdeiah.

21 Concerning Rehabiah: of the sons of Rehabiah, the first *was* Isshiah.

22 Of the Izharites; Shelomoth: of the sons of Shelomoth; Jahath.

23 And the sons *of* [m] *Hebron;* Jeriah *the first,* Amariah the second, [m] ch. 23. 19. & 26. 31.

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6. *Wrote them before the king.*] *I. e.* "wrote down their names as the lots were drawn forth."

Ahimelech the son of Abiathar.] A wrong reading. It should be "Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech." (See note on verse 3.)

one principal household being taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar.] This is probably the right sense; but it requires an emendation of the present Hebrew text, which is unintelligible. (See Additional note at the end of the chapter.)

19. *These were the orderings of them in their service to come into the house of the Lord, &c.*] The meaning is, that "this was the numerical order fixed for their ministerial attendance in the house of the Lord—an attendance which was after the manner determined for them by their forefather Aaron, according to instructions which he received from God."

20. *The rest of the sons of Levi.*] The object of this second enumeration of the Levitical families (compare ch. xxiii. 7-23) seems to be the designation of the *heads* of the families in David's time. The omission of the Gershonites is curious, and can only be accounted for by supposing that the author did not find any account of their heads in his authorities. The addition to the Merarites (verses 26, 27) is also curious. It brings the number of families up to twenty-*five*, which is one more than we should have expected. Bertheau proposes to omit the "Mahli" of verse 30, in order to make the number twenty-four.

of the sons of Amram, Shubael.] "Shubael" is evidently identical with the "Shebuel" of ch. xxiii. 16, and ch. xxvi. 24. By the latter of these two passages it would seem that he was contemporary with David. Why he was not regarded as the head of his house does not appear. Perhaps it was not till his death that his son Jehdeiah (not elsewhere mentioned) succeeded him.

21. *Concerning Rehabiah.*] Rather, "of Rehabiah." On his descent, see above, ch. xxiii. 17.

22. *Of the Izharites, Shelomoth.*] Called "Shelomith" in ch. xxiii. 18—a different person from the Amramite Shelomith of ch. xxvi. 25, 26. He was probably not a contemporary of David, as the head of the family in David's time was Jahath.

23. *And the sons of Hebron, Jeriah the first.*] Neither "Hebron" nor "the first" is

Jahaziel the third, Jekameam the fourth.

24 *Of* the sons of Uzziel; Michah: of the sons of Michah; Shamir.

25 The brother of Michah *was* Isshiah: of the sons of Isshiah; Zechariah.

26 The sons of Merari *were* Mahli and Mushi: the sons of Jaaziah; Beno.

27 ¶ The sons of Merari by Jaaziah; Beno, and Shoham, and Zaccur, and Ibri.

28 Of Mahli *came* Eleazar, who had no sons.

29 Concerning Kish: the son of Kish *was* Jerahmeel.

30 The sons also of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and Jerimoth. These *were* the sons of the Levites after the house of their fathers.

31 These likewise cast lots over against their brethren the sons of Aaron in the presence of David the king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech, and the chief of the fathers of the priests and Levites, even the principal fathers over against their younger brethren.

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found in the present Hebrew text; but they seem to have been rightly supplied by our translators from ch. xxiii. 19. The four persons named appear to have been contemporaries of David, the heads of the Hebronite houses in his time. (Compare ch. xxvi. 31.)

24. *Of the sons of Uzziel, Michah.*] Called "Micah" in ch. xxiii. 20, though there is no variation of spelling in the original. Neither he nor Isshiah (see verse 25) appears to have been an actual son of Uzziel. (See Ex. vi. 22.)

25. *Isshiah.*] Called "Jesiah" in ch. xxiii. 20, though the Hebrew is the same as here.

26. *The sons of Jaaziah, Beno.*] The word Beno here is not really a name. It is the Hebrew for "**his son**," and is to be attached to Jaaziah. The meaning of the whole passage (verses 26, 30) seems to be that there were three branches of the Merarites—the Beni-Mahli, the Beni-Mushi, and the Beni-Jaaziah—of whom the first formed a mighty house in David's time, viz. the Beni-Kish, their head being Jerahmeel, while each of the other branches comprised three families, the heads of which were, respectively, in David's time, Shoham, Zaccur, Ibri, and Mahli, Eder, Jerimoth. (Compare note on verse 20.)

27. *Beno, and Shoham.*] Beno, "his son," is again to be attached to Jaaziah, and the copulative before "Shoham" is to be cancelled. Translate, "And the sons of Merari by Jaaziah **his son** [**were**] **Shoham** and Zaccur, and Ibri."

29. *Concerning Kish.*] Rather "**of Kish.**" It is implied, though not stated, that Kish was, like Eleazar, a son of Mahli.

31. *The principal fathers over against their younger brethren.*] Literally, "the elder house equally with his younger brother." That is, "all the Levitical houses enumerated drew lots in their courses on equal terms, the elder families having no advantage over the younger ones." As there were twenty-four courses of the priests, so we must suppose that there were twenty-four of the Levites, though the number of the families as given in the text (ch. xxiii. 7-23, xxiv. 20-30) is twenty-*five*.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 6.

The present text is as follows:—

בית־אב אחד אחז לאלעזר ואחז אחז לאיתמר׃

which is literally "one father's house being taken for Eleazar, and *taken taken* for Ithamar."

Several emendations have been proposed, but the simplest is that of Gesenius, who would read אחד אחז (*i.e.* "one taken") equally in both clauses.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *The number and offices of the singers.* 8 *Their division by lot into four and twenty orders.*

MOREOVER David and the captains of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals: and the number of the workmen according to their service was:

2 Of the sons of Asaph; Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nethaniah, and ‖Asarelah, the sons of Asaph under the hands of Asaph, which prophesied †according to the order of the king.

3 Of Jeduthun: the sons of Jeduthun; Gedaliah, and ‖Zeri, and Jeshaiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, ‖six, under the hands of their father Jeduthun, who prophesied with a harp, to give thanks and to praise the LORD.

4 Of Heman: the sons of Heman; Bukkiah, Mattaniah, ‖Uzziel, ‖Shebuel, and Jerimoth, Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, *and* Mahazioth:

5 All these *were* the sons of Heman the king's seer in the ‖words of God, to lift up the horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.

6 All these *were* under the hands of their father for song *in* the house of the LORD, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God, †according to the king's order to Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman.

7 So the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the LORD, *even* all

‖ Otherwise called *Jesharelah*, ver. 14.
† Heb. *by the hands of the king.*
‖ Or, *Izri*, ver. 11.
‖ With Shimei mentioned, ver. 17.
‖ Or, *Azareel*, ver. 18.
‖ Or, *Shubael*, ver. 20.
‖ Or, *matters.*
† Heb. *by the hands of the king.*

CHAP. XXV. 1. *The captains of the host.*] Rather, "**the princes**,"—the same persons who are mentioned in ch. xxiii. 2 and xxiv. 6.

separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, &c. . . . who should prophesy.] Rather, "**divided for the service the sons** of Asaph, &c., **who prophesied.**" By prophesying is probably meant public recitation of the sacred services. (See verse 3.)

2. *Under the hands of Asaph, &c.*] That is to say, "under the direction of Asaph"—who himself "prophesied," or performed the sacred services, "under the direction of the king." The same phrase is used in both clauses.

3. *Six.*] Only five names have been given; and the number of the names in the entire list (verses 2-4) is but twenty-three, whereas it should be twenty-four, according to the account given of the lots (verses 8-31). We must therefore supply a name here, which should no doubt be "Shimei," from verse 17. (The 'Alexandr. Septuagint' inserts this name between Jeshaiah and Hashabiah.)

5. *Heman, the king's seer in the words of God.*] Asaph has the title of "the seer" in 2 Chr. xxix. 30, and Jeduthun the title of "the king's seer" in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15, so that it is not intended here to distinguish Heman above his brethren. All three would seem to have been regarded as possessing the prophetical gift.

to lift up the horn.] Some take this literally, and consider that Heman and his sons played on the horn in the musical services; but there is no other evidence that the horn was so employed. Gesenius suggests that the phrase may have the meaning of "praising God," which seems doubtful. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that it has been transferred from the next clause, where (as here) it followed the word "God," with the sense that "God, to exalt Heman's horn (or, increase his dignity), gave him fourteen sons and three daughters."

6. *According to the king's order to Asaph, &c.*] The Hebrew will not bear this translation, since there is no preposition before "Asaph." The words, as they stand, can only mean that the singers were "**under the direction of the king, of Asaph,** of Jeduthun, and of Heman."

7. *With their brethren.*] That is, "with others of the tribe of Levi." Each son of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, was at the head of a band of twelve skilled musicians, consisting partly of his own sons, partly of Levites belonging to other families. (See verses 9-31.) The 24 band-leaders, together with their bands, formed a body of 288 persons ($24 \times 12 = 288$). Besides these, we hear of there being above 3700 singers, who were probably divided, like the trained musicians, into 24 courses, which must have contained about 155 each. (See ch. xxiii. 5.)

that were cunning, was two hundred fourscore and eight.

8 ¶ And they cast lots, ward against *ward*, as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar.

9 Now the first lot came forth for Asaph to Joseph: the second to Gedaliah, who with his brethren and sons *were* twelve:

10 The third to Zaccur, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

11 The fourth to Izri, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

12 The fifth to Nethaniah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

13 The sixth to Bukkiah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

14 The seventh to Jesharelah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

15 The eighth to Jeshaiah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

16 The ninth to Mattaniah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

17 The tenth to Shimei, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

18 The eleventh to Azareel, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

19 The twelfth to Hashabiah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

20 The thirteenth to Shubael, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

21 The fourteenth to Mattithiah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

22 The fifteenth to Jeremoth, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

23 The sixteenth to Hananiah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

24 The seventeenth to Joshbekashah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

25 The eighteenth to Hanani, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

26 The nineteenth to Mallothi, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

27 The twentieth to Eliathah, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

28 The one and twentieth to Hothir, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

29 The two and twentieth to Giddalti, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

30 The three and twentieth to Mahazioth, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve:

31 The four and twentieth to Romamti-ezer, *he*, his sons, and his brethren, *were* twelve.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *The divisions of the porters.* 13 *The gates assigned by lot.* 20 *The Levites that had charge of the treasures.* 29 *Officers and judges.*

CONCERNING the divisions of the porters: Of the Korhites *was* ‖Meshelemiah the son of Kore, of the sons of ‖Asaph.

‖ Or, *Shelemiah*, ver. 14.

‖ Or, *Ebiasaph*, ch. 6. 37. & 9. 19.

8. *As well the small as the great.*] Compare ch. xxiv. 31, ad fin. It is evident from the result that the lot was not applied indiscriminately to all the twenty-four courses, but was only used to settle which course of Asaph, which of Jeduthun, and which of Heman, should on each occasion be taken. Asaph was given the precedence over his brethren, and his four courses were assigned the first, and then each alternate place. Jeduthun took rank next, and received alternate places, first with Asaph, and then with Heman, until his courses were exhausted. After this all the later places fell necessarily to Heman, whose courses continue without interruption from the 15th to the 24th. This scheme for the apportioning of the courses among the three families, must have been a matter of formal arrangement. What the lot decided was simply, on each occasion, which course of the family, whose turn it was, should fill the place.

CHAP. XXVI. 1. *The porters.*] On the importance of this office, see ch. ix. 17-27, and ch. xxiii. 5.

Meshelemiah.] Called "Shelemiah" in

2 And the sons of Meshelemiah *were*, Zechariah the firstborn, Jediael the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the fourth,

3 Elam the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Elioenai the seventh.

4 Moreover the sons of Obed-edom *were*, Shemaiah the firstborn, Jehozabad the second, Joah the third, and Sacar the fourth, and Nethaneel the fifth,

5 Ammiel the sixth, Issachar the seventh, Peulthai the eighth: for God blessed [1]him.

[1] That is, Obed-edom, as ch. 13. 14.

6 Also unto Shemaiah his son were sons born, that ruled throughout the house of their father: for they *were* mighty men of valour.

7 The sons of Shemaiah; Othni, and Rephael, and Obed, Elzabad, whose brethren *were* strong men, Elihu, and Semachiah.

8 All these of the sons of Obed-edom: they and their sons and their brethren, able men for strength for the service, *were* threescore and two of Obed-edom.

9 And Meshelemiah had sons and brethren, strong men, eighteen.

10 Also Hosah, of the children of Merari, had sons; Simri the chief, (for *though* he was not the firstborn, yet his father made him the chief;)

11 Hilkiah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah *were* thirteen.

12 Among these *were* the divisions of the porters, *even* among the chief men, *having* wards one against another, to minister in the house of the LORD.

13 ¶ And they cast lots, [1]as well the small as the great, according to the house of their fathers, for every gate.

[1] Or, *as well for the small as for the great.*

14 And the lot eastward fell to [1]Shelemiah. Then for Zechariah his son, a wise counsellor, they cast lots; and his lot came out northward.

[1] Called *Meshelemiah*, ver. 1.

15 To Obed-edom southward; and to his sons the house of [†]Asuppim.

[†] Heb. *gatherings.*

16 To Shuppim and Hosah *the lot*

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verse 14, and probably alluded to in ch. ix. 19 under the name of "Shallum."

Asaph.] Not the "Asaph" of the preceding chapter, who was a Gershonite (ch. vi. 39-43), whereas the Korhites were Kohathites, but probably the same person as the "Abiasaph" of Ex. vi. 24, and the Ebiasaph of 1 Chr. vi. 37 and ix. 19, who was an actual son of Korah.

4. *Obed-edom.*] Obed-edom had been a "porter" or door-keeper from the time of the bringing up of the ark into Jerusalem (ch. xv. 24, xvi. 38).

5. *For God blessed him.*] Compare ch. xxv. 5.

7. *Elzabad, whose brethren were strong men, &c.*] Rather, "Elzabad, and his brethren, mighty men of valour, Elihu and Semachiah." To obtain this sense, we must insert a *vau* conjunctive before "his brethren," which seems to have dropped out.

10. *Hosah.*] Hosah was door-keeper of the ark, together with Obed-edom, from the time of its transfer to Jerusalem. (See ch. xvi. 38.)

12. *Among these, &c.*] This verse is obscure, but its probable meaning is the following: "To these divisions of the porters, principal men, [were assigned] the watches, together with their brethren, for service in the house of the Lord;" *i.e.* the "chief men" enumerated in verses 1-11, and amounting to no more than 93, kept the watch and ward of the house, together with a further number of their brethren (4000 are mentioned in ch. xxiii. 5), who assisted them from time to time.

13. *They cast lots.*] Shelemiah, his son Zechariah, Obed-edom, and Hosah, cast lots for the four gates, which fell to them in the order related (verses 14-16).

15. *The house of Asuppim.*] Literally, "the house of collections." Compare Neh. xii. 25, where Gesenius translates, "the store-chambers of the gates." A treasure-house of some kind or other is probably intended.

16. *To Shuppim and Hosah.*] All recent commentators seem to be agreed that the words "to Shuppim" ought to be cancelled, the name having arisen from an accidental repetition of the preceding word, "Asuppim." Read, "**And to Hosah** the lot came forth westward."

the gate Shallecheth.] Literally, "the gate *of projection*"—the gate, *i.e.* through

came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going ‖up, ward against ward.

‖ See 1 Kin. 10. 5. 2 Chr. 9. 4.

17 Eastward *were* six Levites, northward four a day, southward four a day, and toward Asuppim two *and* two.

18 At Parbar westward, four at the causeway, *and* two at Parbar.

19 These *are* the divisions of the porters among the sons of Kore, and among the sons of Merari.

20 ¶ And of the Levites, Ahijah *was* over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the †dedicated things.

† Heb. *holy things.*

21 *As concerning* the sons of ‖Laadan; the sons of the Gershonite Laadan, chief fathers, *even* of Laadan the Gershonite, *were* ‖Jehieli.

‖ Or, *Libni*, ch. 6. 17.

‖ Or, *Jehiel*, ch. 23. 8.

22 The sons of Jehieli; Zetham, and Joel his brother, *which were* over the treasures of the house of the LORD.

23 Of the Amramites, *and* the Izharites, the Hebronites, *and* the Uzzielites:

24 And Shebuel the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, *was* ruler of the treasures.

25 And his brethren by Eliezer;

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which were "thrown out" the sweepings of the temple, the ashes, the offal of the victims, and the like.

the causeway of the going up.] The "ascent" which Solomon made by way of the Tyropœum valley from his own palace to the western wall of the temple. (See note on 1 K. x. 5.)

ward against ward.] Or "watch opposite to watch." Hosah had in charge both the western gate of the temple, and also the gate Shallecheth, which was in the outer wall, opposite. Hence he had to keep two watches, one over against the other.

17. *Toward Asuppim two and two.*] It is conjectured that the "store-house" in question (see note on verse 15) had two doors, to each of which two porters were appointed.

18. *At Parbar.*] In later Hebrew, the cognate word "Parvar" means "suburb;" but this can scarcely be the exact meaning of Parbar here. "Parbar" must designate here the space between the western wall of the temple building and the wall of the court, which would be a sort of "precinct" or "purlieu" of the temple. (See note on 2 K. xxiii. 11.) Here were two gates, at one of which two guards were stationed; while at the other, called Shallecheth, which gave upon the causeway, there were four. It is noticeable that in this whole account, the Temple is spoken of as if it were existing, when it was not as yet built. We must suppose that David formed the whole plan of the Temple, and fixed the stations and numbers of the porters, though it was left for Solomon to carry his instructions out.

19. *These are the divisions of the porters.*] There is a difficulty in harmonising the account of the porters here given, which makes them only twenty-four in number at any one time, with the statement of ch. xxiii. 5, that the duty was discharged by 4000 persons. Perhaps we are to understand that of the ninety-three *chief* porters here spoken of (verses 8, 9, and 11) twenty-four were always on guard *as officers*, while of the remaining 3900, a certain proportion were each day on duty as their subordinates.

20. *Abijah.*] This reading is doubtful. The LXX. had, instead of it, *aheyhem*, "their brethren," which is preferable, more especially as there is no other mention of this Ahijah. Translate this verse and the next —"And the Levites, **their brethren, who were** over the treasures of the house of God and over the treasures of the dedicated things, **were the following**: the sons of Laadan, &c."

21. *The sons of the Gershonite Laadan, &c.*] Rather, "**Gershonites sprung from Laadan, patriarchal chiefs of the house of Laadan the Gershonite.**"

22. *The sons of Jehieli; Zetham and Joel.*] In ch. xxiii. 8, Zetham and Joel were represented as brothers of Jehieli (or Jehiel). It is suspected that there is some corruption in the present passage. By two very slight changes the sense would run as follows:—"Jehiel, and the sons of Jehiel, and Zetham, and Joel his brother." (See additional note at the end of the chapter.)

23. *Of the Amramites.*] Among those who were over the treasures were certain Amramites, Izharites, &c.

24. *Shebuel.*] Or "Shubael" (as in ch. xxiv. 20).

25. *And his brethren, &c.*] The "brethren" of Shebuel, are his kindred of the family of Eliezer, Gershon's brother, viz., Rehabiah,

Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomith his son.

26 Which Shelomith and his brethren *were* over all the treasures of the dedicated things, which David the king, and the chief fathers, the captains over thousands and hundreds, and the captains of the host, had dedicated.

† Heb. *Out of the battles and spoils.*

27 †Out of the spoils won in battles did they dedicate to maintain the house of the LORD.

28 And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish, and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah, had dedicated; *and* whosoever had dedicated *any thing*, *it was* under the hand of Shelomith, and of his brethren.

29 ¶ Of the Izharites, Chenaniah and his sons *were* for the outward business over Israel, for officers and judges.

30 *And* of the Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, men of valour, a thousand and seven hundred, *were* †officers among them of Israel on this side Jordan westward in all the business of the LORD, and in the service of the king.

† Heb. *over the charge.*

31 Among the Hebronites *was* Jerijah the chief, *even* among the Hebronites, according to the generations of his fathers. In the fortieth year of the reign of David they were sought for, and there were found among them mighty men of valour at Jazer of Gilead.

32 And his brethren, men of valour, *were* two thousand and seven hundred chief fathers, whom king David made rulers over the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, for every matter pertaining to God, and †affairs of the king.

† Heb. *thing.*

Jeshaiah, &c. It nas been supposed by some that this verse gives a continuous genealogy, Shelomith being the fourth descendant of Rehabiah. As, however, Rehabiah's son, Jeshaiah, has been already represented as contemporary with David (xxiv. 21), it seems necessary to regard Joram, Zichri, and Shelomith, as, like Jeshaiah, sons of Rehabiah (whose sons are said to have been "very many," ch. xxiii. 17) rather than as respectively his grandson, great grandson, and great-great grandson.

28. *All that Samuel the seer . . . . had dedicated.*] We learn from this verse that the foundations of a sacred treasury had been laid as far back as the time of Samuel, when the Israelites began to recover from their last servitude. Such a treasury had been once before established, viz., under Joshua (Josh. vi. 24); but it appears to have been soon exhausted, and we hear nothing of it under any of the later judges until Samuel.

29. *Chenaniah.*] A "Chenaniah" is mentioned as "prince of the Levites" in ch. xv. 22; but he is not likely to have been the Chenaniah of this place, since he was a leading singer.

for officers and judges.] See note on ch. xxiii. 4.

30. *Hashabiah.*] Compare ch. xxvii. 17.

on this side Jordan.] Literally, "across Jordan." See note 9 on § 4 of the 'Introduction to Kings.' To clear the ambiguity of the expression, the author has added "westward."

in all the business of the Lord.] The "business of the Lord" in the provinces would consist especially in the collection of the tithes, the redemption-money, and the free-will offerings of the people. It may perhaps have included some religious teaching (compare 2 Chr. xvii. 7-9); but this is uncertain.

31. *Jerijah the chief.*] "Jerijah" was mentioned as the eldest of the descendants of Hebron in ch. xxiii. 19, and again in ch. xxiv. 23.

Jazer of Gilead.] Jazer is mentioned in Joshua as a town in the territory of Gad (Josh. xiii. 25). It was a Levitical city, originally assigned to the Merarites (Josh. xxi. 39), but now apparently occupied, in part at least, by the Kohathites. On its site, see note on Num. xxi. 32.

32. *Rulers.*] This term is somewhat too strong. The same kind of office was assigned to Jerijah and his brethren in the transjordanic region as to Hashabiah and his brethren in Western Palestine—viz., a superintendence over religious matters and over the interests of the king.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 22.

For יחיאלי: בני יחיאלי זתם ויואל, which is the present text, it is proposed to read יחיאל: ובני יחיאל וזתם ויואל. The name (Jehiel) is thus brought into accordance with ch. xxiii. 8, and Zetham and Joel are "sons of Laadan," not of Jehiel.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *The twelve captains for every several month.* 16 *The princes of the twelve tribes.* 23 *The numbering of the people is hindered.* 25 *David's several officers.*

NOW the children of Israel after their number, *to wit*, the chief fathers and captains of thousands and hundreds, and their officers that served the king in any matter of the courses, which came in and went out month by month throughout all the months of the year, of every course *were* twenty and four thousand.

2 Over the first course for the first month *was* Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

3 Of the children of Perez *was* the chief of all the captains of the host for the first month.

4 And over the course of the second month *was* ‖Dodai an Ahohite, and of his course *was* Mikloth also the ruler: in his course likewise *were* twenty and four thousand. ‖ Or, *Dodo*, 2 Sam. 23. 9.

5 The third captain of the host for the third month *was* Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, a ‖chief priest: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand. ‖ Or, *principal officer.*

6 This *is that* Benaiah, *who was* [a]mighty *among* the thirty, and above the thirty: and in his course *was* Ammizabad his son. [a] 2 Sam 23. 20, 22, 23. ch. 11. 24

7 The fourth *captain* for the fourth month *was* Asahel the brother of

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CHAP. XXVII. 1. This verse is a general heading to the list which follows in verses 2-15. It is well observed by Bertheau that the heading has been taken from some fuller and more elaborate description of David's army; whereof the writer of Chronicles gives us only an abridgment. Omitting the captains of thousands, the captains of hundreds, and the officers (*shoterim*, probably "scribes") who served the king, he contents himself with recording the "chief fathers" or heads of the divisions (see ch. xxviii. 1), and the number of Israelites in each course.

2. *Jashobeam.*] Jashobeam is mentioned in ch. xi. 11, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, as the chief of David's mighty men. He is called in ch. xi. 11 "the son of Hachmoni." We learn from verse 3 that he was of the tribe of Judah, being descended from Perez (or Pharez), the son of Judah, from whom David himself sprang. (See above, ch. ii. 3-15.)

4. *Dodai.*] The words "**Eleazar, son of**," have probably fallen out before Dodai (or Dodo). Eleazar held the second place among David's mighty men (ch. xi. 12). According to Jewish tradition, he was cousin to David, his father, Dodai, being Jesse's brother.

Mikloth.] Mikloth was probably second in command to Eleazar. The Hebrew text, both here and in verse 6, is ungrammatical, consisting of disjointed clauses, whereby the meaning is incompletely expressed. Our translators seem, however, to have conceived the author's intention aright.

5. *Son of Jehoiada, a chief priest.*] Rather, "*the* chief priest"—an expression by which is meant, not the high-priest, but probably the high-priest's deputy, who is sometimes called "the second priest" (2 K. xxv. 18). Jehoiada's priestly descent and high rank among the Aaronites had been already indicated (ch. xii. 27).

6. *Mighty among the thirty.*] See above, ch. xi. 22-25.

7. *Asahel.*] There is a difficulty in this mention of Asahel as the captain of the fourth course, since he died early in David's reign over Judah (2 Sam. ii. 12-23), before the courses, as here described, could have been instituted. Perhaps the arrangements of David in his later years were based upon institutions belonging to the period of his reign at

Joab, and Zebadiah his son after him: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

8 The fifth captain for the fifth month *was* Shamhuth the Izrahite: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

9 The sixth *captain* for the sixth month *was* Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

10 The seventh *captain* for the seventh month *was* Helez the Pelonite, of the children of Ephraim: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

11 The eighth *captain* for the eighth month *was* Sibbecai the Hushathite, of the Zarhites: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

12 The ninth *captain* for the ninth month *was* Abiezer the Anetothite, of the Benjamites: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

13 The tenth *captain* for the tenth month *was* Maharai the Netophathite, of the Zarhites: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

14 The eleventh *captain* for the eleventh month *was* Benaiah the Pirathonite, of the children of Ephraim: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand.

15 The twelfth *captain* for the twelfth month *was* ‖Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel: and in his course *were* twenty and four thousand. ‖ Or, *Heled*, ch. 11. 30.

16 ¶ Furthermore over the tribes of Israel: the ruler of the Reubenites *was* Eliezer the son of Zichri: of the Simeonites, Shephatiah the son of Maachah:

17 Of the Levites, Hashabiah the son of Kemuel: of the Aaronites, Zadok:

18 Of Judah, Elihu, *one* of the brethren of David: of Issachar, Omri the son of Michael:

19 Of Zebulun, Ishmaiah the son of Obadiah: of Naphtali, Jerimoth the son of Azriel:

20 Of the children of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Azaziah: of the half tribe of Manasseh, Joel the son of Pedaiah:

21 Of the half *tribe* of Manasseh in Gilead, Iddo the son of Zechariah: of Benjamin, Jaasiel the son of Abner:

Hebron; and the later enlarged courses were regarded as identical with certain earlier ones much inferior in numbers.

9, 10. *Ira . . . Helez.*] Mentioned among the thirty "mighty men" (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 27, 28).

11. *Sibbecai.*] Called "Sibbechai" in ch. xx. 4, and also in 2 Sam. xxi. 18—a different mode of expressing the same Hebrew name. Sibbecai was the slayer of Saph the giant, and, like all the remaining captains, was among the thirty "mighty men." (See above, ch. xi. 29.)

15. *Heldai.*] Called "Heled" in ch. xi. 30, and "Heleb" in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29.

of Othniel.] A descendant of the Judge next in succession to Joshua. (Judges iii. 9-11.)

16. *Over the tribes.*] It is remarkable that from the list of the tribes which follows Gad and Asher are omitted. Similarly, Dan and Zebulon are omitted from the genealogical survey of the tribes in chs. iv.-vii. We can only suppose that the lists, as they came down to the writer of Chronicles, were incomplete.

the ruler of the Reubenites.] The "rulers" or "princes" of the tribes appear to have been the eldest lineal descendants of the patriarchs according to the law of primogeniture.

17. *Hashabiah.*] Not the "Hashabiah" of ch. xxvi. 30, who was a descendant of Hebron, and therefore a Kohathite. The "prince" of the tribe of Levi was no doubt a Gershonite.

Zadok.] The high-priest of the elder line, that of Eleazar. (See above, ch. vi. 3-8.)

18. *Elihu.*] This is no doubt a corrupt reading for "Eliab," as the eldest son of Jesse is elsewhere always called. (See 1 Sam. xvi. 6, xvii. 13, 28; 1 Chr. ii. 13.) The LXX. have Eliab (Ἐλιάβ).

21. *Jaasiel, the son of Abner.*] Probably,

22 Of Dan, Azareel the son of Jeroham. These *were* the princes of the tribes of Israel.

23 ¶ But David took not the number of them from twenty years old and under: because the LORD had said he would increase Israel like to the stars of the heavens.

24 Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but he finished not, because [b]there fell wrath for it against Israel; neither [†]was the number put in the account of the chronicles of king David.

[b] 2 Sam. 24. 5, &c. ch. 21. 7.

[†] Heb. *ascended.*

25 ¶ And over the king's treasures *was* Azmaveth the son of

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of the Abner who had been captain of the host under Saul and Ishbosheth.

23. *David took not the number, &c.*] The occurrence of this remark in this place implies (as Bertheau well observes) that David's numbering of the people was connected with the military arrangements which have formed the chief subject of the earlier portion of the chapter. In order to fix the amount of his standing army, he desired to know the whole number of men above twenty in his dominions. It was not necessary for him to know the number below twenty; and he shrank from doing so, not because it was "impossible" (Bertheau), but because it was felt to be irreverent to attempt to count what God was understood to have promised should be countless. To the general Oriental prejudice against numbering possessions, &c. (Niebuhr, 'Description de l'Arabie,' p. 14; Buckingham, 'Arab Tribes,' p. 88), there was added in the case of the Jews a special objection, grounded in part on the promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 5), in part on the terms in which a permission to number was given in Ex. xxx. 12. (See especially the words, "that there be no plague among them.")

24. *Joab . . . finished not.*] Compare above, ch. xxi. 6, and note ad loc.

because there fell wrath.] Literally, "*And* there fell wrath." The original does not at all imply that the falling of God's wrath was the cause of Joab's ceasing. His motive is clearly stated in ch. xxi. 6: "For the king's word was abominable unto Joab."

neither was the number put in the account of the chronicles of king David.] It has been suggested that we should read, for "account" (*mispar*), "book" (*sepher*); but this is unnecessary. The meaning is, that in the portion of the chronicles of King David which treated of numbers—the number of the standing army, of the Levitical and priestly courses, of the singers, &c.—the return of the number of the people made by Joab was not entered. We can easily understand that the disastrous circumstances which followed on the taking of the census produced a feeling that God might be further provoked by its being put on record in the state archives. It was consequently omitted; and the accounts of the numbers which have come down to us must have been derived from some comparatively private sources.

25-31. This section is very important in its bearing on the question of the revenue which David possessed, and the means by which he had acquired it. As the younger son of a family not remarkable for opulence (1 Sam. xvi. 11, 20), he cannot have had much property that was strictly private. We find him now in possession of (*a*) treasures laid up in Jerusalem, consisting in part probably of the precious metals, in part of other kinds of substance; (*b*) treasures laid up in store in various places in the provinces; (*c*) corn-fields; (*d*) vineyards; (*e*) olive-grounds; (*f*) sycamore-plantations; (*g*) flocks and herds; (*h*) camels; (*i*) asses; (*j*) wine accumulated in cellars; and (*k*) oil stored similarly. It is evident that David had become, by some means or other, a large landed proprietor, as well as a capitalist, possessed of much moveable wealth. We may perhaps see the main source of both these kinds of property, in the successful wars which he had waged. Even during Saul's lifetime, he amassed considerable wealth by means of the raids which he carried on from Ziklag (1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 9, xxx. 20). Afterwards, it would seem that, when he warred successfully, he received as his own, not only a large portion of the spoil (2 Sam. viii. 4, 7, 8, 12), but also tracts of land in the newly-conquered countries. His olive-grounds and sycamore-plantations were in the "low plain," or *shephêlah*, which was the proper country of the Philistines (verse 28); his camels and his flocks were pastured by Arab herdsmen (verses 30 and 31), probably on lands formerly belonging to Arab tribes. How he acquired his possessions in Sharon (verse 29), and in the valleys (ib.), we do not know. No doubt he derived a considerable revenue from subject kings (1 Sam. viii. 2, 14, x. 19), as Solomon did (1 K. iv. 21), and he may have bought, or rented, lands in different places. There may also possibly have been a certain quantity of public unassigned land in Palestine at the time when he became king, which would naturally fall into his hands, to be dealt with

Adiel: and over the storehouses in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles, *was* Jehonathan the son of Uzziah:

26 And over them that did the work of the field for tillage of the ground *was* Ezri the son of Chelub:

27 And over the vineyards *was* Shimei the Ramathite: †over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars *was* Zabdi the Shiphmite:

† Heb. *over that which was of the vineyards.*

28 And over the olive trees and the sycomore trees that *were* in the low plains *was* Baal-hanan the Gederite: and over the cellars of oil *was* Joash:

29 And over the herds that fed in Sharon *was* Shitrai the Sharonite: and over the herds *that were* in the valleys *was* Shaphat the son of Adlai:

30 Over the camels also *was* Obil the Ishmaelite: and over the asses *was* Jehdeiah the Meronothite:

31 And over the flocks *was* Jaziz the Hagerite. All these *were* the rulers of the substance which *was* king David's.

32 Also Jonathan David's uncle was a counsellor, a wise man, and a ‖scribe: and Jehiel the ‖son of Hachmoni *was* with the king's sons:

‖ Or, *secretary.*
‖ Or, *Hachmonite.*

33 And Ahithophel *was* the king's counsellor: and Hushai the Archite *was* the king's companion.

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as he chose. Further, he enjoyed, of course, the usual rights of a Jewish king over the landed property of his subjects, and was thus entitled to receive a tithe of the produce (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17). He would also from time to time obtain those "benevolences," which were expected from all on certain occasions (1 Sam. x. 27, xvi. 20, &c.).

25. *Storehouses.*] Literally, "treasures"—the same word as in the preceding clause.

the castles.] These are probably the watch-towers in the border districts, exposed to raids from the plundering tribes of the desert. (See 2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4.)

27. *The Ramathite.*] A native of one of the towns called Ramah, but of which is uncertain.

the Shiphmite.] A native of Shepham (Num. xxxiv. 10, 11), near Riblah, at the extreme north-east of the Holy Land.

28. *In the low plains.*] Rather, "in the low plain." The word used is *ha-Shephêlah*, the proper name of the low tract between the hill country of Judæa and the Mediterranean.

the Gederite.] There was a Gedêrah in the low plain (Josh. xv. 36) not far from Socoh, to which Baal-hanan probably belonged.

30. *Obil.*] Perhaps a name of office, not a real proper name. *Abûl* is "a keeper of camels" in Arabic.

Meronothite.] Compare Neh. iii. 7; from which it may be gathered that "Meronoth" was in Benjamin, near Gibeon and Mizpah. The place must have been insignificant, for the name "Meronoth" does not occur anywhere.

31. *The Hagerite.*] Or "Hagarite," as it is more usually written. (See above, ch. v. 10, 19, 20.) On the tribe itself, see note on ch. v. 10.

32-34. The chapter concludes with a list of some chief officers of David, which may be compared with 2 Sam. viii. 15-18; 1 Chr. xviii. 15-17; and 2 Sam. xx. 23-26. The list is, however, chiefly supplemental, the officers mentioned being, in the main, such as have not been noticed before—*e.g.* King's counsellor, King's friend, Companion of the King's sons. The list cannot belong to a very late part of David's reign, since it contains the name of Ahithophel, who slew himself during Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xvii. 23).

32. *Jonathan, David's uncle.*] Or "David's nephew," which is a meaning that the word used sometimes has. That David had a nephew named Jonathan, we know from ch. xx. 7 and 2 Sam. xxi. 21.

Jehiel, the son of Hachmoni.] Jehiel is so common a name that we cannot identify this "Jehiel" with the "son of Laadan" mentioned in ch. xxiii. 8 and ch. xxvi. 21. As "son of Hachmoni," this Jehiel would seem to have been of the same family with Jashobeam. (See ch. xi. 11.)

33. *Ahithophel.*] See 2 Sam. xv. 12, 31, xvi. 15-23, xvii. 1-23. This is the only mention that the writer of Chronicles makes of him.

Hushai the Archite was the king's companion.] Or "king's friend," as the same expression is translated in 1 K. iv. 5. Hushai's office is not obscurely indicated in the questions which Absalom addressed to him—"Is this

34 And after Ahithophel *was* Jehoiada the son of Benaiah, and Abiathar: and the general of the king's army *was* Joab.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *David in a solemn assembly having declared God's favour to him, and promise to his son Solomon, exhorteth them to fear God.* 9, 20 *He encourageth Solomon to build the temple.* 11 *He giveth him patterns for the form, and gold and silver for the materials.*

AND David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies that ministered to the king by course, and the captains over the thousands, and captains over the hundreds, and the stewards over all the substance and ‖possession of the king, and of his sons, with the ‖officers, and with the mighty men, and with all the valiant men, unto Jerusalem.

‖ Or, *cattle.*

‖ Or, *eunuchs.*

2 Then David the king stood up upon his feet, and said, Hear me, my brethren, and my people: *As for me*, I *had* in mine heart to build an house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and for the footstool of our God, and had made ready for the building:

3 But God said unto me, [a]Thou shalt not build an house for my name, because thou *hast been* a man of war, and hast shed †blood.

[a] 2 Sam. 7. 5, 13. 1 Kin. 5. 5. ch. 22. 8.

† Heb. *bloods.*

4 Howbeit the LORD God of Israel chose me before all the house of my father to be king over Israel for ever: for he hath chosen [b]Judah *to be* the ruler; and of the house of

[b] Gen. 49. 8. 1 Sam. 16. 13. Ps. 78. 68.

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thy kindness to *thy friend?* Why wentest thou not with *thy friend?*" (2 Sam. xvi. 17). On his devotion to David, see 2 Sam. xv. 32-37, xvii. 5-16.

34. *After Ahithophel.*] *I. e.* next in counsel to Ahithophel: inferior to him, but superior to all others.

Jehoiada the son of Benaiah.] Most commentators regard these two names as accidentally transposed, and consider the captain of the guard to be the individual intended. But it is highly improbable that any copyist would invert names so well known as these two. A son of Benaiah's, named after his grandfather, is probably meant.

Abiathar.] Probably, but not certainly, the priest.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1. *All the princes of Israel.*] The "princes" of Israel comprise: 1. The heads of the Tribes (see ch. xxvii. 16-22); 2. The commanders of the twelve divisions of the army (ib. 2-15); 3. The captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; 4. The stewards of the royal property (ib. 25-31); 5. The court eunuchs; 6. the Gibborim, or "mighty men" (ch. xi. 10-47); and 7. The brave men, or heroes. These last seem not to have been a definite class. The term is rather one under which all persons of importance might be included who were not comprised in any of the other six classes.

and of his sons.] This rendering is better than that of the Vulgate, "and his sons;" for if the intention had been to mention the king's sons as one of the classes, they would necessarily have had a more conspicuous place.

the officers.] Literally, "eunuchs." It would seem that David, in adopting the usual splendour and magnificence of an Oriental court, had introduced among the Jews their ordinary appendage, eunuchs. This is the only occasion, however, in which they are mentioned in connection with his reign; and it is to be remarked that they occupy, during the earlier period of the Jewish kingdom, a very subordinate position.

2. *My brethren.*] David retains the modest phrase of a king not born in the purple, but raised from the ranks of the people. (See above, 1 Sam. xxx. 23; 2 Sam. xix. 12.) No later Jewish monarch would have so addressed his subjects.

the footstool of our God.] David views the ark as God's "footstool," because he was enthroned above it visibly in the Shechinah, or luminous cloud, present from time to time above the mercy seat and between the cherubim. (Compare Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7.)

3. *Because thou hast been a man of war.*] See note on ch. xxii. 8.

4. *He hath chosen Judah to be the ruler.*] The choice of Judah to be ruler dated back as far as the death-bed of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 8); but perhaps David here means only to speak of the recent fact of Judah's selection to be the ruling tribe in his person.

Judah, the house of my father; and among the sons of my father he liked me to make *me* king over all Israel:

[c] ch. 23. 1. 5 [c]And of all my sons, (for the LORD hath given me many sons,) he hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the LORD over Israel.

[d] 2 Sam. 7. 13. 2 Chr. 1. 9. 6 And he said unto me, [d]Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts: for I have chosen him *to be* my son, and I will be his father.

† Heb. *strong.* 7 Moreover I will establish his kingdom for ever, if he be †constant to do my commandments and my judgments, as at this day.

8 Now therefore in the sight of all Israel the congregation of the LORD, and in the audience of our God, keep and seek for all the commandments of the LORD your God: that ye may possess this good land, and leave *it* for an inheritance for your children after you for ever.

9 ¶ And thou, Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind: for [e]the LORD searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.

[e] 1 Sam. 16. 7. Ps. 7. 9. & 139. 2. Jer. 11. 20. & 17. 10. & 20. 12.

10 Take heed now; for the LORD hath chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary: be strong, and do *it*.

11 ¶ Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch,

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6. *He said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build.*] It has been observed already in the notes on ch. xxii. that, besides the message sent to David through Nathan, and recorded in 2 Sam. vii. 5-16, and 1 Chr. xvii. 4-14, he must have had a revelation made to him, mediately or immediately, of which we have no direct account, but only the indirect account given here and in the former address to Solomon, ch. xxii. 8-10. In the first revelation through Nathan, he was told that one of his sons should be raised up to fill his throne after him, and should build the Temple. In the second revelation it was distinctly declared to him that the son intended was Solomon.

my house and my courts.] *I. e.* the temple and the courts of the temple. (See below, 2 Chr. iv. 9.)

7. *If he be constant.*] The conditional character of the promise made to David, of the continuance of his posterity on the Jewish throne, is here, for the first time in the history, brought distinctly into notice. Some indication of the principle may be observed in the original announcement made by Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 14: "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of iron"), and also in David's words to Solomon (ch. xxii. 13: "Thou shalt prosper, if thou takest heed," &c.). But it is not till now that we have a clear declaration that the continuance or non-continuance of the line of David upon the throne was to depend on their constancy in God's service. A very plain revelation of this truth to David himself is recorded in the 132nd Psalm (verse 12).

8. *Keep and seek.*] The sense would be clearer if the words were, "*I charge you*, keep and seek;" and some commentators suppose that they did so run originally. But it is perhaps more probable that the words omitted were intended to be supplied by the common sense of the reader.

9. *Know thou the God of thy father.*] "Knowing God," in the sense of having a religious trust in Him, is an unusual phrase in the earlier Scriptures. It scarcely occurs elsewhere in the Historical Books. David, however, uses the phrase in his psalms (Ps. xxxvi. 10); and its occurrence here may be accepted as evidence that the entire speech is recorded in the actual words of the monarch. With the expression "the God of thy father" may be compared the similar phrase in verse 20—"the Lord God, even *my* God, will be with thee."

the Lord searcheth all hearts.] Compare Ps. vii. 9, xvii. 3, cxxxix. 1-3, &c.

if thou seek him, &c.] Compare Ps. ix. 10.

10. *Be strong.*] See above, ch. xxii. 13; and compare Ps. xxvii. 14, and xxxi. 24.

11. *David gave to Solomon . . . the pattern.*] Compare verse 19. As God had revealed to Moses the pattern of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. xxvii.), so He had made known by revelation to David the pattern of the Temple and its furniture. (See below,

and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and of the place of the mercy seat,

† Heb. *of all that was with him.*

12 And the pattern †of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things:

13 Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and °for all the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the LORD.

14 *He gave* of gold by weight for *things* of gold, for all instruments of all manner of service; *silver also* for all instruments of silver by weight, for all instruments of every kind of service:

15 Even the weight for the candlesticks of gold, and for their lamps of gold, by weight for every candlestick, and for the lamps thereof: and for the candlesticks of silver by weight, *both* for the candlestick, and *also* for the lamps thereof, according to the use of every candlestick.

16 And by weight *he gave* gold for the tables of shewbread, for every table; and *likewise* silver for the tables of silver:

17 Also pure gold for the fleshhooks, and the bowls, and the cups: and for the golden basons *he gave gold* by weight for every bason; and *likewise silver* by weight for every bason of silver:

18 And for the altar of incense refined gold by weight; and gold for the pattern of the chariot of the ƒcherubims, that spread out *their* ƒ 1 Sam. 4. 4. 1 Kings 6. 23, &c.

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verse 19, and note.) This pattern, which consisted of a set of directions in writing, David now handed over to Solomon.

the houses thereof.] "Thereof" refers, not to "porch," but to "temple," which is to be supplied from the preceding verse. The "houses" are the "holy place" and the "holy of holies"—called respectively "the house" and the "inner house" in 1 K. vi. 17, 27, and in 2 Chr. iii. 5, 8, "the greater house" and "the most holy house."

the treasuries.] The exact position of the "treasuries" in the Temple is unknown; but they consisted probably of certain rooms in the "lean-to," which on three sides surrounded the sacred building. (See 1 K. vi. 5.)

the upper chambers.] Compare 2 Chr. iii. 9, and note ad loc.

the inner parlours.] These are clearly the small rooms of the "lean-to," entered one from another, one of which is expressly called by the same name in 2 Chr. xxii. 11.

the place of the mercy seat.] Literally, "the *house* of the mercy seat." Though the holy of holies had been included by implication in the expression "the houses thereof," yet, on account of its importance, it is also mentioned expressly; fitly completing the description, which begins with the porch at one end of the building and terminates with the sanctuary at the other.

12. *The pattern of all that he had by the spirit.*] Literally, "the pattern of all that was with him in the spirit; or (as Bertheau well paraphrases) "the form of all that floated before his mind." It seems to be David's spirit, not God's Spirit that is here spoken of.

the courts.] See 2 Chr. iv. 9.

of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries, &c.] Rather, "of all the chambers round about **for the treasures** of the house of God, and **for the treasures** of the dedicated things." It is implied that there were detached buildings for these purposes round the outer or inner court of the Temple.

13. *For the courses.*] Compare chs. xxiii.-xxv. The "pattern for the courses" must have consisted of written directions as to the principle on which they were to be arranged and the order in which they were to serve.

14. *He gave of gold by weight.*] Rather "For things of gold, he **gave the pattern** by weight of gold." And so in verses 16-18, it is meant, not that he gave the gold and silver for the several articles, but that he fixed the weight of the metal for each.

16. *The tables of shewbread.*] See 2 Chr. iv. 19, and note ad loc.

18. *The chariot of the cherubims.*] This is not to be taken literally. The cherubim are themselves the chariot on which Jehovah rides. (See Ps. xviii. 10, xcix. 1.)

wings, and covered the ark of the covenant of the LORD.

19 All *this*, *said David*, the LORD made me understand in writing by *his* hand upon me, *even* all the works of this pattern.

20 And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do *it:* fear not, nor be dismayed: for the LORD God, *even* my God, *will be* with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until thou hast finished all the work for the service of the house of the LORD.

21 And, behold, the courses of the priests and the Levites, *even they shall be with thee* for all the service of the house of God: and *there shall be* with thee for all manner of workmanship every willing skilful man, for any manner of service: also the princes and all the people *will be* wholly at thy commandment.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *David, by his example and intreaty, 6 causeth the princes and people to offer willingly.* 10 *David's thanksgiving and prayer.* 20 *The people, having blessed God, and sacrificed, make Solomon king.* 26 *David's reign and death.*

FURTHERMORE David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, *is yet* [e] young and tender, and the work *is* great: for the palace *is* not for man, but for the LORD God.

[e] ch. 22. 5.

2 Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for *things to be made* of gold, and the silver for *things* of silver, and the brass for *things* of brass, the iron for *things* of iron, and wood for *things* of wood; onyx stones, and *stones* to be set, glistering stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance.

3 Moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver, *which* I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house,

4 *Even* three thousand talents of [a] gold, of the gold of [a] Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses *withal:*

[a] 1 Kin. 9. 28.

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19. *All this, said David.*] For an example of a similar transition from the third person to the first, see above, ch. xxiii. 5.

the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me.] The meaning of this passage is obscure. Some understand David to say that God wrote the directions about the Temple and its furniture on the table of his mind; others that an actual written revelation on the subject was conveyed to him from God by a prophet. What seems certain is, that David claims for his "pattern" the same kind of divine sanction that Moses had for the plans and measures of the tabernacle.

21. *Every willing skilful man.*] Compare ch. xxii. 15 and 2 Chr. ii. 7.

CHAP. XXIX. 1. *The palace.*] The term here used is thought to be a Persian word, and generally designates the residence of the Persian monarch. (See Esth. i. 2, 5, ii. 3, 8; Neh. i. 1; Dan. viii. 2.) It is only here and in verse 19 that it is applied to the Temple.

2. *Glistering stones.*] Rather, "*coloured* stones;" or, according to some, "*dark* stones"—stones of a hue like that of the antimony wherewith women painted their eyes.

marble stones.] Or "*white* stones"—perhaps "alabaster," which is found near Damascus. On the use made of the "stones" in building the Temple, see 2 Chr. iii. 6, and note ad loc.

3. *Of mine own proper good.*] The rest of the store which David had laid by for the Temple was from public sources, as from spoil taken in war, and the like. Now he brings forward an offering from his own private estate. He makes the offering publicly in order to provoke others by his example to give liberally according to their means towards the same object. See the last clause of verse 5.

4. *Three thousand talents of gold, &c.*] The numbers here, though less exaggerated than those in ch. xxii. 14, have still, it is probable, suffered to some extent from the carelessness of copyists. The amount of silver is not

5 The gold for *things* of gold, and the silver for *things* of silver, and for all manner of work *to be made* by the hands of artificers. And who *then* is willing †to consecrate his service this day unto the LORD?

† Heb. *to fill his hand.*

6 ¶ Then the chief of the fathers and princes of the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king's work, offered willingly,

7 And gave for the service of the house of God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand drams, and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron.

8 And they with whom *precious* stones were found gave *them* to the treasure of the house of the LORD, by the hand of Jehiel the Gershonite.

9 Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the LORD: and David the king also rejoiced with great joy.

10 ¶ Wherefore David blessed the LORD before all the congregation: and David said, Blessed *be* thou, LORD God of Israel our father, for ever and ever.

11 [b]Thine, O LORD, *is* the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all *that is* in the heaven and in the earth *is thine;* thine *is* the kingdom, O LORD, and thou art exalted as head above all.

[b] Matt. 6. 13. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Rev. 5. 13.

12 Both riches and honour *come* of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand *is* power and might; and in thine hand *it is* to make great, and to give strength unto all.

13 Now therefore, our God, we

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indeed improbable, since its value would not exceed three millions of our money; but as the gold would probably exceed in value thirty millions, we may suspect an error in the words "three thousand."

of Ophir.] As yet the Jews had probably no direct trade with Ophir; but still the Ophir gold may have been brought to them by the Arabian traders. On the position of Ophir, see note on 1 K. ix. 28.

to overlay the walls of the houses.] We learn from 2 Chr. iii. that the interiors both of the holy place or main body of the building, and of the holy of holies were overlaid with gold; but we hear nothing except in this passage, of any overlaying of the walls with silver. Perhaps the silver ornamentation was used externally. (Compare note on 1 K. vi. 22.)

5. *To consecrate his service.*] Literally, as in the margin, "to fill his hand"—or, as we should say, "to come with full hands to Jehovah." The words contain an appeal to the assembly for voluntary offerings.

6. *The rulers of the king's work.*] These are probably "the stewards of the king's substance" mentioned in ch. xxviii. 1, and previously enumerated in ch. xxvii. 25-31.

7. *Ten thousand drams.*] The word here translated "dram" is regarded by most critics as the Hebrew equivalent of the Persian "daric," or ordinary gold coin, worth about 22 shillings of our money. The writer must not, however, be understood as intending to say that the Jews possessed darics in David's time. We must regard him as wishing to express, in language that would be intelligible to his readers, the value of the gold subscribed, and therefore as translating the terms employed in his documents, whatever they were, into terms that were in use in his own day. That the daric became current in Palestine soon after the return from the captivity appears from Ezra ii. 69, viii. 27; and Neh. vii. 70-72. Our translators' rendering, "dram," appears to indicate a belief that the Hebrew word is the equivalent, not of the Persian "daric," but of the Greek "drachm" (δραχμή)—a view which is still maintained by some, but without much reason.

8. *They with whom precious stones were found.*] Compare Ex. xxxv. 27. The same spirit prevailed now as at the setting up of the tabernacle. Each offered what he had that was most precious.

by the hand.] Rather, "into the hand." Jehiel, as already stated (ch. xxvi. 21, 22), was one of the treasurers of the Temple treasures.

9. *The people rejoiced because that they offered willingly.*] *I. e.* the munificence of the princes and officers (verse 6) caused general joy among the people.

thank thee, and praise thy glorious name.

14 But who *am* I, and what *is* my people, that we should † be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things *come* of thee, and † of thine own have we given thee.

† Heb. *retain*, or, *obtain strength.*
† Heb. *of thine hand.*

15 For we *are* strangers before thee, and sojourners, as *were* all our fathers: [e] our days on the earth *are* as a shadow, and *there is* none † abiding.

[e] Ps. 39. 12. & 90. 9. Heb. 11. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 11.
† Heb. *expectation.*

16 O LORD our God, all this store that we have prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name *cometh* of thine hand, and *is* all thine own.

17 I know also, my God, that thou [d] triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of mine heart I have willingly offered all these things: and now have I seen with joy thy people, which are ‖ present here, to offer willingly unto thee.

[d] 1 Sam. 16. 7. ch. 28. 9.
‖ Or, *found.*

18 O LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and ‖ prepare their heart unto thee:

‖ Or, *stablish*

19 And give unto Solomon my son a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all *these things*, and to build the palace, *for* the which I have made provision.

20 ¶ And David said to all the congregation, Now bless the LORD your God. And all the congregation blessed the LORD God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the LORD, and the king.

21 And they sacrificed sacrifices unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow after that day, *even* a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, *and* a thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices in abundance for all Israel:

22 And did eat and drink before the LORD on that day with great gladness. And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and [e] anointed *him* unto the LORD *to be* the chief governor, and Zadok *to be* priest.

[e] 1 Kin. 1. 33.

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15. *We are strangers . . . and sojourners.*] Compare Ps. xxxix. 12, "I am a stranger with thee and a sojourner;" and with the next clause compare Ps. cii. 11 and cxliv. 4.

there is none abiding.] Literally, "there is no hope"—which here probably means "there is no hope of continuance."

17. *Thou triest the heart.*] Compare Ps. vii. 9, xvii. 3, &c.

18. *Keep this for ever.*] *I. e.* "Preserve for ever this spirit of liberal and spontaneous giving in the hearts of thy people."

prepare their heart unto thee.] Rather, "establish their hearts towards thee."

20. *All the congregation . . . worshipped the Lord and the king.*] The same outward signs of reverence were accorded by the customs of the Jews (as of the oriental nations generally) to God and to their monarchs; and it is therefore not strange to find the same terms used separately to denote the reverence paid to each. (See 1 K. i. 31.) But the application of the terms to both in the same passage, which occurs nowhere in Scripture but here, is certainly strange, and would scarcely have taken place excepting at a time when a long servitude under despotic lords had orientalised men's mode of speech.

21. *With their drink offerings.*] *I. e.* "with the drink offerings appropriate to each kind of burnt offering, and required by the law to accompany them." (See Num. xv. 5, 7, 10, &c.)

sacrifices.] Or "thank-offerings," as the same word is translated in 2 Chr. xxix. 31, xxxiii. 16. Of such offerings only a small part was the priest's; the sacrificer and his friends feasted on the remainder. (Lev. vii. 15, 29-34.)

22. *They made Solomon . . . king the second time.*] Compare ch. xxiii. 1. Solomon's first appointment was at the time of Adonijah's rebellion (1 K. i. 33-39). As that appointment was hurried and, comparatively speaking, private, David now thought it best formally to invest Solomon a second time with the sovereignty, in the face of all Israel.

and anointed . . . Zadok to be priest.] Though Zadok and Abiathar had been joint high

23 Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as king instead of David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him.

24 And all the princes, and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David, † submitted themselves unto Solomon the king.

† Heb. *gave the hand under Solomon.*

25 And the LORD magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and *f* bestowed upon him *such* royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel.

f 1 Kin. 3. 13. 2 Chr. 1. 12. Eccles. 2. 9.

26 ¶ Thus David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel.

27 And the time that he reigned over Israel *was* forty years; seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three *years* reigned he in Jerusalem.

28 And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour: and Solomon his son reigned in his stead.

29 Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they *are* written in the ‖† book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer,

‖ Or, *history.* † Heb. *words.*

30 With all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries.

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priests during a great part of David's reign (see 2 Sam. xv. 24-29, xix. 11; 1 K. i. 7, 8; 1 Chr. xv. 11), yet it would seem that now, in consequence of Abiathar's treason (1 K. i. 7), and in token that the high-priestly office was to be taken from him (1 K. ii. 27) and continued in the person and the line of Zadok only, a second and very public appointment of Zadok alone to the high-priest's office took place. Abiathar was not as yet absolutely thrust out; but it may be doubtful whether he was ever allowed to perform high-priestly functions after his act of rebellion.

23. *Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord. as king.*] That Solomon actually exercised the kingly office in the lifetime of his father appears very clearly in 1 K. i.—more especially in verses 50-53. The throne of David is called here "the throne of the Lord," as in ch. xxviii. 5 it is called "the throne of the kingdom of the Lord," because God had set it up and had promised to establish it.

24. *All the sons of David submitted themselves.*] The allusion is especially to the submission of Adonijah (1 K. i. 53).

27. *The time that he reigned.*] Compare 1 K. ii. 11; and for a more exact account of the duration of David's reign, see 2 S. v. 5.

28. *He died in a good old age.*] David appears to have died in his seventy-first year. (See note on 1 K. i. 1.)

29. *The book of Samuel the seer, and the book of Nathan . . . and the book of Gad.*] On the character of these works, see 'Introduction to Chronicles,' § 4, 'On the sources used by the Author.'

Gad the seer.] Gad is not given here the same title as Samuel. Samuel's title is one, apparently, of higher dignity, applied only to him and to Hanani (2 Chr. xvi. 7, 10). Gad's is a far commoner title; it is applied to his contemporaries Asaph (2 Chr. xxix. 30), Heman (1 Chr. xxv. 5), and Jeduthun (2 Chr. xxxv. 15), to Iddo (2 Chr. ix. 29 and xii. 15), to Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Chr. xix. 2), and to the prophet Amos (Am. vii. 12). When "seers" are spoken of in the plural, it is the term almost universally used, only one instance (Is. xxx. 10) occurring to the contrary.

30. *The times that went over him.*] There is no other instance of this expression in Scripture. It is, however, sufficiently intelligible. "The times that went over David" were the events that happened to him. Compare his own words in Ps. xxxi. 15—"My *times* are in thy hand."

all the kingdoms of the countries.] Compare below, 2 Chr. xii. 8, xx. 29; and, for the real meaning of the expression, see 2 Chr. xvii. 10, where the full phrase is used —"all the kingdoms of the lands *that were round about Judah*"—the kingdoms, *i. e.* of Moab, Ammon, Damascus, Zobah, &c. Some account of these kingdoms would necessarily have been given in any history of David's reign.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE

CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The solemn offering of Solomon at Gibeon.* 7 *Solomon's choice of wisdom is blessed by God.* 13 *Solomon's strength and wealth.*

[a] 1 Kin. 2. 46. AND [a] Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and the LORD his God *was* with him, and magnified him exceedingly.

2 Then Solomon spake unto all Israel, to the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and to the judges, and to every governor in all Israel, the chief of the fathers.

3 So Solomon, and all the congregation with him, went to the high place that *was* at [b] Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses the servant of the LORD had made in the wilderness.

[b] 1 Kin. 3. 4. 1 Chr. 16. 39. & 21. 29.

4 [c] But the ark of God had David brought up from Kirjath-jearim to *the place which* David had prepared for it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Jerusalem.

[c] 2 Sam. 6. 2, 17.

5 Moreover [d] the brasen altar, that Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, [1] he put before the

[d] Ex. 38. 1.

[1] Or, was *there.*

CHAP. I. 1. *Solomon . . . was strengthened.*] This is a favourite expression with the writer of Chronicles. It recurs in chs. xii. 13; xiii. 21; and xxi. 4. The meaning seems to be simply, "he became firmly settled in his government." Compare 1 K. ii. 12 and 46.

his God was with him.] Compare 1 Chr. xi. 9; and see also Gen. xxxix. 2; Ex. iii. 12; Josh. i. 5; 2 Chr. xv. 9; &c.

magnified him exceedingly.] The same expression occurs a few verses earlier. (1 Chr. xxix. 25.)

2-7. The narrative here corresponds with 1 K. iii. 4; but is very much fuller. We learn from the present passage, (1) that Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon was a great public festivity, to which he collected vast numbers of the people; (2) that it was made upon the brazen altar of Bezaleel, which (3) stood before the tabernacle; and (4) that Solomon's vision was on the night of his sacrifice.

captains of thousands and of hundreds.] See 1 Chr. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 1.

judges.] David had made 6000 Levites "officers and judges" (1 Chr. xxiii. 4). The "judge" among the Israelites was always regarded as a high functionary, whose presence was desirable on all occasions of importance.

governor.] Rather "prince," or "man of rank."

the chief of the fathers.] The Jewish system was still so far patriarchal that the heads of families continued to have a recognised *status*, if they had no longer any special civil functions. The tendency of the monarchical government was to supersede such persons in their functions by officers receiving their appointment from the crown and removable at pleasure; but, although this had taken place to a very great extent, the chiefs of families retained their rank and eminence, formed a portion of the court (1 Chr. xxvii. 1), and had their place at great public ceremonies. (Compare 1 K. viii. 1.)

3. *Gibeon.*] See note on 1 K. iii. 4.

there was the tabernacle.] See above, 1 Chr. xvi. 39; xxi. 29.

4. *But the ark of God.*] The separation of the ark of the covenant from the tabernacle and altar, and the consequent existence for a time of two centres of worship, is felt by the writer of Chronicles to be strangely abnormal, and to require, consequently, clear and repeated notice, in order that his readers may distinctly apprehend it. It was the more necessary that he should be explicit on the point as the writer of Kings had implied rather than expressly mentioned it. (1 K. iii. 4-15.)

he had pitched a tent for it.] See above, 1 Chr. xv. 1.

5. *The brasen altar.*] Compare Ex. xxvii. 1-8; xxxviii. 1-7.

Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur.] So in Ex. xxxi. 2, and xxxv. 30. Bezaleel's full

tabernacle of the LORD: and Solomon and the congregation sought unto it.

6 And Solomon went up thither to the brasen altar before the LORD, which *was* at the tabernacle of the congregation, and offered a thousand burnt offerings upon it.

7 ¶ In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said unto him, Ask what I shall give thee.

8 And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast shewed great mercy unto David my father, and hast made me [e] to reign in his stead.

9 Now, O LORD God, let thy promise unto David my father be established: [f] for thou hast made me king over a people [†] like the dust of the earth in multitude.

10 [g] Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may [h] go out and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, *that is so* great?

11 And God said to Solomon, Because this was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth, or honour, nor the life of thine enemies, neither yet hast asked long life; but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my

[e] 1 Chr. 28. 5.

[f] 1 Kin. 3. 9.

[†] Heb. *much as the dust of the earth.*

[g] 1 Kin. 3. 11, 12.

[h] Num. 27. 17.

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genealogy is given in [*] 1 Chr. ii. 3-20. His grandfather, Hur, was the son of Caleb, who was the son of Hezron, who was the son of Pharez, one of Judah's sons by Tamar, his daughter-in-law.

he put.] Or, "was there" (marg.). It is doubtful whether the true reading here is *sham* or *sam*. The latter (which means "he put") is supported by the Syriac version, and is the reading of most MSS. But the former, which is followed in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, yields the best sense, and is preferred by most critics. The proper place for the altar of burnt-offering was in front of the tabernacle. (Ex. xl. 6.)

sought unto it.] *I. e.* "frequented it"—"were in the habit of making use of it."

7. *In that night.*] In the night which followed the conclusion of the sacrifice.

did God appear.] The verbal differences between this whole passage and the corresponding one of Kings (1 K. iii. 5-15) are very considerable, and indicate the general truth that the *ipsissima verba* of speakers are not what the sacred historians desire to report, or what they intend us to imagine that they aim at reporting. It is their object to give a true account of the real bearing of what was said: not ordinarily to furnish us with the exact words that were uttered. Moreover, as they study brevity, they will frequently omit even what seem to us important portions of speeches—and where two writers record the same scenes, each will commonly omit certain points which the other supplies. Here the most important point omitted in Chronicles, and supplied by Kings, is the *conditional* promise of long life made to Solomon (1 K. iii. 14); while the chief point absent from Kings, and recorded by our author, is the solemn appeal made by Solomon to the promise of God to David his father (verse 9), which he now called upon God to "establish," or perform. (See the next note.)

9. *Let thy promise be established.*] It may be asked—Is the allusion here to any one particular promise made by God to David, or only to the general tenor of God's gracious assurances to him in respect of Solomon? The close connection which evidently exists between this verse and the next, indicated by the emphatic repetition of the same word at the commencement of each—"*Now*, O Lord God, let thy word be true—*Now* give me wisdom and knowledge"—seems to imply that some special promise had been made to David that his successor should be wise, and able to judge the people, and that the allusion here is to a promise of that kind. Now, though we have no express record of any such promise having been formally made, we have in the 72nd Psalm what amounts to nearly the same. Although that psalm is undoubtedly Messianic, yet its primary subject is Solomon. It is a prayer for him, but not merely a prayer. Prayer in it rises into prophecy. David, speaking in the spirit, exclaims: "*He shall judge* thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgment. . . . *He shall judge* the poor of the people, *he shall save* the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor. . . . *He shall deliver* the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. *He shall spare* the poor and needy, and *shall save* the souls of the needy. He *shall redeem* their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sight." (Verses 2, 4, 12, 13, 14.) May we not understand Solomon in this place as calling upon God to make good this prophecy, to "establish" this implied "promise"?

people, over whom I have made thee king:

12 Wisdom and knowledge *is* granted unto thee; and I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour, such as none of the kings have had that *have been* before thee, neither shall there any after thee have the like.

13 ¶ Then Solomon came *from his journey* to the high place that *was* at Gibeon to Jerusalem, from before the tabernacle of the congregation, and reigned over Israel.

14 And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem.

15 And the king made silver and gold at Jerusalem *as plenteous* as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycomore trees that *are* in the vale for abundance.

16 And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price.

17 And they fetched up, and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so brought they out *horses* for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, *by their means*.

12. *I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour.*] Remark that the writer says nothing of any promise to Solomon of "long life," which, however, had been mentioned in the preceding verse among the blessings which he might have been expected to ask. The reason for the omission would seem to lie in the writer's desire to record only what is good of this great king. Long life was included in the promises made to him (1 K. iii. 14); but it was granted conditionally; and Solomon not fulfilling the conditions, it did not take effect. (See note on 1 K. l. s. c.)

13. *Then Solomon came from his journey to the high place.*] There is a corrupt reading here in the Hebrew text, which our translators have sought to neutralise by imagining an ellipse. It is best to correct the text, and then simply to translate: "And Solomon came from the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem." (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

14-17. This passage is very nearly identical with 1 K. x. 26-29. The only difference of any importance is the addition here (in verse 15) of the words "and gold," which do not occur in 1 K. x. 27. The touch thus added is characteristic of the writer of Chronicles, who is more rhetorical and more bold in his use of *hyperbole* than the author of Kings.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 13. "Then Solomon came."

For לִבְמָה, "*to* the high place," we must necessarily read here מִבְּמָה, "*from* the high place." (So Houbigant, Maurer, and Bertheau.) Such an ellipse as that supposed in our version is contrary to the Hebrew idiom; and the theory that ל may mean "from," as well as "to" (Patrick), is quite untenable.

CHAPTER II.

1, 17 Solomon's labourers for the building of the temple. 3 His embassage to Huram for workmen and provision of stuff. 11 Huram sendeth him a kind answer.

AND Solomon determined to build an house for the name of the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.

2 And Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand men to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand to hew in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred to oversee them.

‖ Or, *Hiram*, 1 Kin. 5. 1.

3 ¶ And Solomon sent to ‖Huram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him an house to dwell therein, *even so deal with me.*

4 Behold, I build an house to the name of the LORD my God, to dedicate *it* to him, *and* to burn before him †sweet incense, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feasts of the LORD our God. This *is an ordinance* for ever to Israel.

† Heb. *incense of spices.*

5 And the house which I build *is*

CHAP. II. 1. *And Solomon determined to build.*] Rather, "And Solomon **commanded that they should** build."

an house for the name of the Lord.] See above, 1 Chr. xxii. 10, and compare 1 K. v. 5. The "name of God" in Scripture is nearly equivalent to the presence of God. God is in His name; and what is done to or for His name is done to Him. (See the Psalms, passim.)

an house for his kingdom.] *I.e.* a palace. See below, vii. 11; viii. 1; and compare 1 K. vii. 1-12, where an account of the palace is given. The writer of Chronicles, while frequently mentioning the fact that Solomon erected such a building, gives us no account of its construction.

2. The substance of this verse is repeated in verse 18, where it occurs more appropriately than here. It is difficult to see why the statement, which has its proper place at the end of the chapter (compare 1 K. v. 1-16), should have been here partially anticipated.

told out.] *I.e.* "numbered." The verb used is the same as that translated "numbered" in verse 17.

3. *Solomon sent to Huram.*] Huram, the form used throughout Chronicles (except i. Chr. xiv. 1) for the name both of the king and of the artisan whom he lent to Solomon (infra, verse 13; iv. 11, 16), is a late corruption of the true native word, which appears to have been Hiram, as given in 1 K. vii. 40. (See Dius, Fr. 2, and Menander, Fr. 1, where the form used is Εἴρωμ-ος, and compare the Σίρωμος of Herodotus, vii. 98.) On the chronology of Hiram's reign, see note on 1 K. v. 1.

As thou didst deal.] Compare 1 Chr. xiv. 1, and 2 Sam. v. 11.

even so deal with me.] These words do not occur in the Hebrew text, but most commentators regard them as necessary to complete the sense, and supply them (as they say) from the context. Houbigant and Pool, however, observe—apparently with reason—that there is no need of supposing so violent an ellipse; that the sense is merely *suspended*, verses 4, 5, and 6 being interposed parenthetically, and the *apodosis* to the opening clause, "As thou didst deal with David my father, and send him cedars," occurring in verses 8 and 9—"Send me now also a man . . . and send me cedars."

4. *Sweet incense.*] Literally "incense of spices" (marg.). Compare Ex. xxx. 7, where the burning of such incense—every morning and evening—is commanded as a necessary part of the worship of Jehovah; and see verses 34-36 of the same chapter for the composition of the "incense of spices." The symbolical meaning of the rite is indicated in Rev. viii. 3, 4.

for the continual shewbread.] See Ex. xxv. 30; Lev. xxiv. 5-9; Num. iv. 7.

on the new moons.] It was commanded in the Law that the first day of each month should be kept holy. Special sacrifices were prescribed (Num. xxviii. 11-15); and the blowing of the silver trumpets was ordered (ib. x. 10). It appears from passages in the Prophets that the "new moons" were kept with much the same observances as the sabbaths; business was suspended (Am. viii. 5), and the people assembled in the temple for public worship. (Is. lxvi. 23; Ezek. xlvi. 3.)

the solemn feasts.] These are the three great annual festivals, the Passover, the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), and the Feast of Tabernacles. (Lev. xxiii. 4-44; Deut. xvi. 1-17.)

5. *The house which I build is great.*] Com-

great: for great *is* our God above all gods.

6 "But who †is able to build him an house, seeing the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain him? who *am* I then, that I should build him an house, save only to burn sacrifice before him?

7 Send me now therefore a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill †to grave with the cunning men that *are* with me in Judah and in Judæa, whom David my father did provide.

8 Send me also cedar trees, fir trees, and ‖algum trees, out of Leba-

" 1 Kin. 8. 27. ch. 6. 18.

† Heb. *hath retained*, or, *obtained strength.*

† Heb. *to grave gravings.*

‖ Or, *almuggim*, 1 Kin. 10. 11.

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pare 1 Chr. xxix. 1. It has been observed in the comment on Kings (1 K. vi. 2) that Solomon's temple was, according to our notions of size, a *small* building. It was "less than 120 feet long, and less than 35 feet broad"—in other words, it was not so large as one of the ordinary parish churches of our own land; much less did it approach to the size of the colossal buildings of Babylon or Egypt. But in Jewish eyes, at the time that it was built, it may have been "great," that is to say, it may have exceeded the dimensions of any single separate building existing in Palestine up to the time of its erection. It may even have exceeded the size of the buildings which the neighbouring nations had erected to their gods. Ancient worship was mainly in the open air; and temples were viewed as shrines for the Deity and his priests, not as buildings in which worshippers were to congregate. Hence their comparatively small size. (See some excellent remarks of Dean Stanley's on the small size of Solomon's temple in his 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. ii. p. 224.)

great is our God, &c.] Compare Ex. xviii. 11; Ps. xcv. 3; xcvii. 9; cxxxv. 5. This expression may seem inappropriate, as addressed to a heathen king, of whom a favour was being asked. But it appears from verse 12 that Hiram acknowledged Jehovah as the supreme deity, probably identifying him with his own Melkarth, and would, therefore, not be offended at Solomon's words.

6. *The heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain him.*] The same sentiment, expressed in almost exactly the same words, appears in Solomon's prayer of dedication. (1 K. viii. 27; 2 Chr. vi. 18.)

save only to burn sacrifice before him.] Solomon seems to mean that to build a temple can only be justified on the human—not on the divine—side. "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands"—cannot be confined to them—does in no sort need them. The sole reason for building a temple lies in the needs of man. Man is finite; his worship must be local; the sacrifices commanded in the Law had of necessity to be offered somewhere. Only in view of these necessities did Solomon venture to think of building God "a house."

7. *Send me now therefore a man.*] Here the author of Chronicles supplies definiteness to what was left obscure and vague in Kings (1 K. vii. 13), showing us that Solomon, in this his first embassy to Tyre, made an express request for a cunning artificer to be sent him—a request which King Hiram readily granted. (See verses 13 and 14.) On the general skill of the Phœnicians in the arts, see note on 1 K. v. 6.

in purple.] "Purple, crimson, and blue," would be needed for the hangings of the temple, which, in this respect, as in others, was conformed to the pattern of the tabernacle. (See Ex. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1; &c.) Hiram's power of "working in purple, crimson," &c. was probably a knowledge of the best modes of dyeing cloth these colours, not (as Keil imagines) a knowledge of weaving. The Phœnicians, off whose coast the *murex* was commonly taken, were famous as purple dyers from a very remote period, and, having commenced with the study of this dye, had probably gone on to the acquirement of perfection in the art generally.

crimson.] *Karmil*, the word here and elsewhere translated "crimson," is peculiar to Chronicles. Gesenius regards it as Persian; but this is very doubtful. *Kermes* appears to have been from very ancient times the *Arabic* name of the insect from which the famous red dye of Persia and India has always been obtained, the dye known to the Greeks as κόκκος, and to the Romans as *coccum*, or *granum*. There can be little doubt that this is the dye here intended; and thus our word "crimson" (derived from *kermes*) is an apt translation. Whether the "scarlet" (*shani*) of Exodus (xxv. 4; &c.) is the same red, or a different one, cannot be certainly determined.

blue.] Compare Ex. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1; &c.

cunning men . . . which David my father did provide.] See 1 Chr. xxii. 15; xxviii. 21.

8. *Algum trees, out of Lebanon.*] It is certainly not likely that the algum (or almug) wood, which it was worth while importing

non: for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon; and, behold, my servants *shall be* with thy servants,

9 Even to prepare me timber in abundance: for the house which I am about to build *shall be* †wonderful great.

† Heb. *great and wonderful.*

10 And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers that cut timber, twenty thousand measures of beaten wheat, and twenty thousand measures of barley, and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil.

11 ¶ Then Huram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the LORD hath loved his people, he hath made thee king over them.

12 Huram said moreover, Blessed *be* the LORD God of Israel, that

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from Ophir (1 K. x. 11), grew also in the Lebanon; but we need not, with Rosenmüller, suppose there is here an interpolation of the phrase "out of Lebanon." Solomon in the earlier part of his reign, before he engaged in commerce, may have easily imagined that the algum wood, which the Jews were in the habit of importing from Phœnicia, grew in that country.

thy servants can skill to cut timber.] See 1 K. v. 6, and note ad loc.

my servants.] See verse 18. Solomon employed 80,000 of his own subjects as woodcutters, who, no doubt, did the coarse work, while the finishing and all the finer work was executed by skilled Phœnicians.

9. *Wonderful great.*] Literally, "great and wonderful" (marg.); and so the LXX.—μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος. On the really moderate size of Solomon's temple, see note on verse 5.

10. *I will give to thy servants . . . twenty thousand measures.*] According to Kings, Solomon's original proposal was simply to pay Hiram's workmen for their labour, and it was at Hiram's suggestion that he commuted his proposed "hire" into an annual payment in kind. (See 1 K. v. 6, 9, 11.) It would seem therefore that the author of Chronicles here throws into one at least two distinct messages sent by Solomon to Hiram.

beaten wheat.] The Hebrew text is probably corrupt here. (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.) The true original may be restored from 1 K. v. 11, where the wheat is said to have been given "for food." Compare the Septuagint—εἰς βρώματα δέδωκα σῖτον.

barley . . . wine.] The barley and the wine are omitted in Kings. Some commentators (as J. H. Michaelis, Schulz, and Keil) explain the difference in this respect, and in the number of the measures of oil (see the next note), by supposing that two entirely different transactions are referred to by the two writers. But it is perhaps better to regard the author of Chronicles as filling out the statement which the writer of Kings has given in brief; and to gather from the two passages combined that the return which Solomon made for the timber and the services of the Phœnician workmen consisted of 20,000 cors of wheat, 20,000 cors of barley, 20,000 baths of wine, and 20,000 baths of oil, 200 of which (= 20 cors) were of the finest "beaten" oil. The wheat and the fine oil were consumed by the court; the barley, wine, and ordinary oil were applied to the sustenance of the foreign labourers.

11. *Huram . . . answered.*] Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' viii. 2) and Eupolemus (ap. Euseb. 'Præp. Ev.' ix. 33, 34) professed to give Greek versions of the correspondence, which (they said) had taken place between Hiram and Solomon. No value attaches to these letters, which are evidently forgeries.

in writing.] It seems to be implied that Solomon's communications had not been "in writing." Oriental monarchs, even at the present day, communicate mainly by accredited messengers. Autograph letters from king to king are rare.

Because the Lord hath loved his people.] Compare the address of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon (1 K. x. 9; 2 Chr. ix. 8), where nearly the same phrase is used. It would seem that the neighbouring sovereigns, in their communications with the Jewish monarchs, adopted the Jewish name for the Supreme Being (Jehovah, "the LORD" of our version), either identifying him with their own chief god or (sometimes) meaning merely to acknowledge him as the special god of the Jewish nation and country. In Hiram's case the acknowledgment seems to be of the former kind. (See the next verse.)

12. *The Lord . . . that made heaven and earth.*] This appears to have been a formula designating the Supreme God with several of the Asiatic nations. In the Persian inscriptions Ormazd is constantly called "the great God, who gave" (or made) "heaven and earth."

made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, †endued with prudence and understanding, that might build an house for the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.

† Heb. *knowing prudence and understanding.*

13 And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my father's,

14 The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father *was* a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David thy father.

15 Now therefore the wheat, and the barley, the oil, and the wine, which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants:

16 And we will cut wood out of Lebanon, †as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in flotes by sea to †Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem.

† Heb. *according to all thy need.*

† Heb. *Japho.*

17 ¶ [a]And Solomon numbered all

[a] As ver. 2.

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13. *Of Huram my father's.*] It is generally agreed that this is a wrong translation, and that the name, Huram, designates in this place the workman sent by the King of Tyre and not the King of Tyre's father. The King of Tyre's father appears to have been named Abibaal (see note on 1 K. v. 1); while that Hiram (or Huram) was the name of the workman is certain from 1 K. vii. 13, 40, and 2 Chr. iv. 11. The *lamed* prefixed to Huram here must be a mere sign of the accusative (Bertheau, Pool). With respect to the word *abi*, which follows Huram, it is now commonly thought that it is either a proper name (Beck, Geddes, Dathe) or an epithet of honour (Bertheau, Stanley) attached to the word Huram, and grammatically in apposition with it. Translate—"I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, one **Huram, my master-workman.**" (Compare below, ch. iv. 16.)

14. *The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan.*] See note on 1 K. vii. 14.

a man of Tyre.] It is most natural to take this as meaning a Tyrian by race; but the term might perhaps designate a naturalised citizen of the great Phœnician capital. Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' viii. 3, § 4) and the Jews generally maintain that Huram's father was an Israelite by birth. The words in the text are patient, but not ambitious, of this interpretation.

skilful to work.] These words, and all the remainder of the verse, must be taken to apply to Huram himself, not to his father.

in stone and in timber . . . and in fine linen.] Huram was skilled even beyond the demands of Solomon. (See verse 7.) He could work in stone, in wood, and in fine linen, as well as in gold, silver, brass, iron, purple, crimson, and blue. The combination of all this artistic skill in one man seems strange to our modern notions; but the history of art furnishes numerous instances of versatility almost as great. Theodore the Samian, for instance, was an architect, a caster of works in bronze, an engraver of signets, and a maker of minute works in the precious metals. Michael Angelo was a painter, a sculptor, an architect, and a worker in bronze. In the earlier period of art in a country the division of labour which afterwards prevails is unknown, or, at any rate, unpractised. (Compare Ex. xxxi. 2-5.)

to find out every device.] The same words occur in Ex. xxxi. 4, and are there translated, "to devise cunning works." The LXX. give in that place ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι, "to act as chief artificer," "to be the director of works." There can be no doubt that the "devices" intended are plans or designs connected with art, which Huram could invent on any subject that was "put to him."

15. *My lord.*] This term must be regarded here as one of extreme politeness, not as intended to imply a subordination of the Tyrian to the Jewish sovereign. (Compare Gen. xxxii. 4, 5, 18; xlii. 10; 2 K. viii. 12; &c.)

hath spoken of.] See above, verse 10.

16. *To Joppa.*] Joppa (Heb. *Japho*, now *Jaffa*), which has not been mentioned in the history since the division of the Holy Land among the tribes of Israel (Josh. xix. 46), appears here for the first time as an important port. It retains this character through the remainder of the Old Testament history (Jonah i. 3; Ezr. iii. 7), though the harbour is, according to modern notions, a bad one. It is the natural port of Jerusalem, from which it is distant less than 35 miles.

17. *Solomon numbered all the strangers.*] "The strangers" are the non-Israelite population of the Holy Land, the descendants

† Heb. *the men the strangers.*

† the strangers that *were* in the land of Israel, after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered them; and they were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three thousand and six hundred.

18 And he set [b] threescore and ten thousand of them *to be* bearers of burdens, and fourscore thousand *to be* hewers in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people a work.

[b] As it is ver. 2.

(chiefly) of those Canaanites whom the children of Israel did not drive out. (See Judg. i. 21-36; 1 K. ix. 20.)

after the numbering wherewith David . . had numbered them.] On this "numbering" by David, see 1 Chr. xxii. 2, and note ad loc. The reimposition of the bond-service imposed on the Canaanites at the time of the conquest (Judg. i. 28, 30, 33, 35), but discontinued in the period of depression between Joshua and Saul, was (it is clear) due to David, whom Solomon merely imitated in the arrangements described in these verses.

18. *Three thousand and six hundred overseers.*] On the apparent discrepancy between these numbers and those of 1 K. v. 16, see the note on that passage.

to set the people a work.] Or, "to set the people *to* work"—*i.e.* to compel them to labour. Probably, like the Egyptian and Assyrian overseers of forced labour, these officers carried whips or sticks, wherewith they quickened the movements of the sluggish. (Ex. ii. 11; Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. ii. p. 99; Layard, 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 110.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 10. "Beaten wheat."

For חִטִּים מכוּת, the true reading is, undoubtedly, that of 1 K. v. 11, חִטִּים מִכְלֹת, "wheat for food." The difference is merely the accidental substitution of a ו for a ל.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The place, and time of building the temple.*
3 *The measure and ornaments of the house.*
11 *The cherubims.* 14 *The vail and pillars.*

[c] 1 Kin. 6. 1, &c.

THEN [c] Solomon began to build the house of the LORD at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, ‖ where *the* LORD appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshingfloor of ‖ Ornan the Jebusite.

‖ Or, *which was seen of David his father.*

‖ Or, *Araunah,* 2 Sam. 24. 18. 1 Chr. 21. 18.

2 And he began to build in the second *day* of the second month, in the fourth year of his reign.

CHAP. III. 1. *Moriah.*] See note on Gen. xxii. 2.

where the Lord appeared unto David.] This is beyond all doubt a mistranslation. The rendering, "which was seen of David" (marg.), is grammatically correct, but fails to give the real force of the original. Translate "**which was shown** to David his father;" and understand by the expression the pointing out of the place to David as the proper site for the temple by the appearance of the angels and the command to build an altar there, as related in 2 Sam. xxiv. 17-25; 1 Chr. xxi. 16-26.

in the place that David had prepared.] This seems to be the true meaning of the passage, though the order of the words in the original has been accidentally deranged. (See Additional Note A at the end of the chapter.) The "preparation" spoken of is that recorded in 1 Chr. xxii. 1-5.

the threshingfloor of Ornan.] See 2 Sam. xxiv. 18; 1 Chr. xxi. 18.

2. *In the second day.*] There is no "day" in the original; and though some modern critics, as De Wette, still think that that word should be supplied, the majority regard the passage as corrupt, and would omit the word translated "in the second." The verse would then run thus: "And he began to build in the second month in the fourth year of his reign." (Compare 1 K. vi. 1.) The word, which it is proposed to omit, is absent from some MSS., and is omitted by the LXX., the Vulgate, the Syriac, and the Arabic versions.

3 ¶ Now these *are the things* *wherein* [d] Solomon was [†] instructed for the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure *was* threescore cubits, and the breadth twenty cubits.

[d] 1 Kin. 6. 2.
[†] Heb. *founded.*

4 And the [e] porch that *was* in the front *of the house*, the length *of it was* according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the height *was* an hundred and twenty: and he overlaid it within with pure gold.

[e] 1 Kin. 6. 3.

5 And the greater house he cieled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm trees and chains.

6 And he [†] garnished the house with precious stones for beauty: and the gold *was* gold of Parvaim.

[†] Heb. *covered.*

7 He overlaid also the house, the

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3. *Now these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed.*] The marginal "founded" gives a clue to the true meaning of this passage, which should be translated: "Now **this is the ground-plan** of Solomon for the building of the house of God."

cubits after the first measure.] *I. e.* cubits according to the ancient standard. The Jews, it is probable, adopted the Babylonian measures during the Captivity, and carried them back into their own country. The writer notes that the cubit of which he here speaks is the old (Mosaic) cubit.

threescore cubits . . . twenty cubits.] Compare 1 K. vi. 2.

4. *And the height was an hundred and twenty.*] This height, which so much exceeds that of the main building (1 K. vi. 2: "And the height thereof *thirty* cubits"), is very surprising in itself; and it is still more surprising that so remarkable a feature of the building, if really existent, should not have been noticed in Kings. The probabilities of the case, taken by themselves, are thus quite enough to raise a suspicion that the text is unsound. This suspicion rises into certainty when we find—1. That the MSS. have a variant reading in the place; 2. That the Arabic version and the Alexandrian Septuagint give 20 for 120; and 3. That it is not the habit of the sacred writers, when speaking of measures, to omit the name of the measure, however often they may have to repeat it. (See especially 1 K. vi. 2, 3, 6, 20, &c., and Ezek. xli. 2-5, 8-15.) The true reading may be restored beyond any reasonable doubt; and the clause will then run thus—"And the height was twenty cubits." (See Additional Note B at the end of the chapter.)

he overlaid it within with pure gold.] See 1 K. vi. 22.

5. *The greater house.*] *I. e.* the Holy Place, or main chamber of the temple, intervening between the porch and the Holy of Holies.

he cieled with fir tree.] Rather, "he **covered**," or "**lined**." The reference is not to the ceiling, which was entirely of wood, but to the walls and floor, which were of stone, with a covering of planks. (See 1 K. vi. 15, 18.) The word translated "fir" here (*bĕrôsh*) bears probably in this place, not the narrow meaning which it has in ch. ii. 8, where it is opposed to cedar (*'erez*), but a wider one, in which cedar is included. From 1 K. vi. 15 it appears that the walls of the Holy Place were boarded with *'erez* (cedar), while the floor was of *bĕrôsh* (fir or juniper).

set thereon palm trees and chains.] The ornamentation of the temple walls with palm trees is noticed in 1 K. vi. 29. "Chains" (*sharshĕrôth*) are not there mentioned. Bertheau supposes that by *sharshĕrôth* garlands or festoons—common enough in the wall-ornamentation of the Greeks—are intended.

6. *And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty.*] These "precious stones" have been supposed to be (1) marbles, with which the house was paved (Vulgate, Houbigant); (2) common stones specially well cut and polished (Patrick); (3) precious stones, in the ordinary sense, *i. e.* gems, which it is supposed were used in the ornamentation of the walls here and there (Bertheau). A comparison of the passage with 1 Chr. xxix. 2 will make it tolerably clear that this last is the true sense. The phrase translated "for beauty" means "for its beautification," "**to beautify it.**"

gold of Parvaim.] The word "Parvaim" does not occur elsewhere in Scripture. It has generally been taken for the name of a place; and this is probably correct; but what place is quite uncertain. Some suppose Parvaim to be a variant form of Ophir; others take it to be a corruption of Sepharvaim; a few see in it the word Peru; many take it to be Taprobané (or Ceylon); while some make the very improbable suggestion that it means "the East"—from the Sanskrit *pûrva*, "eastern." No one of these explanations is altogether satisfactory.

7. *He overlaid also the house, &c.*] This verse is exegetical of verse 5. The "house" spoken of is still the Holy Place, or great chamber of the temple. The special object of the writer here is to explain, that not

beams, the posts, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof, with gold; and graved cherubims on the walls.

8 And he made the most holy house, the length whereof *was* according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits: and he overlaid it with fine gold, *amounting* to six hundred talents.

9 And the weight of the nails *was* fifty shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper chambers with gold.

10 And in the most holy house he made two cherubims [1]of image work, and overlaid them with gold.

11 ¶ And the wings of the cherubims *were* twenty cubits long: one wing *of the one cherub was* five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house: and the other wing *was likewise* five cubits, reaching to the wing of the other cherub.

12 And *one* wing of the other cherub *was* five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house: and the other wing *was* five cubits *also*, joining to the wing of the other cherub.

13 The wings of these cherubims spread themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their feet, and their faces *were* [2]inward.

14 ¶ And he made the [3]vail *of* blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine linen, and [4]wrought cherubims thereon.

[1] Or, (as some think) *of moveable work.*

[2] Or, *toward the house.*

[3] Matt. 27. 51.

[4] Heb. *caused to ascend.*

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only was the chamber generally decorated with gold, but that the *whole* of it—"beams, posts, walls, and doors"—had the same costly covering.

cherubims on the walls.] This is an addition to verse 5, where only "palm trees and chains" (or chaplets) were mentioned. On the adornment by cherubims, see 1 K. vi. 29.

8. *The most holy house.*] *I.e.* the sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. On its dimensions, see 1 K. vi. 20.

six hundred talents.] Here we have one of the many "important small additions" which the writer of Chronicles habitually makes to the narrative of the Book of Kings. (See Introduction, § 5.) On the probable value of 600 gold talents, see note on 1 K. x. 14.

9. *The upper chambers.*] These had been mentioned by the writer in his account of the instructions concerning the building of the temple which Solomon received from David. (1 Chr. xxviii. 11.) Their position, is uncertain. Bertheau places them above the Holy of Holies, which was ten cubits, or fifteen feet lower than the main building (compare 1 K. vi. 2 with 20), and which might, therefore, easily have had one or more chambers over it. Mr. Fergusson, accepting the reading of verse 4, which makes the height of the porch 120 cubits, regards the "upper chambers," or "chamber" (τὸ ὑπερῷον, LXX.), as having been a lofty building erected over the entrance to the temple. Another suggestion is that the chambers intended are simply the uppermost of the three sets of chambers which on three sides surrounded the temple. (See 1 K. vi. 5-10.) This last explanation would seem to be the simplest and best, though it must be admitted that we cannot see any reason for the rich ornamentation of these apartments, or for special directions having been given by David concerning them.

10. *Two cherubims of image work.*] The word here translated by "image work," or, in the margin, by "moveable work," occurs only in this passage, and has not even a Hebrew derivation. Some have suspected a corrupt reading (see Additional Note C at the end of the chapter), but the word is almost too strange a one for a copyist to have written by mistake. Modern Hebraists (Gesenius, Lee, Bertheau) find an Arabic derivation, and explain the word to mean "carved work."

11, 12. *The wings of the cherubims.*] Compare 1 K. vi. 24-27.

13. *Their faces were inward.*] Literally, "their faces were **towards the house**" (marg.). Instead of looking towards one another, with heads bent downward over the mercy-seat, like the cherubs of Moses (Ex. xxxvii. 9), these of Solomon looked out from the sanctuary into the great chamber, here, as elsewhere often, called κατ' ἐξοχήν "*the* house." The cherubs thus stood upright on either side of the ark, like two sentinels guarding it.

14. *And he made the vail.*] This is an important addition to the description in Kings, where the vail is not mentioned.

of blue, &c.] *I.e.* of exactly the same colours as the vail of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 31).

and wrought cherubims.] Literally, "and *caused to ascend* cherubims" (marg.). The same expression occurs in verse 5, with respect to the palm trees and festoons on the walls of the temple. The words "set thereon" fairly give the meaning.

15 Also he made before the house [e] two pillars of thirty and five cubits [†] high, and the chapiter that *was* on the top of each of them *was* five cubits.

16 And he made chains, *as* in the oracle, and put *them* on the heads of the pillars; and made an hundred pomegranates, and put *them* on the chains.

17 And he [h] reared up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand, and the other on the left; and called the name of that on the right hand [‖] Jachin, and the name of that on the left [‖] Boaz.

[e] 1 Kin. 7. 15. Jer. 52. 21.
[†] Heb. *long.*
[h] 1 Kin. 7. 21.
[‖] That is, *He shall establish.*
[‖] That is, *In it is strength.*

15. *Two pillars of thirty and five cubits.*] On the apparent discrepancy between this statement and the dimensions given in 1 K. vii. (which are confirmed by Jer. lii. 21, 22), see note on 1 K. vii. 15. If the explanation there given does not seem quite satisfactory, we may suppose (with Houbigant, Thenius, Bertheau, and others) that there has been a corruption of the number in the present passage, in consequence of the resemblance between the Hebrew signs for 18 and 35. (See Additional Note D at the end of the chapter.)

16. *Chains.*] *I.e.* chaplets, as in verse 5.

as in the oracle.] This passage is probably corrupt. Our translators appear to have supposed that a single letter had fallen out at the beginning of the word translated "in the oracle;" and, supplying this, they rendered "*as* in the oracle." But it is a strong objection to this view that the writer has said nothing of any "chains" or "festoons" in the "oracle" or most holy place, and that we have no reason to suppose there were any. The change of reading proposed by Bertheau, which gives the sense, "and he made chains *in a ring*," is better, but, being unsupported by any parallel passage, cannot claim to be more than an ingenious conjecture. (See Additional Note E at the end of the chapter.)

an hundred pomegranates.] See note on 1 K. vii. 20.

17. *He reared up the pillars before the temple.*] On the doubt concerning the position of the pillars, see note on 1 K. vii. 15; and on their names, see note on 1 K. vii. 21.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 1, 4, 10, 15, and 16.

NOTE A, on verse 1. "In the place that David had prepared."

For אשר הכין במקום דויד, read במקום אשר הכין דויד.

NOTE B, on verse 4. "And the height was an hundred and twenty."

The true reading here is almost certainly והגבה אמות עשרים; which has been corrupted into והגבה מאה ועשרים. There is nothing surprising in the porch being ten cubits lower than the main building.

NOTE C, on verse 10. "Image work."

The strange word צעצעים is thought by some to have grown out of an original reading, עצים, "of wood"—which was the material of the cherubim, according to 1 K. vi. 23.

NOTE D, on verse 15. "Thirty and five cubits."

The Hebrews expressed eighteen by יח, thirty-five by לה.

NOTE E, on verse 16. "As in the oracle."

For בדביר, in this place, Bertheau would read ברביד, "in a ring," so as to go all round the pillar, as a necklace round the neck. (Compare Gen. xli. 42; Ezek. xvi. 11.) But we have no other instance of this expression, used architecturally.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The altar of brass.* 2 *The molten sea upon twelve oxen.* 6 *The ten lavers, candlesticks, and tables.* 9 *The courts, and the instruments of brass.* 19 *The instruments of gold.*

MOREOVER he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof.

[i] 2 ¶ [i] Also he made a molten sea of ten cubits [†] from brim to brim, round in compass, and five cubits the height thereof; and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about.

[i] 1 Kin. 7. 23, &c.
[†] Heb. *from his brim to his brim.*

[k] 3 [k] And under it *was* the similitude of oxen, which did compass it round about: ten in a cubit, compassing the sea round about. Two rows of oxen *were* cast, when it was cast.

[k] 1 Kin. 7. 24.

4 It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea *was set* above upon them, and all their hinder parts *were* inward.

5 And the thickness of it *was* an handbreadth, and the brim of it like the work of the brim of a cup, [‖] with flowers of lilies; *and* it received and held three thousand baths.

[‖] Or, *like a lily flower.*

6 ¶ He made also ten lavers, and put five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them: [†] such things as they offered for the burnt offering they washed in them; but the sea *was* for the priests to wash in.

[†] Heb. *the work of burnt offering.*

7 And he made ten candlesticks of gold according to their form, and set *them* in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.

8 He made also ten tables, and placed *them* in the temple, five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made an hundred [‖] basons of gold.

[‖] Or, *bowls.*

9 ¶ Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and

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CHAP. IV. 1. *Moreover he made an altar.*] Here the supplementary character of Chronicles (Παραλειπόμενα) is once more apparent. The author of Kings, while mentioning from time to time the existence of the brazen altar (1 K. viii. 22, 64; ix. 25; &c.), had omitted to record its construction and dimensions. The place of this altar was in the great court, as is evident from 2 Chr. vi. 12, 13.

2. This verse is identical, except in the addition of one letter, with 1 K. vii. 23.

3. *The similitude of oxen.*] For "oxen" we find in 1 K. vii. 24, "knops" or "gourds." It has been supposed (Patrick) that the ball-ornament called by the writer of Kings a "gourd" might have had the figure of an ox stamped upon it. But this is not very probable. It is far more likely that an early copyist, not comprehending the comparatively rare word here used for "gourd," and expecting to hear of oxen, as soon as the molten sea was mentioned, changed the reading. (See Additional Note A at the end of the chapter.) For the real nature and arrangement of this ornament, see note on 1 K. vii. 24.

4, 5. The exact words of Kings are again used in these two verses, until the last clause of verse 5. (See 1 K. vii. 25, 26.)

5. *With flowers of lilies.*] The marginal rendering, "like a lily flower," is preferable.

it received and held three thousand baths.] For this, we have in Kings, "it held two thousand baths." A mode of reconciling the two statements is suggested in a note on 1 K. vii. 23. But it is quite possible that either here or in Kings the text may have been accidentally corrupted. (See Additional Note B at the end of the chapter.)

6. *He made . . . ten lavers.*] Compare 1 K. vii. 38. The writer of Chronicles *adds* the special uses of the lavers and of the sea.

7. *Ten candlesticks of gold.*] Compare 1 K. vii. 49. The candlesticks were made, no doubt, after the pattern of the original candlestick of Moses; for the form of which see note on Ex. xxv. 31.

according to their form.] Rather, "after their manner," an abbreviated phrase intended to express what is more fully stated in verse 20—"that they should burn *after the manner* before the oracle." There is no allusion to the shape of the candlesticks.

8. *Ten tables.*] Compare infra, verse 19. The number of the tables, and again of the basons, is additional to the information contained in Kings.

9. *The court of the priests . . . the great court.*] On the two courts of the temple, see note on 1 K. vi. 36.

doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.

10 And he set the sea on the right side of the east end, over against the south.

11 And Huram made the pots, and the shovels, and the ‖basons. And Huram †finished the work that he was to make for king Solomon for the house of God;

12 *To wit*, the two pillars, and the pommels, and the chapiters *which were* on the top of the two pillars, and the two wreaths to cover the two pommels of the chapiters which *were* on the top of the pillars;

13 And four hundred pomegranates on the two wreaths; two rows of pomegranates on each wreath, to cover the two pommels of the chapiters which *were* †upon the pillars.

14 He made also bases, and ‖lavers made he upon the bases;

15 One sea, and twelve oxen under it.

16 The pots also, and the shovels, and the fleshhooks, and all their instruments, did Huram his father make to king Solomon for the house of the LORD of †bright brass.

17 In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the †clay ground between Succoth and Zeredathah.

18 Thus Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance: for the weight of the brass could not be found out.

19 ¶ And Solomon made all the vessels that *were for* the house of God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon the shewbread *was set*;

20 Moreover the candlesticks with their lamps, that they should burn after the manner before the oracle, of pure gold;

21 And the flowers, and the lamps, and the tongs, *made he of* gold, *and* that †perfect gold;

22 And the snuffers, and the ‖basons, and the spoons, and the censers, *of* pure gold: and the entry of the house, the inner doors thereof for the most holy *place*, and the doors of the house of the temple, *were of* gold.

‡ Or, *bowls.*
† Heb. *finished to make.*
† Heb. *upon the face.*
‖ Or, *caldrons.*
† Heb. *made bright*, or, *scoured.*
† Heb. *thicknesses of the ground.*
† Heb. *perfections of gold.*
‖ Or, *bowls.*

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10. This verse is identical with the last clause of 1 K. vii. 39; and the remainder of the chapter closely resembles 1 K. vii. 40-50. The few differences which occur will be noted in their places.

16. *The fleshhooks.*] In verse 11, and in 1 K. vii. 45, we have "basons" instead of "fleshhooks." The Hebrew words are nearly alike, and one or the other is probably a corrupt reading.

Huram his father.] Rather, "**Huram his master-workman.**" See note on ch. ii. 13.

17. *Zeredathah.*] This place is called "Zarthan" in 1 K. vii. 46. The writer of Chronicles probably uses the name which the place bore in his own day.

19. *The tables.*] In 1 K. vii. 48 a single table only is mentioned; and so in 2 Chr. xxix. 18. The apparent discrepancy is best reconciled by supposing that Solomon made ten similar tables, any one of which might be used for the shewbread; but that the bread was never placed on more than one table at a time. On the form of the shewbread table, see note on Ex. xxv. 23.

20. *After the manner.*] *I.e.* "according to the ordinary custom." The Law had commanded the burning of a light continually before the vail of the Holy of Holies (Ex. xxvii. 20, 21; Lev. xxiv. 2, 3); and the ordinance had, it appears, been constantly observed.

21. *The flowers, and the lamps, and the tongs.*] See note on 1 K. vii. 49.

22. *And the snuffers, &c.*] See note on 1 K. vii. 50.

and the entry of the house.] The text here must be corrected from the parallel passage of Kings (1 K. vii. 50), where the enumeration of the small articles made in gold for the temple is completed very naturally by a statement that "the *hinges*" of the doors were of this precious metal. It is far more likely that this is what the writer of Chronicles said than that he joined the doors with articles so incongruous as "snuffers, basons, spoons, and censers"—more especially as he had already mentioned (ch. iii. 7) in its proper place the overlaying of the doors with gold. (See Additional Note C at the end of the chapter.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 3, 5, and 22.

NOTE A, on verse 3. "The similitude of oxen."

In 1 K. vii. 24 we have פקעים, "knops" or "gourds," for בקרים, "oxen." It is evident that the one word may easily have been mistaken for the other.

NOTE B, on verse 5. "Three thousand baths."

Some suppose that שלשת, "three," has dropped out of the text in 1 K. vii. 26, on account of the similar word שושן, preceding. Others suggest that שלשת has been wrongly intruded here, the copyist's eye having gone back to verse 4.

NOTE C, on verse 22. "And the entry of the house."

For ופתח הבית ולתותיו should be read ופתות הבית לדלתותיו, and for ודלתי הבית should be read ולדלתי הבית.

CHAPTER V.

1 The dedicated treasures. 2 The solemn induction of the ark into the oracle. 11 God being praised giveth a visible sign of his favour.

THUS all the work that Solomon made for the house of the LORD was finished: [a] and Solomon brought in *all* the things that David his father had dedicated; and the silver, and the gold, and all the instruments, put he among the treasures of the house of God.

[a] 1 Kin. 7. 51.

[b] 1 Kin. 8. 1, &c.

2 ¶ [b] Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which *is* Zion.

3 Wherefore all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto the king in the feast which *was* in the seventh month.

4 And all the elders of Israel came; and the Levites took up the ark.

5 And they brought up the ark, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that *were* in the tabernacle, these did the priests *and* the Levites bring up.

6 Also king Solomon, and all the congregation of Israel that were assembled unto him before the ark, sacrificed sheep and oxen, which could not be told nor numbered for multitude.

7 And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the LORD unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy *place*, *even* under the wings of the cherubims:

8 For the cherubims spread forth *their* wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark and the staves thereof above.

CHAP. V. This chapter runs parallel with 1 K. vii. 51, and 1 K. viii. 1-11. It contains one important addition only to the narrative of Kings, namely, the account of the circumstances under which the manifestation of the Divine presence took place. (See verses 11-13.) In all the rest of the chapter the verbal agreement with Kings is very striking.

3. *In the feast which [was] in the seventh month.*] Literally, "which [was" or "is] the seventh month." In 1 K. viii. 2 we read "the feast *in the month Ethanim*, which is the seventh month." The words in italics have apparently fallen out here, and left the present text ungrammatical.

4. *The Levites took up the ark.*] In the corresponding passage of Kings (1 K. viii. 3) we read "and the *priests* took up the ark." That the priests brought the ark into its place is stated even in Chronicles (infra, verse 7). We must suppose therefore that the writer speaks loosely in the present passage, meaning by "Levites" such of the Levites as were also priests.

5. *The priests [and] the Levites.*] So 1 K. viii. 4. Several MSS. have the "and" in this passage, though the majority omit it. There can be little doubt that it ought to be inserted.

9 And they drew out the staves *of the ark*, that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle; but they were not seen without. And ‖there it is unto this day.

‖ Or, *they are there*, as 1 Kin. 8. 8.

10 *There was* nothing in the ark save the two tables which Moses [e]put *therein* at Horeb, ‖when the LORD made *a covenant* with the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt.

[e] Deut. 10. 2, 5.

‖ Or, *where*.

11 ¶ And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy *place:* (for all the priests *that were* †present were sanctified, *and* did not *then* wait by course:

† Heb. *found*.

12 [d]Also the Levites *which were* the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, *being* arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets:)

[d] 1 Chron. 25. 1.

13 It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers *were* as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the LORD; and when they lifted up *their* voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the LORD, *saying*, [e]For *he is* good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever: that *then* the house was filled with a cloud, *even* the house of the LORD;

[e] Ps. 136.

14 So that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD had filled the house of God.

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9. *The ends of the staves were seen from the ark.*] "From the ark" is probably a wrong reading, to be corrected from 1 K. viii. 8, where we read, "the ends of the staves were seen *from the holy place* before the oracle." Five MSS. have "from the holy place" in this passage.

there it is unto this day.] This also should be corrected from 1 Kings, where the phrase used is "there they (*i.e.* the staves) are unto this day." On the strangeness of the remark, which must have been copied by both writers from an author who lived before the Captivity, see note on 1 K. viii. 8.

10. *There was nothing in the ark.*] See note on 1 K. viii. 9.

11. *All the priests that were present.*] *I.e.* all those present *in Jerusalem* at the time.

did not then wait by course.] On the courses of the priests, see 1 Chr. xxiii. 6-23. For the daily service of the temple a single "course" of priests sufficed. In the grand ceremony of the bringing in of the ark all the priests who were at hand took part.

12. *The Levites which were the singers.*] See 1 Chr. xxv. 1-6.

arrayed in white linen.] Compare 1 Chr. xv. 27.

cymbals and psalteries and harps.] These were the proper instruments of the Levites who formed the temple choir (see 1 Chr. xv. 28; xvi. 5; xxv. 1 and 6); while trumpets seem to have been reserved for the priests. (See Num. x. 8; 1 Chr. xv. 24; xvi. 6; 2 Chr. vii. 6; xiii. 12, 14.)

13. *Saying, For he is good.*] Some suppose a special reference to Ps. cxxxvi., whereof this is the burthen. But the words quoted seem rather to have been, by themselves, a short formula of praise used on solemn occasions. (Compare ch. vii. 3, and Ezra iii. 11.)

even the house of the Lord.] On the uncertainty of the reading here, see Additional Note.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 13. "Even the house of the Lord."

These words, as they stand, are superfluous, since no other "house" could possibly occur to any reader. The LXX. have ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήσθη νεφέλης δόξης Κυρίου, whence it is thought that we may restore, as the true reading, ענן כבוד יהוה. The passage would then run thus—"The house was filled with a cloud of the glory of the LORD."

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Solomon, having blessed the people, blesseth God.* 12 *Solomon's prayer in the consecration of the temple, upon the brasen scaffold.*

f 1 Kin. 8. 12, &c.

THEN *f* said Solomon, The LORD hath said that he would dwell in

g Lev. 16. 2.

g thick darkness.

2 But I have built an house of habitation for thee, and a place for thy dwelling for ever.

3 And the king turned his face, and blessed the whole congregation of Israel: and all the congregation of Israel stood.

4 And he said, Blessed *be* the LORD God of Israel, who hath with his hands fulfilled *that* which he spake with his mouth to my father David, saying,

5 Since the day that I brought forth my people out of the land of Egypt I chose no city among all the tribes of Israel to build an house in, that my name might be there; neither chose I any man to be a ruler over my people Israel:

6 But I have chosen Jerusalem, that my name might be there; and have chosen David to be over my people Israel.

h 2 Sam. 7. 2. 1 Chr. 28. 2.

7 Now *h* it was in the heart of David my father to build an house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

8 But the LORD said to David my father, Forasmuch as it was in thine heart to build an house for my name, thou didst well in that it was in thine heart:

9 Notwithstanding thou shalt not build the house; but thy son which shall come forth out of thy loins, he shall build the house for my name.

10 The LORD therefore hath performed his word that he hath spoken: for I am risen up in the room of David my father, and am set on the throne of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built the house for the name of the LORD God of Israel.

11 And in it have I put the ark, wherein *is* the covenant of the LORD, that he made with the children of Israel.

12 ¶ And he stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands:

13 For Solomon had made a brasen scaffold, of five cubits † long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court: and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven,

† Heb. *the length thereof*, &c.

14 And said, O LORD God of Israel, *a* *there is* no God like thee in the heaven, nor in the earth; which keepest covenant, and *shewest* mercy unto thy servants, that walk before thee with all their hearts:

a Ex. 15. 11.

15 Thou which hast kept with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him; and spakest with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled *it* with thine hand, as *it is* this day.

b 2 Sam. 7. 12. 1 Kin. 2. 4. & 6. 12.

16 Now therefore, O LORD God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him, saying, *b* † There shall not fail thee a man in my sight

† Heb. *There shall not a man be cut off.*

CHAP. VI. The close parallelism between Kings and Chronicles continues through this chapter, which corresponds with 1 K. viii. 12-50 as far as verse 39; the only important variation, thus far, being the explanatory clause, verse 13, which is additional to the narrative in Kings.

1, 2. These two verses are identical with 1 K. viii. 12, 13, excepting in one word. For "I have surely built," the author of Chronicles has simply, "And I have built." The same near agreement—an agreement much nearer than the reader of the A. V. would suppose—is traceable throughout almost the whole chapter.

13. *Solomon had made a brasen scaffold.*] See note on 1 K. viii. 22.

kneeled down.] Compare 1 K. viii. 54.

to sit upon the throne of Israel; [c] yet so that thy children take heed to their way to walk in my law, as thou hast walked before me.

[c] Ps. 132. 12.

17 Now then, O LORD God of Israel, let thy word be verified, which thou hast spoken unto thy servant David.

18 But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? [d] behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!

[d] ch. 2. 6. Isai. 66. 1. Acts 7. 49.

19 Have respect therefore to the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and the prayer which thy servant prayeth before thee:

20 That thine eyes may be open upon this house day and night, upon the place whereof thou hast said that thou wouldest put thy name there; to hearken unto the prayer which thy servant prayeth ‖toward this place.

‖ Or, *in this place.*

21 Hearken therefore unto the supplications of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, which they shall †make toward this place: hear thou from thy dwelling place, *even* from heaven; and when thou hearest, forgive.

† Heb. *pray.*

22 ¶ If a man sin against his neighbour, †and an oath be laid upon him to make him swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house;

† Heb. *and he require an oath of him.*

23 Then hear thou from heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, by requiting the wicked, by recompensing his way upon his own head; and by justifying the righteous, by giving him according to his righteousness.

24 ¶ And if thy people Israel ‖be put to the worse before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee; and shall return and confess thy name, and pray and make supplication before thee ‖in this house;

‖ Or, *be smitten.*

‖ Or, *toward.*

25 Then hear thou from the heavens, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their fathers.

26 ¶ When the [e] heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; *yet* if they pray toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou dost afflict them;

[e] 1 Kin. 17. 1.

27 Then hear thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, when thou hast taught them the good way, wherein they should walk; and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given unto thy people for an inheritance.

28 ¶ If there [f] be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting, or mildew, locusts, or caterpillers; if their enemies besiege them †in the cities of their land; whatsoever sore or whatsoever sickness *there be:*

[f] ch. 20. 9.

† Heb. *in the land of their gates.*

29 *Then* what prayer *or* what supplication soever shall be made of any man, or of all thy people Israel, when every one shall know his own sore and his own grief, and shall spread forth his hands ‖in this house:

‖ Or, *toward this house.*

30 Then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive, and render unto every man according unto all his ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou only [g] knowest the hearts of the children of men:)

[g] 1 Chr. 28. 9.

31 That they may fear thee, to walk in thy ways, †so long as they live †in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

† Heb. *all the days which.*

† Heb. *upon the face of the land.*

32 ¶ Moreover concerning the stranger, [h] which is not of thy people Israel, but is come from a far country for thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy stretched out arm; if they come and pray in this house;

[h] John 12. 20. Acts 8. 27.

33 Then hear thou from the heavens, *even* from thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all

people of the earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as *doth* thy people Israel, and may know that † this house which I have built is called by thy name.

† Heb. *thy name is called upon this house.*

34 If thy people go out to war against their enemies by the way that thou shalt send them, and they pray unto thee toward this city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name;

35 Then hear thou from the heavens their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their ‖ cause.

‖ Or, *right.*

36 If they sin against thee, (for *there is* [i] no man which sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them over before *their* enemies, and † they carry them away captives unto a land far off or near;

[i] Prov. 20. 9. Eccles. 7. 21. James 3. 2. 1 John 1. 8.

† Heb. *they that take them captives carry them away.*

37 Yet *if* they † bethink themselves in the land whither they are carried captive, and turn and pray unto thee in the land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have done amiss, and have dealt wickedly;

† Heb. *bring back to their heart.*

38 If they return to thee with all their heart and with all their soul in the land of their captivity, whither they have carried them captives, and pray toward their land, which thou gavest unto their fathers, and *toward* the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name:

39 Then hear thou from the heavens, *even* from thy dwelling place, their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their ‖ cause, and forgive thy people which have sinned against thee.

‖ Or, *right.*

40 Now, my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open, and *let* thine ears *be* attent † unto the prayer *that is made* in this place.

† Heb. *to the prayer of this place.*

41 Now [k] therefore arise, O LORD God, into thy resting place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness.

[k] Ps. 132. 9.

42 O LORD God, turn not away the face of thine anointed: remember the mercies of David thy servant.

CHAPTER VII.

1 God having given testimony to Solomon's prayer by fire from heaven, and glory in the temple, the people worship him. 4 Solomon's solemn sacrifice. 8 Solomon having kept the feast of tabernacles, and the feast of the dedication of the altar, dismisseth the people. 12 God appearing to Solomon giveth him promises upon condition.

NOW [a] when Solomon had made an end of praying, the [b] fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the LORD filled the house.

[a] 1 Kin. 8. 54, &c. [b] Lev. 9. 24.

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40. *Now, my God.*] This and the next two verses are wanting in Kings, where a different conclusion takes their place. We must suppose that the document from which both writers copied contained the full prayer of dedication, which each gives us in a somewhat abbreviated form.

41. *Arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place.*] Here Solomon follows closely the words of David his father, spoken probably when he brought the ark into Jerusalem. See Ps. cxxxii. 8-10: "Arise, O Lord, into thy rest; thou, and the ark of thy strength. Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness; and let thy saints shout for joy. For thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of thine anointed." The "resting place" intended is, of course, the Holy of Holies.

42. *Turn not away the face of thine anointed.*] *I.e.* make him not to hide his face through shame at having his prayers rejected. (Compare 1 K. ii. 16, and see note ad loc.)

the mercies of David.] Some understand by this "the good deeds of David;" but Solomon most probably meant "God's mercies towards him." (Compare Ps. lxxxix. 2, 24, 28; and Is. lv. 3.)

CHAP. VII. 1. *The fire came down from heaven.*] As in the time of Moses on the dedication of the tabernacle (Lev. ix. 24). The omission of this fact from the narrative of Kings is undoubtedly a difficulty, insufficiently met by supposing that the author "might deem it superfluous to mention it expressly" (Keil). What it is important to bear in mind is—1. That omissions are not contradictions; and 2. That they occur con-

2 And the priests could not enter into the house of the LORD, because the glory of the LORD had filled the LORD's house.

3 And when all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the LORD upon the house, they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped, and praised the LORD, *saying*, For *he is* good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

4 ¶ Then the king and all the people offered sacrifices before the LORD.

5 And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep: so the king and all the people dedicated the house of God.

[c] 1 Chron. 15. 16.

6 [c] And the priests waited on their offices: the Levites also with instruments of musick of the LORD, which David the king had made to praise the LORD, because his mercy *endureth* for ever, when David praised [†] by their ministry; and the priests sounded trumpets before them, and all Israel stood.

[†] Heb. *by their hand.*

7 Moreover Solomon hallowed the middle of the court that *was* before the house of the LORD: for there he offered burnt offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings, because the brasen altar which Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt offerings, and the meat offerings, and the fat.

8 ¶ Also at the same time Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto [d] the river of Egypt.

[d] Josh. 13. 3.

9 And in the eighth day they made [†] a solemn assembly: for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven days.

[†] Heb. *a restraint.*

10 And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away into their tents, glad and merry in heart for the goodness that the LORD had shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel his people.

11 Thus [e] Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and the king's house: and all that came into Solomon's heart to make in the house of

[e] 1 Kin. 9. 1, &c.

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stantly in all historical writers, and are frequently quite unaccountable.

the glory of the Lord filled the house.] This was perhaps not so much a second manifestation as a continuation of the glorious appearance which the writer had already mentioned. (See ch. v. 13, 14.)

2. *The priests could not enter into the house.*] See note on 1 K. viii. 11.

3. *They bowed themselves with their faces to the ground.*] So, when the glory of God descended on the tabernacle in the wilderness, the people "fell on their faces" (Lev. ix. 24).

saying, For he is good.] See note on ch. v. 13.

4-10. This passage is parallel with 1 K. viii. 62-66, with which it is in close verbal agreement. Verse 6 is, however, additional.

5. *Twenty-two thousand oxen.*] See note on 1 K. viii. 63.

6. *The priests waited on their offices.*] Rather, "**stood in their stations.**"

instruments of musick . . . which David . . had made.] These were cymbals, harps, and psalteries. (See 1 Chr. xv. 16, and compare above, ch. v. 12.)

when David praised by their ministry.] Or, "playing hymns of David with their hands," which is the translation of the Septuagint and the Vulgate.

the priests sounded trumpets.] See note on ch. v. 12.

8. *Solomon kept the feast.*] Solomon, that is, kept at this same time, not the Feast of the Dedication only, but also the Feast of Tabernacles. The former lasted seven days, from the 8th of Tisri to the 15th, the latter also seven days, from the 15th to the 22nd. On the day following the people were dismissed. (See verse 10.)

11. *Thus Solomon finished the house of the Lord.*] The narrative now runs parallel with 1 K. ix. 1-9, but is fuller, and presents less of verbal agreement. Verses 13-15 are additional to the earlier record.

the king's house.] *I. e.* his own palace. (Compare 1 K. vii. 1-12.)

all that came into Solomon's heart to make in

the LORD, and in his own house, he prosperously effected.

12 ¶ And the LORD appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him, I have heard thy prayer, *f* and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice.

f Deut. 12. 5.

13 If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people;

14 If my people, † which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.

† Heb. *upon whom my name is called.*

15 Now *g* mine eyes shall be open, and mine ears attent † unto the prayer *that is made* in this place.

g ch. 6. 40. † Heb. *to the prayer of this place.*

16 For now have *h* I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually.

h ch. 6. 6.

17 And as for thee, if thou wilt walk before me, as David thy father walked, and do according to all that I have commanded thee, and shalt observe my statutes and my judgments;

18 Then will I stablish the throne of thy kingdom, according as I have covenanted with David thy father, saying, *i* † There shall not fail thee a man *to be* ruler in Israel.

i ch. 6. 16. † Heb. *There shall not be cut off to thee.*

19 *k* But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and shall go and serve other gods, and worship them;

k Lev. 26. 14. Deu. 28. 15.

20 Then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them; and this house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and will make it *to be* a proverb and a byword among all nations.

21 And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it; so that he shall say, *l* Why hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and unto this house?

l Deu. 29. 24. Jer. 22. 8, 9.

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the house of the Lord.] All the furniture and utensils of which an account is given in 1 K. vii. 15-50.

12. *By night.*] This is implied, though not directly stated, in Kings, where we hear that "the Lord appeared to Solomon. . . as he had appeared unto him at Gibeon" (1 K. ix. 2), which was "in a dream by night" (ib. iii. 5).

an house of sacrifice.] This expression does not elsewhere occur. Its meaning, however, is clear. God declares that Solomon's temple is the place which he had promised to "choose" from among the tribes of Israel, whereto all Israelites were commanded to bring their burnt-offerings and sacrifices. (See Deut. xii. 5, 6.)

13. *If I shut up heaven.*] See above, ch. vi. 26.

locusts . . . pestilence.] See ch. vi. 28. The writer records here special answers given to special portions of Solomon's prayer. Probably the full reply, from which he quotes, ran through and confirmed all the special petitions which the pious monarch had offered.

14. *I . . . will heal their land.*] Compare the petition, "send rain upon thy land" (supra, ch. vi. 27).

15. *Mine eyes shall be open, &c.*] Compare vi. 40. The promise follows the exact words of the prayer.

the prayer that is made in this place.] Literally, as given in the margin, "the prayer of this place." The unusual phrase seems chosen in order to include the two cases of prayers offered *in* (vi. 24) and *towards* (vi. 34, 38) the sanctuary.

16. *Now have I . . . sanctified this house.*] Here the additions to 1 K. ix. end, and the remainder of the chapter adds nothing to the earlier record.

21. *This house, which is high.*] In the corresponding passage of Kings (1 K. ix. 8) we have, "this house *shall be* high." (See note ad loc.) It has been suggested (Keil) that the original document, from which both writers abbreviated, ran somewhat in this form:—"This house, which is high" (*i. e.* conspicuous in its glory), "shall continue to be high" (*i. e.* conspicuous in its ruin). But perhaps it is more likely that the present text of Chronicles is in this place corrupt. (See Additional Note.)

22 And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the LORD God of their fathers, which brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 21. "This house, which is high."

In 1 K. ix. 8 we have והבית הזה יהיה עליון, while here the text runs, והבית הזה אשר־היה עליון. It is probable that the text here was originally that of Kings, and that the first יהיה having accidentally fallen out, the אשר was inserted by a copyist, who fancied it required to complete the sense.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Solomon's buildings.* 7 *The Gentiles which were left Solomon made tributaries; but the Israelites rulers.* 11 *Pharaoh's daughter removeth to her house.* 12 *Solomon's yearly solemn sacrifices.* 14 *He appointeth the priests and Levites to their places.* 17 *The navy fetcheth gold from Ophir.*

[m] 1 Kin. 9. 10, &c.

AND [m] it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the house of the LORD, and his own house,

2 That the cities which Huram had restored to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there.

3 And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed against it.

4 And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath.

5 Also he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the nether,

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CHAP. VIII. 1. *And it came to pass.*] The first section of this chapter (verses 1-6) runs parallel with 1 K. ix. 10-19, being for the most part briefer, but adding some important facts—*e.g.* the rebuilding of the cities restored by Hiram (verse 2), the conquest of Hamath-Zobah (verse 3), and the fortification of Beth-horon the upper (verse 5).

twenty years.] The 20 years date from the commencement of the temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, seven years having been devoted to the construction of the temple, and thirteen to the building of the royal palace. (See 1 K. vi. 37, 38; vii. 1; and ix. 10.)

2. *The cities which Huram had restored to Solomon.*] These cities had not been mentioned previously by the writer of Chronicles, who, however, seems to assume that the fact of their having been given by Hiram to Solomon is known to his readers. Probably he regarded his readers as familiar with the narrative in 1 K. ix. 11-13, and as capable of concluding from it that Hiram gave back the cities which he so despised. Assuming this, he contents himself with supplementing the account in Kings by informing us what Solomon did to the cities after he received them back.

built them.] Rather, "**rebuilt** them," or "**repaired** them"—a meaning which the word *bânah* often has, both in ordinary Hebrew, and upon the Moabite stone. Their bad condition may have been one of the reasons why they were rejected by Hiram.

caused the children of Israel to dwell there.] Either the cities were newly conquered by Solomon, and had never been occupied by Israelites, or the Israelite population had quitted them when they were ceded to Hiram.

3. *Hamath-zobah.*] It is usual to identify Hamath-Zobah with the "great Hamath" (Am. vi. 2); but there are strong objections to this. 1. The form of the word implies an intention to distinguish the city in question from some better known city of the same name. (Compare Ramoth-Gilead, Migdal-Gad, &c.) 2. Hamath and Zobah were separate kingdoms both before and after this time—before, as proved by 2 Sam. viii. 5-10; after, as proved by the Assyrian inscriptions. Probably, therefore, Hamath-Zobah was a town of Zobah otherwise unknown, which revolted from Solomon, and was reduced to subjection.

4. *He built Tadmor.*] See note on 1 K. ix. 18.

store cities.] Compare 1 K. ix. 19.

in Hamath.] That is, in the kingdom of Hamath, the Cœle-Syria of the Greeks and Romans, whereof the "great Hamath" was the capital.

5. *Built.*] "**Rebuilt**," or "**repaired.**" The two Beth-horons were both ancient

fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars;

6 And Baalath, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and all the chariot cities, and the cities of the horsemen, and †all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and throughout all the land of his dominion.

† Heb. *all the desire of Solomon which he desired to build.*

7 ¶ *As for* all the people *that were* left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which *were* not of Israel,

8 *But* of their children, who were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not, them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day.

9 But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work; but they *were* men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen.

10 And these *were* the chief of king Solomon's officers, *even* two hundred and fifty, that bare rule over the people.

11 ¶ And Solomon [m]brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because *the places are* †holy, whereunto the ark of the LORD hath come.

[m] 1 Kin. 3. 1. & 7. 8.

† Heb. *holiness.*

12 ¶ Then Solomon offered burnt offerings unto the LORD on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the porch,

13 Even after a certain rate every [o]day, offering according to the commandment of Moses, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feasts, [p]three times in the year, *even* in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles.

[o] Ex. 29. 23.

[p] Ex. 23. 14. Deu. 16. 16.

14 ¶ And he appointed, according to the order of David his father, the [a]courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required: the [b]porters also by their courses at every gate: for †so had David the man of God commanded.

[a] 1 Chron. 24. 1.

[b] 1 Chron. 9. 17.

† Heb. *so was the commandment of David the man of God.*

15 And they departed not from the commandment of the king unto the priests and Levites concerning

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cities. (See Josh. xvi. 3, 5; and, for their situation, compare note on 1 K. ix. 17.)

6. *Baalath, &c.*] Compare notes on 1 K. ix. 18, 19.

7-10. Compare with this section 1 K. ix. 20-23, which is nearly identical, excepting in the number of the officers mentioned in the last verse. On this apparent discrepancy, see note on 1 K. v. 16.

11. *And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh.*] Here again the writer of Chronicles presumes in his reader a knowledge of Kings. He had said nothing himself of the marriage of Solomon to Pharaoh's daughter, of her residence in the "city of David," or of Solomon's building a house for her use—facts recorded in 1 K. iii. 1 and vii. 8; yet he here assumes these points as known. His narrative in this place—the only one in which he mentions Pharaoh's daughter—goes beyond Kings in assigning Solomon's motive for changing her place of residence. (See 1 K. ix. 24.)

12-16. These verses are an expansion and amplification of 1 K. ix. 25. They add several important particulars.

13. *After a certain rate.*] The expression in the Hebrew is ambiguous, but can scarcely have this meaning. Probably it is to be taken in close connection with the words which follow, the entire phrase meaning simply, "day after day."

according to the commandment of Moses.] See Ex. xxix. 38; Num. xxviii. 3, et sqq.

14. *The courses of the priests.*] Compare 1 Chr. xxiv.

the Levites to their charges.] See 1 Chr. xxv. 1-6.

the porters.] See 1 Chr. xxvi. 1-19.

the man of God.] This phrase, so common in Kings (see Introduction to Kings, § 1, note [8]), is rare in Chronicles, and is applied only to Moses (1 Chr. xxiii. 14), David, and one other prophet (2 Chr. xxv. 7, 9).

15. *The commandment of the king.*] *I.e.* of David.

any matter, or concerning the treasures.

16 Now all the work of Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the LORD, and until it was finished. *So* the house of the LORD was perfected.

17 ¶ Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to [1]Eloth, at the sea side in the land of Edom.

[1] Or, *Elath*, Deut. 2. 8.

18 And Huram sent him by the hands of his servants ships, and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought *them* to king Solomon.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The queen of Sheba admireth the wisdom of Solomon.* 13 *Solomon's gold.* 15 *His targets.* 17 *The throne of ivory.* 20 *His vessels.* 23 *His presents.* 25 *His chariots and horse.* 26 *His tributes.* 29 *His reign and death.*

AND [c]when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, she came to prove Solomon with hard questions at Jerusalem, with a very great company, and camels that bare spices, and gold in abundance, and

[c] 1 Kin. 10. 1, &c. Mat. 12. 42. Luke 11. 31.

concerning the treasures.] See 1 Chr. xxvi. 20-28; where the custody of the sacred treasures is assigned by David to certain Levites. The general object of the writer of Chronicles here is to note that all the ordinances of David with respect to sacred matters were maintained and carried into effect by his son. In a later part of his work (ch. xxxv. 4) he states that Solomon's arrangements, like David's, were committed to writing.

16. *Now all the work of Solomon was prepared.*] Rather, "**Thus** was all the work of Solomon **completed**," or "**set in order**," as the same word is translated in 2 Chr. xxix. 35. This verse sums up in brief the whole previous narrative on the subject of the temple, which began with ch. ii. Solomon's work "*unto* the day of the foundation" was the subject of that chapter; his work subsequently has been related in chs. iii.-viii.

17. *And to Eloth.*] The writer of Kings tells us that the fleet of Solomon was built at Ezion-geber, "which is beside Eloth" (1 K. ix. 26); and Ezion-geber alone is mentioned as the place where Jehoshaphat built his ships (2 Chr. xx. 36). Solomon, it appears by the present passage, visited both ports before determining at which he should establish his docks.

18. *Huram sent him by the hands of his servants ships.*] It has been supposed that these ships were conveyed from Tyre to Ezion-geber, either (1) round the continent of Africa, or (2) across the isthmus of Suez. In the latter case some suppose a canal to have existed, while others think that the vessels were dragged across the land. But none of these views is satisfactory. The earliest recorded circumnavigation of Africa is that by Necho (B.C. 600), which Herodotus regarded as actually the first (iv. 42, ad fin.). Canal communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea seems not to have existed in the time of Solomon; while the transport of ships by dragging them across the land any considerable distance is unheard of till the time of Alexander. If ships belonging to Hiram were really delivered to Solomon *at Ezion-geber*, the probability is, either that the Tyrians maintained at this period a fleet in the Red Sea, or that Hiram's shipwrights constructed, at their master's expense, some ships on that sea, and then presented them to the Jewish monarch. But it is perhaps not the intention of the writer to state that Hiram's ships were delivered to Solomon at Ezion-geber or Eloth, or that they went the voyage to Ophir. He certainly does not *say* this. And he may only mean that ships were given by Hiram to Solomon *at this time*, and in connection with the Ophir enterprise. These vessels may have been delivered at Joppa, and have been there carefully studied by the Jewish shipwrights, who then proceeded to Ezion-geber, and, assisted by Phœnicians, constructed ships after their pattern. Note that the writer of Kings states that "Solomon *made* a navy of ships in Ezion-geber," and omits all mention of Phœnician vessels.

servants that had knowledge of the sea.] On the nautical knowledge of the Phœnicians, see notes on 1 K. v. 6 and ix. 27.

they went.] The servants, not the ships.

four hundred and fifty talents.] Or, "four hundred and *twenty* talents:" as in the parallel passage of Kings (1 K. ix. 28). One or other of the two texts has suffered from that corruption to which numbers are so especially liable. (See Introduction to Kings, § 6, note [6].)

CHAP. IX. 1-12. The narrative here is parallel with that in 1 K. x. 1-13, from which it varies but little, and to which it adds nothing.

precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart.

2 And Solomon told her all her questions: and there was nothing hid from Solomon which he told her not.

3 And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built,

4 And the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his ‖cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up into the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit in her.

‖ Or, *butlers.*

5 And she said to the king, *It was* a true †report which I heard in mine own land of thine ‖acts, and of thy wisdom:

† Heb. *word.*
‖ Or, *sayings.*

6 Howbeit I believed not their words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen *it:* and, behold, the one half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me: *for* thou exceedest the fame that I heard.

7 Happy *are* thy men, and happy *are* these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and hear thy wisdom.

8 Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on his throne, *to be* king for the LORD thy God: because thy God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee king over them, to do judgment and justice.

9 And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices great abundance, and precious stones: neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave king Solomon.

10 And the servants also of Huram, and the servants of Solomon, which brought gold from Ophir, brought algum trees and precious stones.

11 And the king made *of* the algum trees ‖†terraces to the house of the LORD, and to the king's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah.

‖ Or, *stairs.*
† Heb. *highways.*

12 And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside *that* which she had brought unto the king. So she turned, and went away to her own land, she and her servants.

13 ¶ Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold;

14 Beside *that which* chapmen and merchants brought. And all the kings of Arabia and ‖governors of

‖ Or, *captains.*

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11. *The king made of the algum trees terraces.*] Rather, as in the margin, "stairs." (See note on 1 K. x. 12.)

12. *Beside that which she had brought unto the king.*] It is difficult to assign any sense to these words as they now stand in the Hebrew text. A slight alteration will give the meaning: "Beside that which the king had brought for her." (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.) Compare 1 K. x. 13, where the expression used is, "Beside that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty."

13. *The weight of the gold.*] See note on 1 K. x. 14.

14. *Beside that which chapmen... brought.*] Literally, "beside the chapmen and merchants who brought it, and all the kings of Arabia, and governors of the country, who brought gold and silver to Solomon." The meaning is the same as that of the parallel passage of Kings (1 K. x. 15), viz. that the 666 talents were exclusive of the gold which came in from the merchants, from the Arab chiefs, and from the governors of districts. (See note on 1 K. x. 15.)

all the kings of Arabia.] Some have supposed that the author of Chronicles misunderstood Kings here, and substituted "kings of Arabia" for "kings of the mingled people" from the resemblance of the two phrases in the Hebrew. But it is more probable that he purposely used the better known expression, regarding the "mingled people," who "dwell in the desert" (Jer. xxv. 24), as being in the main of Arab blood. (See note on 1 K. x. 15.)

the country brought gold and silver to Solomon.

15 ¶ And king Solomon made two hundred targets *of* beaten gold: six hundred *shekels* of beaten gold went to one target.

16 And three hundred shields *made he of* beaten gold: three hundred *shekels* of gold went to one shield. And the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

17 Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold.

18 And *there were* six steps to the throne, with a footstool of gold, *which were* fastened to the throne, and †stays on each side of the sitting place, and two lions standing by the stays:

† Heb. *hands.*

19 And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps. There was not the like made in any kingdom.

20 ¶ And all the drinking vessels of king Solomon *were of* gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon *were of* †pure gold: ‖none *were of* silver; it was *not* any thing accounted of in the days of Solomon.

† Heb. *shut up.*
‖ Or, there was *no silver* in them.

21 For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram: every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver, ‖ivory, and apes, and peacocks.

‖ Or, *elephants' teeth.*

22 And king Solomon passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom.

23 ¶ And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart.

24 And they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year.

25 ¶ And Solomon [d]had four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; whom he bestowed in the chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem.

[d] 1 Kin. 4. 26.

26 ¶ And he reigned over all the kings [e]from the ‖river even unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt.

[e] Gen. 15. 18.
‖ That is, *Euphrates.*

27 And the king †made silver in Jerusalem as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycomore trees that *are* in the low plains in abundance.

† Heb. *gave.*

15, 16. *King Solomon made . . . targets and . . . shields.*] See 1 K. x. 16, 17, which differs from this passage only in giving the weight of the shields as "three *manehs*." It follows from the two passages together that the *maneh* was equal to 100 shekels.

17. *A great throne of ivory.*] See note on 1 K. x. 18.

18. *A footstool of gold.*] The footstool (which is not mentioned in Kings) was an essential appendage to an Oriental throne, as appears from the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian sculptures, passim. The footstool was not, however, generally fastened to the throne. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 487-489; vol. iv. p. 153.)

21. *The king's ships went to Tarshish.*] This is not distinctly stated in the parallel passage of Kings (1 K. x. 22), though it would have been a natural conclusion to draw from that passage. On the distinctness of this fleet from that which went to Ophir (verse 10), and on the identity of Tarshish with Tartessus, see Additional Note B at the end of 1 Kings, ch. x.

23. *All the kings of the earth.*] Rather, "all the kings of the land;" all the monarchs, that is, whose dominions were included in Solomon's empire. (See 1 K. iv. 21.) This meaning follows from the expression at the end of the next verse, "a rate year by year;" which shows that the kings intended were tributary to Solomon.

25. *Four thousand stalls.*] See note on 1 K. iv. 26.

for horses and chariots.] *I. e.* "for chariot-horses"—an instance of the figure *hendiadys.*

the cities for chariots.] See note on 1 K. x. 26.

26. *He reigned over all the kings.*] Compare 1 K. iv. 21.

27. *Silver . . . as stones.*] See 1 K. x. 27.

28 [f] And they brought unto Solomon horses out of Egypt, and out of all lands.

29 ¶ Now the rest of the [g] acts of Solomon, first and last, *are* they not written in the [†] book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of [h] Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat?

30 And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty years.

31 And Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

[f] 1 Kin. 10. 28. ch. 1. 16.

[g] 1 Kin. 11. 41.

[†] Heb. *words.*

[h] ch. 12. 15.

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28. *Horses... out of all lands.*] The author of Kings had mentioned the importation of horses by Solomon from Egypt only (1 K. x. 28). The writer of Chronicles adds that they were imported from many other countries also. Among these the principal would no doubt be Arabia and Armenia—the former always famous for its excellent breed; the latter mentioned in Ezekiel (xxvii. 14) as trading with horses in the fairs of Tyre.

29. *The book of Nathan, &c.*] On the "books" here mentioned, see Introduction to Chronicles, § 5.

Ahijah the Shilonite.] Ahijah, who plays so important a part in the narrative of Kings (1 K. xi. 29-39; xiv. 2-18), is only just mentioned by the writer of Chronicles (here and ch. x. 15), who limits his narrative to the history of the kingdom of Judah.

Iddo the seer.] We hear nothing of Iddo in Kings; but he is mentioned below twice (ch. xii. 15 and ch. xiii. 22). In the latter of these passages he is called not "the seer," but "the prophet." He seems to have been the author of three works:—1. Visions against Jeroboam; 2. A book of genealogies; and 3. A commentary or history. According to some he was identical with Oded, the father of Azariah, who prophesied in the reign of Asa. (See note on 2 Chr. xv. 1.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 12. "Beside that which she had brought unto the king."

For מלבד אשר־הביאה אל־המלך, Houbigant proposed to read מלבד אשר־הביא אליה המלך, while Bertheau suggests, מלבד אשר הביא לה המלך, the meaning being, in either case, "besides what the king (of his own accord) gave to her." This is a good sense, and agreeable to 1 K. x. 13.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The Israelites, assembled at Shechem to crown Rehoboam, by Jeroboam make a suit of relaxation unto him.* 6 *Rehoboam, refusing the old men's counsel, by the advice of young men answereth them roughly.* 16 *Ten tribes revolting kill Hadoram, and make Rehoboam to flee.*

[a] 1 Kin. 12. 1, &c.

AND [a] Rehoboam went to Shechem: for to Shechem were all Israel come to make him king.

2 And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who *was* in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king, heard *it*, that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt.

3 And they sent and called him. So Jeroboam and all Israel came and spake to Rehoboam, saying,

4 Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father, and his heavy yoke that he put upon us, and we will serve thee.

5 And he said unto them, Come again unto me after three days. And the people departed.

6 ¶ And king Rehoboam took

CHAP. X. 1-19. In this chapter we have the narrative of 1 K. xii. 1-19 repeated with only slight verbal differences.

3. *And they sent.*] *I.e.* "they *had* sent." This is given as the reason why he had returned.

counsel with the old men that had stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What counsel give ye *me* to return answer to this people?

7 And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be kind to this people, and please them, and speak good words to them, they will be thy servants for ever.

8 But he forsook the counsel which the old men gave him, and took counsel with the young men that were brought up with him, that stood before him.

9 And he said unto them, What advice give ye that we may return answer to this people, which have spoken to me, saying, Ease somewhat the yoke that thy father did put upon us?

10 And the young men that were brought up with him spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou answer the people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou *it* somewhat lighter for us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little *finger* shall be thicker than my father's loins.

† Heb *laded*.

11 For whereas my father †put a heavy yoke upon you, I will put more to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions.

12 So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam on the third day, as the king bade, saying, Come again to me on the third day.

13 And the king answered them roughly; and king Rehoboam forsook the counsel of the old men,

14 And answered them after the advice of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions.

15 So the king hearkened not unto the people: for the cause was of God, that the LORD might perform his word, which he spake by the [b]hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat.

[b] 1 Kin. 11. 29.

16 ¶ And when all Israel *saw* that the king would not hearken unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? and *we have* none inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to your tents, O Israel: *and* now, David, see to thine own house. So all Israel went to their tents.

17 But *as for* the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them.

18 Then king Rehoboam sent Hadoram that *was* over the tribute; and the children of Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. But king Rehoboam †made speed to get him up to *his* chariot, to flee to Jerusalem.

† Heb. *strengthened himself.*

19 And Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day.

CHAPTER XI.

1 Rehoboam raising an army to subdue Israel, is forbidden by Shemaiah. 5 He strengtheneth his kingdom with forts and provision. 13 The priests and Levites, and such as feared God, forsaken by Jeroboam, strengthen the kingdom of Judah. 18 The wives and children of Rehoboam.

AND [c]when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he gathered of the house of Judah and Benjamin an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen *men*, which were warriors, to fight against Israel, that he might bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam.

[c] 1 Kin. 12. 21, &c.

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15. *His word, which he spake by Ahijah.*] Again, the writer assumes that the narrative contained in Kings (1 K. xi. 26-40) will be known to his readers. He has said nothing himself of the prophecy of Ahijah.

18. *Hadoram.*] "Adoram" in Kings (1 K. xii. 18). On the question of his identity with Adoniram, see note on the above passage of Kings.

CHAP. XI. 1-4. This section is a repetition of 1 K. xii. 21-24, in a form slightly abbreviated. It contains nothing which is not in that passage. The remainder of the chapter consists almost entirely of new matter.

2 But the word of the LORD came to Shemaiah the man of God, saying,
3 Speak unto Rehoboam the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying,
4 Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house: for this thing is done of me. And they obeyed the words of the LORD, and returned from going against Jeroboam.

5 ¶ And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah.
6 He built even Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa,
7 And Beth-zur, and Shoco, and Adullam,
8 And Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph,
9 And Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah,
10 And Zorah, and Aijalon, and

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5. *Rehoboam . . . built cities for defence in Judah.*] Rehoboam, precluded by the divine command from assailing his adversary, was obliged to stand on the defensive. He felt himself between two dangers: on the north he might be attacked by Jeroboam, on the south by Jeroboam's ally, Egypt. From this side was the greatest peril, and to this quarter therefore was his main attention directed. Out of the fifteen cities fortified, all but three were on the southern or western frontier, where Egypt would be most likely to attack. (See the ensuing notes.)

6. *Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa.*] These cities lay near together, a little south of Jerusalem, on the way to Hebron. See Josh. xv. 60 (LXX.), and compare Jerome, 'Proem. in Amos.' Bethlehem is now *Beit-Lahm;* Tekoa is *Teku'a.* The exact site of Etam is unknown. It seems to have originally belonged to Simeon. (See 1 Chr. iv. 32.)

7. *Beth-zur.*] Beth-zur is almost certainly *Beit-sur,* a strong position about five miles to the north of Hebron, on the route between that place and Jerusalem. (Robinson's 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 277.) It played an important part in the wars of the Maccabees. (1 Mac. iv. 29, 61; vi. 7, 26, 31, &c.)

Shoco.] Rather, "Soco." No doubt the same as Socoh, which is mentioned in Joshua (xv. 35) and Samuel (1 Sam. xvii. 1) among the cities of the low plain which lay west of southern Judæa. The identification of this place with *Esh-Shuweikeh,* between Eleutheropolis (*Beit-Jibrin*) and Jerusalem (Robinson's 'Researches,' ii. p. 349), is generally accepted.

Adullam.] Adullam was no doubt in the near neighbourhood of Socoh (Josh. xv. 35); but its site is undiscovered. It was a place of great antiquity. (Gen. xxxviii. 1.)

8. *Gath.*] Gath had been conquered by David (1 Chr. xviii. 1); and though in Solomon's reign a native king, Achish, is mentioned (1 K. ii. 39), he is to be regarded, not as an independent monarch, but as one of the many vassal-kings over whom Solomon reigned. (See above, ch. ix. 23.) The exact site of Gath is unknown; but it was beyond a doubt in the near neighbourhood of Socoh and Adullam.

Mareshah.] This city is mentioned in Joshua among those of the low flat country (Josh. xv. 44). Its importance appears in the invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian (ch. xiv. 9), and again in the Maccabee wars (1 Mac. v. 66; 2 Mac. xii. 35). It is probably identified with the modern *Marash,* two miles south of *Beit-Jibrin,* or Eleutheropolis (Robinson, vol. ii. p. 422).

Ziph.] There were two towns of this name in the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 24, 55). The one here intended is probably that which lay in the hill country, famous in the history of David (1 Sam. xxiii. 14-24; xxvi. 2-25). The exact site appears to be the modern *Tel Zif,* about three miles to the south of Hebron (Robinson, vol. ii. p. 191).

9. *Adoraim.*] Adoraim, which is not elsewhere mentioned in Scripture, appears to have been in the vicinity of Mareshah, with which it is frequently coupled by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 9, § 1; 15, § 4; 'Bell. Jud.' i. 2, § 6; 8, § 4). Its site is uncertain.

Lachish.] See note on Josh. x. 3.

Azekah.] Azekah was in the neighbourhood of Socoh and Adullam (Josh. xv. 35; 1 Sam. xvii. 1). It lay between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem (Euseb.). The site is not yet identified.

10. *Zorah, and Aijalon.*] Zorah, now *Surah,* and Aijalon, now *Yalo,* lay further north than the other cities here mentioned. They were both in the territory originally assigned to Dan (Josh. xix. 41, 42), but afterwards absorbed into Judah. Zorah commanded an important valley, the *Wady-Surah*—leading up into the hills from the low country, while Aijalon was a border city towards Ephraim, to which it was sometimes reckoned (1 Chr. vi. 66-69).

Hebron, which *are* in Judah and in Benjamin fenced cities.

11 And he fortified the strong holds, and put captains in them, and store of victual, and of oil and wine.

12 And in every several city *he put* shields and spears, and made them exceeding strong, having Judah and Benjamin on his side.

13 ¶ And the priests and the Levites that *were* in all Israel † resorted to him out of all their coasts.

† Heb. *presented themselves to him.*

14 For the Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came
[d] ch. 13. 9. to Judah and Jerusalem: for [d] Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the LORD:

15 And he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made.

16 And after them out of all the tribes of Israel such as set their hearts to seek the LORD God of Israel came to Jerusalem, to sacrifice unto the LORD God of their fathers.

17 So they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong, three years: for three years they walked in the way of David and Solomon.

18 ¶ And Rehoboam took him Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David to wife, *and* Abihail the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse;

19 Which bare him children; Jeush, and Shamariah, and Zaham.

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in Judah and in Benjamin.] No one of the cities was really within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin. The writer uses the phrase "Judah and Benjamin" merely as the common designation of the southern kingdom. (Compare verses 12 and 23.)

11. *He fortified the strong holds.*] *I.e.* the "fenced cities" already mentioned.

13. *The priests and the Levites ... resorted to him.*] The faithful attachment of the priests and Levites to the worship of Jehovah and the temple service had led, first, to the institution of a new order of priests by Jeroboam, and then probably to the confiscation of the Levitical lands, for the benefit of this new priesthood. Under these circumstances the victims of persecution emigrated in large numbers to the southern kingdom.

14. *The Levites left their suburbs.*] On the "suburbs" of the Levites, see Num. xxxv. 1-8.

15. *Priests for the high places.*] For the two sanctuaries, that is, at Dan and Bethel. (See 1 K. xii. 28-33.)

for the devils.] Literally, "for the goats." Some have supposed actual images of goats to be intended; but, more probably, the word is used (as in Lev. xvii. 7) for objects of idolatrous worship generally.

16. *After them.*] After the exodus of the priests and Levites from the northern kingdom, a general emigration of the more pious Israelites took place.

to sacrifice.] To have the advantage of offering sacrifice, whenever they wished, to Jehovah at Jerusalem.

17. *They strengthened the kingdom.*] This strengthening consisted not only in an addition of physical strength to the southern kingdom, but in an increase of its moral vigour (see the next clause).

three years.] *I.e.* during the first three years of Rehoboam's reign. In the fourth year an apostacy took place, which neutralised all the advantages of the immigration. (See ch. xii. 1.) In the fifth the apostacy was punished by the invasion and success of Shishak (xii. 2).

18. *And Rehoboam took him Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth, &c.*] We have here probably an extract from the "book of Iddo the seer *on genealogies*" (ch. xii. 15).

Jerimoth the son of David.] As Jerimoth is not mentioned among the legitimate sons of David, either in 1 Chr. iii. 1-8 or xiv. 4-7, he must have been the child of a concubine.

and Abihail.] There is no "and" in the original, perhaps because it would have caused an ambiguity, since the construction might then have been, "Rehoboam took to wife Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David and of Abihail." As the text stands, Abihail is clearly one of the wives of Rehoboam.

the daughter of Eliab.] See 1 Sam. xvi. 6; xvii. 13; 1 Chr. ii. 13. By "daughter" here is probably meant "grand-daughter," since an actual daughter of Eliab must have been too old to be a fit wife for Rehoboam. (Compare note on verse 20.)

[e] 1 Kin. 15. 2.

20 And after her he took [e]Maachah the daughter of Absalom; which bare him Abijah, and Attai, and Ziza, and Shelomith.

21 And Rehoboam loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and his concubines: (for he took eighteen wives, and threescore concubines; and begat twenty and eight sons, and threescore daughters.)

22 And Rehoboam made Abijah the son of Maachah the chief, *to be* ruler among his brethren: for *he thought* to make him king.

23 And he dealt wisely, and dispersed of all his children throughout all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city: and he gave them victual in abundance. And he desired [†]many wives.

[†] Heb. *a multitude of wives.*

CHAPTER XII.

1 *Rehoboam, forsaking the Lord, is punished by Shishak.* 5 *He and the princes, repenting at the preaching of Shemaiah, are delivered from destruction, but not from spoil.* 13 *The reign and death of Rehoboam.*

AND it came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the LORD, and all Israel with him.

2 And it came to pass, *that* in the fifth year of king Rehoboam Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, [a]because they had transgressed against the LORD,

[a] 1 Kin. 14. 24, 25.

3 With twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people *were* without number, that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.

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20. *Maachah the daughter of Absalom.*] Rather, "grand-daughter." (See below, ch. xiii. 2, and compare note on 1 K. xv. 2.)

21. *Eighteen wives, and threescore concubines.*] Compare Cant. vi. 8, and 2 Chr. xiii. 21.

22. *Rehoboam made Abijah . . . the chief.*] Rather, "**to be** chief." Jeush was probably the eldest of Rehoboam's sons, and should naturally and according to the provisions of the Law (Deut. xxi. 15-17) have been his heir. But his affection for Maachah led him to transgress the Law. He might perhaps regard himself as justified by the example of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 1); but Abijah had not, like Solomon, been designated to the succession by God Himself. (See 1 Chr. xxii. 9; xxix. 1.)

23. *He dealt wisely.*] Rehoboam's wisdom was shown—1. In dispersing his other sons instead of allowing them to remain together in Jerusalem, where they might have joined in a plot against Abijah, as Adonijah and his brothers did against Solomon (1 K. i. 5-10); 2. In giving his sons positions which might well content them and prevent them from being jealous of Abijah.

he desired many wives.] Rather, "**he sought for them a multitude of wives.**" The clause is closely connected with the preceding one, and notes another point in which Rehoboam was careful to please his sons.

CHAP. XII. This chapter runs parallel with 1 K. xiv. 21-31, but considerably enlarges the narrative contained in that passage. The amount of Shishak's troops, the composition of his army, the warning and the promise of Shemaiah, are wholly new features.

1. *Rehoboam . . . forsook the law of the Lord.*] On this point the narrative in Kings is the fuller of the two. There we are told that the apostacy of Rehoboam and his people consisted in their setting up high places, images, and groves, and in their encouragement of "sodomites" and other Gentile abominations (1 K. xiv. 23, 24). Here we have only the general phrases of this verse and verse 14.

all Israel with him.] *I.e.* "all Judah and Benjamin"—all the Israelites of those two tribes.

2. *Shishak . . . came up . . . because they had transgressed.*] The writer speaks, of course, from a divine, not a human, point of view. Shishak's motive in coming up was to help Jeroboam, and to extend his own influence.

3. *Twelve hundred chariots.*] This number is not unusual. At the Exodus the Egyptian monarch pursued the Israelites with 600 *chosen* chariots and a number (not stated) of ordinary ones (Ex. xiv. 7). Benhadad brought 1200 chariots into the field against Shalmaneser II. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 362); and Ahab had at the same time a force of 2000 chariots (ib. vol. iv. p. 577). The chariots of Solomon were 1400 (1 K. x. 26).

the Lubims.] We hear of Lubims, or rather Lubim, again in ch. xvi. 8; and the

4 And he took the fenced cities which *pertained* to Judah, and came to Jerusalem.

5 ¶ Then came Shemaiah the prophet to Rehoboam, and *to* the princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, Ye have forsaken me, and therefore have I also left you in the hand of Shishak.

6 Whereupon the princes of Israel and the king humbled themselves; and they said, The LORD *is* righteous.

7 And when the LORD saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the LORD came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; *therefore* I will not destroy them, but I will grant them [1]some deliverance; and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak.

8 Nevertheless they shall be his servants; that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries.

9 So Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon [b]had made.

[b] ch. 9. 15.

10 Instead of which king Rehoboam made shields of brass, and committed *them* to the hands of the chief of the guard, that kept the entrance of the king's house.

11 And when the king entered into the house of the LORD, the

[1] Or, *a little while.*

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same people is mentioned by Nahum (iii. 9), and (as Lubbim) by Daniel (xi. 43). In this last passage the term is in our version translated "Libyans," which is probably a correct identification. The Libyans were a people of Africa, distinct from the Egyptians and the Ethiopians (Herod. iii. 13; iv. 197), dwelling in their immediate neighbourhood. They were called *Ribu* or *Libu* by the Egyptians. Some identify them with the modern Nubians. Whether they are the people called in Gen. x. 13 Lebahim is somewhat doubtful.

the Sukkiims.] This name does not occur elsewhere. The LXX., who rendered the word by "Troglodytes," regarded the Sukkiim probably as the "cave-dwellers" along the western shore of the Red Sea, who are mentioned by Strabo (xvi. 4, § 17) and others; but the conjecture of Gesenius, that the word means "tent-dwellers," is plausible, and would point rather to a tribe of Arabs (Scenitæ).

4. *He took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah.*] Among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (ch. xi. 6-10) which were taken by Shishak, we find in the Karnac inscription three only—viz. Shoco, Adoraim, and Aijalon. Fourteen names, however, are lost at the commencement of the inscription, which is the place where the frontier towns towards the south would naturally have been mentioned.

5. *The princes of Judah.*] On the rank of "prince" in Judæa, see 1 K. iv. 2-6.

6. *They said, the Lord is righteous.*] They acknowledged, that is, the justice of the sentence which had gone forth against them. (See verse 5.)

7. *They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them.*] Compare the repentance of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 27-29), and that of the Ninevites (Jonah ii. 5-10), which produced similar revocations of divine decrees that had been pronounced by the mouth of a prophet.

some deliverance.] Rather, "deliverance for a short space." Because of the repentance, the threat of *immediate* destruction is withdrawn; but the menace is still left impending, that the people may be the more moved to contrition and amendment.

8. *They shall be his servants.*] Rehoboam had not merely to make a sacrifice of treasure to obtain peace. He had to accept the suzerainty of Egypt.

that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms.] *I. e.* that they may be able to contrast the light burthen of the theocracy with the heavy yoke of a foreign monarch.

9-11. *Shishak . . . came up, &c.*] This passage is a repetition of 1 K. xiv. 25-27, in almost exactly the same words. Verse 12, however, the conclusion of the narrative, is additional, and characteristic. It aptly terminates the writer's history of the invasion, which he has presented to us throughout in a strictly moral and didactic aspect.

guard came and fetched them, and brought them again into the guard chamber.

12 And when he humbled himself, the wrath of the LORD turned from him, that he would not destroy *him* altogether: ‖and also in Judah things went well.

‖ Or, *and yet in Judah there were good things.*

13 ¶ So king Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned: for [c]Rehoboam *was* one and forty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there. And his mother's name *was* Naamah an Ammonitess.

[c] 1 Kin. 14. 21.

14 And he did evil, because he ‖prepared not his heart to seek the LORD.

‖ Or, *fixed.*

15 Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, *are* they not written in the [†]book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies? And *there were* wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually.

[†] Heb *words.*

16 And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David: and Abijah his son reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Abijah succeeding maketh war against Jeroboam.* 4 *He declareth the right of his cause.* 13 *Trusting in God he overcometh Jeroboam.* 21 *The wives and children of Abijah.*

NOW [d]in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah to reign over Judah.

[d] 1 Kin 15. 1, &c.

2 He reigned three years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was* Michaiah the daughter of Uriel of

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12. *And also in Judah things went well.*] The phrase here used is of doubtful meaning. It may either signify, "And even [instead of destruction] a time of prosperity came to Judah"—which is the sense intended in the text of the Authorised Version; or, "And further [it is to be noted that] there was [yet] good in Judah"—all, *i. e.* was not corrupt; and so she was not destroyed, which is the sense of the marginal rendering, and on the whole preferable.

13. *King Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem.*] There seems to be a contrast intended here between the earlier and the later portions of Rehoboam's reign. In the earlier he strengthened himself throughout the whole of his dominions (ch. xi. 5-12, 17, 23; xii. 1); in the latter he was content to secure his capital.

Rehoboam was one and forty years old.] Compare 1 K. xiv. 21, and, on the age of Rehoboam at his accession, see note on 1 K. xii. 8.

14. *He did evil.*] The writer here commences the practice, which he follows henceforth almost invariably, of characterizing the reigns of the monarchs as either "good" or "bad." (Compare xiv. 2; xx. 32; xxi. 6; xxii. 4; &c.)

because he prepared not his heart to seek the Lord.] Rather, "**in that he did not set his heart on seeking the Lord.**" Rehoboam's sin was want of earnestness and consistency.

15. *The book of Shemaiah.*] Again, as in ch. ix. 29, our author refers to his authorities for the reign of which he has given us an account. The character of the works quoted has been considered in the Introduction, § 5.

wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam.] The prohibition of Shemaiah (ch. xi. 4) did not prevent the two kingdoms from continuing to be at war with one another. It only prevented any attempt on the part of Rehoboam to invade Israel in force, and seek to reconquer it. By "wars" we are probably to understand here a series of incursions for plunder and ravage.

CHAP. XIII. The history of Abijah's reign, which in Kings occupies eight verses only (1 K. xv. 1-8), is here related far more fully. The point chiefly expanded is that which the writer of Kings touches in only a single sentence—"there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam."

2. *Michaiah the daughter of Uriel.*] The writer of Kings says, "Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom" (1 K. xv. 2), and our present author, in an earlier passage (xi. 20), "Maachah the daughter of Absalom." "Maachah" is also the form of the name found in 1 K. xv. 10, 13, and 2 Chr. xv. 16. We must regard "Michaiah" therefore as an accidental error of a copyist. To reconcile the other discrepancy, we have only to suppose that Uriel of Gibeah married Tamar, Absalom's

Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.

† Heb. *bound together.*

3 And Abijah †set the battle in array with an army of valiant men of war, *even* four hundred thousand chosen men: Jeroboam also set the battle in array against him with eight hundred thousand chosen men, *being* mighty men of valour.

4 ¶ And Abijah stood up upon mount Zemaraim, which *is* in mount Ephraim, and said, Hear me, thou Jeroboam, and all Israel;

5 Ought ye not to know that the LORD God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, *even* to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?

6 Yet Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon the son of David, is risen up, and hath [e]rebelled against his lord. [e] 1 Kin. 11. 26.

7 And there are gathered unto him vain men, the children of Belial, and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted, and could not withstand them.

8 And now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the hand of the sons of David; and ye *be* a great multitude, and *there are* with you golden calves, which Jeroboam [f]made you for gods. [f] 1 Kin. 12. 28.

9 [g]Have ye not cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have [g] ch. 11. 14.

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only child, and that Maachah was the offspring of this marriage. (See note on 1 K. xv. 2.)

of Gibeah.] It is quite uncertain which Gibeah is intended. Geographers enumerate five.

3. *Set the battle in array.*] Rather, "**engaged in the war.**"

four hundred thousand chosen men.] It has been proposed by Bp. Kennicott and others to change the numbers, here and in verse 17, into 40,000, 80,000, and 50,000 respectively—partly because these smaller numbers are found in many early editions of the Vulgate, but mainly because the larger ones are thought to be incredible. To suppose single armies of such magnitude meeting and fighting pitched battles, and 500,000 falling on one side in a single engagement, is certainly to suppose what is barely credible. But our author, fairly construed, does not say or mean this. He means, in verse 3, to state the number of fighting men with which each side began the contest. And here it is to be noted that his numbers accord well with the census of the people taken in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxi. 5), joined to the fact which he has related (2 Chr. xi. 13-17), of a considerable subsequent emigration from the northern kingdom into the southern one. The total adult male population at the time of the census was 1,570,000. The total of the fighting men now is 1,200,000. This would allow for the aged and infirm 370,000, or nearly a fourth of the whole. Again, in verse 17, our author may be understood to mean, not that 500,000 Israelites were killed in one battle, but that this was the entire Israelite loss in the course of the war, which probably continued through the whole reign of Abijah.

4. *Upon mount Zemaraim.*] Mount Zemaraim is not elsewhere mentioned; and it is uncertain whether we ought to connect it with the city of the same name noticed in Joshua among the towns allotted to Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22). The mountain seems to have lain south of Beth-el (see verse 19), upon the border of the two kingdoms. It has not yet been identified.

which is in mount Ephraim.] On the wide extent in which the term "mount Ephraim" was used, see note on 1 K. iv. 8.

5. *The Lord God ... gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever.*] Abijah omits to notice that the gift of the kingdom to David was conditional—"*If* thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children also shall sit upon thy throne for evermore." (Ps. cxxxii. 12. Compare Ps. lxxxix. 30-32.)

by a covenant of salt.] *I.e.* "a sacred and inviolable covenant." (Compare Num. xviii. 19.)

6. *Jeroboam ... the servant of Solomon.*] *I.e.* "the subject." (See 1 K. xi. 26.)

7. *Vain men.*] *I.e.* "low fellows," "persons of the baser sort." (Compare Judg. ix. 4; and 2 Sam. vi. 20.)

the children of Belial.] See note on Deut. xiii. 13.

when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted.] See note on 1 K. xii. 8.

9. *Have ye not cast out the priests of the Lord?*] See above, ch. xi. 14.

made you priests after the manner of the nations of *other* lands? so that whosoever cometh † to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, *the same* may be a priest of *them that are* no gods.

† Heb. *to fill his hand.*

10 But as for us, the LORD *is* our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the priests, which minister unto the LORD, *are* the sons of Aaron, and the Levites *wait* upon *their* business:

h ch. 2. 4. 11 h And they burn unto the LORD every morning and every evening burnt sacrifices and sweet incense: i Lev. 24. 6. the i shewbread also *set they in order* upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken him.

12 And, behold, God himself *is* with us for *our* captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper.

13 ¶ But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind them: so they were before Judah, and the ambushment *was* behind them.

14 And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle *was* before and behind: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests sounded with the trumpets.

15 Then the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah.

16 And the children of Israel fled before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand.

17 And Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen men.

18 Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the LORD God of their fathers.

19 And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, and took cities from him, Beth-el with the towns thereof, and Jeshanah with the towns thereof, and Ephrain with the towns thereof.

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with a young bullock and seven rams.] We should have expected "a bullock and *two* rams," as this was the offering which God had required at the original consecration of the sons of Aaron (Ex. xxix. 1; Lev. viii. 2). But it appears that Jeroboam, for reasons of his own, enlarged the sacrifice, and required it at the consecration of every priest.

11. *The shewbread . . . upon the pure table.*] This passage suggests the view that, though Solomon made ten tables for the shewbread (supra, ch. iv. 8, 19), it was only set upon one of them at a time. (See note on 2 Chr. iv. 19.)

the candlestick.] Solomon made ten candlesticks (ch. iv. 7); but—as with the tables—one only was used at a time.

12. *His priests with sounding trumpets.*] See above, ch. v. 12, 13. It appears from verse 14 that Abijah had brought the priests and their trumpets with him into the battle-field, according to the command of God recorded in Num. x. 9, and the example of Moses in the war against Midian (ib. xxxi. 6).

17. *Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter.*] There is nothing in the original to indicate that this slaughter was all on one day. The writer is probably compressing into a few words the circumstances of the whole war. (See note on verse 3.)

there fell down slain.] The word translated "slain" means strictly "pierced," and will include both the killed and the wounded. It is translated by "wounded" in Lam. ii. 12.

18. *The children of Israel were brought under.*] "**Humbled**," or "**defeated**," rather—not reduced to subjection.

19. *Jeshanah.*] No other mention of this place occurs in Scripture. It is probably identical with the "Isanas" of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiv. 15, § 12), where a battle took place in the war between Antigonus and Herod; but its situation cannot be fixed.

Ephrain.] This is also a name which does not occur elsewhere. Perhaps Ophrah, which seems to have been near Beth-el (Josh. xviii. 22, 23), is intended. Some identify both

20 Neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah: and the LORD struck him, and he died.

21 ¶ But Abijah waxed mighty, and married fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons, and sixteen daughters.

22 And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, *are* written in the ‖story of the prophet [a]Iddo.

‖ Or, *commentary.*
[a] ch. 12. 15.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *Asa succeeding destroyeth idolatry.* 6 *Having peace, he strengtheneth his kingdom with forts and armies.* 9 *Calling on God, he overthroweth Zerah, and spoileth the Ethiopians.*

SO Abijah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David: and [b]Asa his son reigned in his stead. In his days the land was quiet ten years.

[b] 1 Kin. 15. 8, &c.

2 And Asa did *that which was* good and right in the eyes of the LORD his God:

3 For he took away the altars of the strange *gods*, and the high places, and brake down the †images, and cut down the groves:

† Heb. *statues.*

4 And commanded Judah to seek the LORD God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment.

5 Also he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the †images: and the kingdom was quiet before him.

† Heb. *sun images.*

6 ¶ And he built fenced cities in Judah: for the land had rest, and he had no war in those years; because the LORD had given him rest.

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these places with the Ephraim whereto our Lord retired (John xi. 54), which was on the edge of the wilderness, perhaps at *El-Taiyibeh*, 4 or 5 miles from Bethel to the north-east. (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 125.)

20. *The Lord struck him, and he died.*] "Him" can only refer to Jeroboam. It is not, perhaps, the writer's intention to imply that Jeroboam died either suddenly or in any strange and unusual manner, but only to declare that his death was, in point of fact, a judgment upon him for his sins. Chronologically speaking, his death is here out of place, for he outlived Abijah at least two years (compare 1 K. xiv. 20, and xv. 9); but the writer, not intending to recur to his history, is naturally led to carry it on to its termination.

21. *Abijah waxed mighty.*] Rather, "took courage," "grew bold." Feeling himself secure in his kingdom after his victory over Jeroboam, he, like his father and his grandfather, gave himself up to self-indulgence, and greatly increased the number of his wives.

22. *The story* (marg. *commentary*) *of the prophet Iddo.*] On the nature of this work, see Introduction, § 5.

CHAP. XIV. 1. *Asa his son reigned.*] If Rehoboam was, as above supposed (1 K. xii. 8, note), not more than 21 at his accession, Asa, when he mounted the throne, must have been a mere boy, not more than 10 or 11. His accession fell within 20 years of his grandfather's; and we cannot allow—even in the East—less than 15 years for a generation.

the land was quiet ten years.] The great blow struck by Abijah (ch. xiii. 15-19), his alliance with Syria (1 K. xv. 19), and the rapid succession of sovereigns in Israel during the earlier part of Asa's reign (ib. 25-33), would naturally prevent any disturbance of the peace on the part of the northern kingdom. The tender age of Asa himself would be a bar to warlike enterprises on the part of Judah.

3. *He took away the altars, &c.*] The idolatry of Judah has been hitherto spoken of only in general terms. (See ch. xii. 1, 2, 5.) Now for the first time the writer descends to details. In these he will be found to agree closely with the author of Kings, who mentions the "high places," the "images," and the "groves" (1 K. xiv. 23) —merely omitting the "strange altars."

5. *The images* (marg. *sun-images*).] On the exact meaning of the term here used, which is different from that translated "images" in verse 3, see note on Lev. xxvi. 30.

6. *He built fenced cities in Judah.*] No doubt Shishak had dismantled the fortresses erected by Rehoboam, or at any rate the greater part of them, when he made his successful invasion. Judæa had then for some time been a dependency of Egypt (see above, ch. xii. 8), and had of course not

7 Therefore he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, and make about *them* walls, and towers, gates, and bars, *while* the land *is* yet before us; because we have sought the LORD our God, we have sought *him*, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered.

8 And Asa had an army *of men* that bare targets and spears, out of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and fourscore thousand: all these *were* mighty men of valour.

9 ¶ [c]And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots; and came unto Mareshah. [c] ch. 16. 8.

10 Then Asa went out against him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah.

11 And Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, *it is* [d]nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in [d] 1 Sam. 14. 6.

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dared to erect fresh fortifications. Now, however, a time of weakness having, as it would seem, come upon Egypt, Asa grew bold, and proceeded to strengthen himself, as much (we may be sure) against his southern as against his northern neighbour. Among the cities which he restored were probably most of those fortified by Rehoboam (ch. xi. 6-10).

7. *While the land is yet before us.*] *I.e.* "while the land is unoccupied by an enemy"—"while it is open to us to go where we please." (Compare Gen. xiii. 9.) The fortification of the strongholds would be an act of rebellion against Egypt, and it might be expected that the Egyptians would endeavour to put a stop to it.

8. *Men that bare targets and spears.*] Now, as in David's time (1 Chr. xii. 24), the men of Judah served as heavy-armed, while the Benjamites were light-armed, using the sling probably and the bow. (Compare 1 Chr. viii. 40; xii. 2.)

three hundred thousand . . . two hundred and fourscore thousand.] These numbers accord well with those of ch. xiii. 3. As the boundaries of Judah had been enlarged (xiii. 19), and as for ten years at least there had been no war (xiv. 1), the effective force had naturally increased. It was 400,000; it is now 580,000.

9. *There came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian.*] Zerah the Ethiopian is probably Usarken (Osorkon) II., the third king of Egypt after Shishak, according to the Egyptian monuments. The three root letters of the Hebrew name Zerah, *z*, *r*, and *ch*, represent fairly enough the three main consonants of the Egyptian word, Usarken. And Osorkon II. may have been by birth an Ethiopian, for he was the son-in-law, not the son, of the preceding monarch, and reigned in right of his wife. The object of the expedition, if made by Osorkon, would be to chastise Asa, and to bring Judæa once more under the Egyptian yoke.

with an host of a thousand thousand.] This is the largest collected army of which we hear in Scripture; but it does not exceed the known numbers of other Oriental armies in ancient times. Darius Codomannus brought into the field at Arbela a force of 1,040,000 (Arr. 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 8). Xerxes crossed into Greece with certainly above a million of combatants. Artaxerxes Mnemon collected 1,260,000 men to meet the attack of the younger Cyrus. (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 7, § 12.)

unto Mareshah.] On the position of Mareshah, see note on ch. xi. 8. It is evident that the advance from Egypt was made, as usual, along the coast; and Judæa was approached on the south-west from the country of the Philistines. Mareshah (Marissa, Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 8, § 6) lay here, at the edge of the hill country of Judæa, and commanded the entrance of an important valley. It had, no doubt, been fortified by Asa, and was able, consequently, to delay Zerah's progress.

10. *They set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah.*] The "valley of Zephathah"—not elsewhere mentioned—is probably the broad wady which opens out from Mareshah in a north-westerly direction, leading into the great Philistine plain. Zerah, on the advance of Asa, drew off, it seems, from Mareshah into the wider space of the wady, where he could use his horsemen and chariots.

11. *It is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power.*] Rather, "it is alike to thee to help the powerful or the weak"—thou canst as easily, *i.e.* help the weak as the strong.

thy name we go against this multitude. O LORD, thou *art* our God; let not [1]man prevail against thee.

[1] Or, *mortal man.*

12 So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled.

13 And Asa and the people that *were* with him pursued them unto Gerar: and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves; for they were [†]destroyed before the LORD, and before his host; and they carried away very much spoil.

[†] Heb. *broken.*

14 And they smote all the cities round about Gerar; for the fear of the LORD came upon them: and they spoiled all the cities; for there was exceeding much spoil in them.

15 They smote also the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep and camels in abundance, and returned to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *Asa with Judah and many of Israel, moved [*]by the prophecy of Azariah the son of Oded, make a solemn covenant with God.* 16 *He putteth down Maachah his mother for her idolatry.* 18 *He bringeth dedicate things into the house of God, and enjoyeth a long peace.*

AND the Spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of Oded:

2 And he went out [†]to meet Asa, and said unto him, Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin; The LORD *is* with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.

[†] Heb. *before Asa.*

3 Now for a long season Israel *hath been* without the true God, and

in thy name we go, &c.] Compare 1 Sam. xvii. 45.

12. *The Ethiopians fled.*] The defeat of Zerah is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Jews. On no other occasion did they meet in the field and overcome the forces of either of the two great monarchies between which they were placed. It was seldom that they ventured to resist, unless behind walls. Shishak, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Ptolemy I., were either unopposed or only opposed in this way. On the one other occasion on which they took the field—which was under Josiah against Necho—their boldness issued in a most disastrous defeat. (See below, 2 Chr. xxxv. 20-24.) Now, however, under Asa, they appear to have gained a complete and most glorious victory over the entire force of Egypt, or of Ethiopia wielding the power of Egypt. The results which follow are most striking. The Southern power cannot rally from the blow, but rapidly declines, and, for above three centuries makes no further effort in this direction. Assyria grows in strength, continually pushes her arms further, and finally, under Sargon and Sennacherib, penetrates to Egypt itself. All fear of Egypt as an aggressive power ceases; and the Israelites learn instead to lean upon the Pharaohs for support. (2 K. xvii. 4; xviii. 21; Is. xxx. 2-4; &c.) Friendly ties alone connect the two countries; and it is not till B.C. 609 that an Egyptian force again enters Palestine with a hostile intention.

13. *Asa . . . pursued them unto Gerar.*] Gerar, which was in the "south country" (Gen. xx. 1), and not far from Gaza (ib. x. 19), must have been at least 20 miles from the scene of the battle. It lay on the direct route from Mareshah to Egypt, and probably belonged at this time to the Philistines.

his host.] *I.e.* the army of Asa.

14. *They smote all the cities round about Gerar.*] The Philistines of these parts had, it is probable, accompanied Zerah in his expedition.

the fear of the Lord came upon them.] They were too much terrified at Asa's victory, which they ascribed to the might of his God, Jehovah, to make an effectual resistance.

15. *Camels.*] Gerar lay on the borders of the southern desert, and the wealth of its inhabitants would therefore consist largely in camels. (Compare 1 Sam. xxvii. 9; xxx. 17.)

CHAP. XV. 1. *The Spirit of God came upon Azariah.*] Compare Num. xxiv. 2, where the same expression occurs, and see below, ch. xx. 14 and xxiv. 20.

the son of Oded.] Oded is by some identified with Iddo, the prophet and historian of the two preceding reigns. In the Hebrew the two names differ very slightly. (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

2. *If ye seek him, he will be found of you.*] Compare 1 Chr. xxviii. 9, and Jerem. xxix. 13.

3. *Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God.*] Rather, "Many a

without a teaching priest, and without law.

4 But when they in their trouble did turn unto the LORD God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them.

5 And in those times *there was* no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations *were* upon all the inhabitants of the countries.

† Heb. *beaten in pieces.*

6 And nation was †destroyed of nation, and city of city: for God did vex them with all adversity.

7 Be ye strong therefore, and let not your hands be weak: for your work shall be rewarded.

8 And when Asa heard these words, and the prophecy of Oded the prophet, he took courage, and put away the †abominable idols out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken from mount Ephraim, and renewed the altar of the LORD, that *was* before the porch of the LORD.

† Heb. *abominations.*

9 And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for they fell to

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time hath Israel been without the true God." Israel here is used generally for the whole people of God; and the reference is especially to the many apostacies in the days of the Judges (Jud. iii. 7, 12; iv. 1; vi. 1; viii. 33; x. 6), which were followed by repentance and deliverance.

without a teaching priest.] The Israelites had never been without priests of one kind or another; but there had been occasions when none of their priests taught them the true doctrine.

without law.] See Jud. xvii. 6, xxi. 25.

4. *When they in their trouble did turn, &c.*] See Jud. iii. 9, 15; iv. 3; vi. 7, 8; x. 10, 15; &c.

5. *There was no peace to him that went out, &c.*] Compare Jud. v. 6: "the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways."

the countries.] *I.e.* "the several regions or districts into which the Holy Land was popularly divided"—as Galilee, Gilead, the Jordan valley, Mount Ephraim, Sharon, and the like.

6. *Nation was destroyed of nation.*] The special allusion here is probably to the destruction of the Benjamites by the other tribes, recorded in Judges xx. 33-48.

and city of city.] See Jud. ix. 45.

7. *Be ye strong therefore.*] Rather, "Be ye firm;" *i.e.* "continue faithful to Jehovah; do not forsake Him, as Israel did in old times."

8. *And the prophecy of Oded the prophet.*] If these words are accepted as sound, the only legitimate explanation of them is to refer them, not to the prophecy here mentioned as uttered by Azariah, but to another prophecy, uttered by his father, which has not been put on record. The Alexandrian Septuagint, however, the Syriac Version, and the Vulgate have, "the prophecy of *Azariah the son of* Oded," which is perhaps the true reading.

he took courage, and put away the abominable idols, &c.] It appears by these words, either that the reformation of religion recorded in ch. xiv. 3-5 was there mentioned by anticipation, as the most important event of Asa's reign, and not as belonging to his early years—or that his early endeavours had only a partial success, and so it was requisite to make a fresh effort in order to bring the good work to completion.

the cities which he had taken from mount Ephraim.] There seems to be here, and in ch. xvii. 2, a slight inaccuracy of expression. Asa had had as yet no war with Israel; and the cities intended are evidently those which were taken after his great victory by Asa's father, Abijah. (See ch. xiii. 19.)

renewed the altar of the Lord.] It would seem from the expression here used, which occurs again in the account of the reformation of Joash (ch. xxiv. 4), that the altar had been desecrated during Rehoboam's or Abijah's reign, and therefore required a complete renewal. The fact that the restoration of the altar belongs to this time supports the view that Asa's reformation *began* in his 15th year, since it would naturally be among the very first acts of one bent on restoring the worship of Jehovah.

9. *The strangers . . . out of Ephraim and Manasseh.*] That is, "Israelites of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh." The separation of the two kingdoms had made their Israelite brethren "strangers," or "foreigners," to Judah.

and out of Simeon.] It is probable that the bulk of the Simeonites had from the first

him out of Israel in abundance, when they saw that the LORD his God *was* with him.

10 So they gathered themselves together at Jerusalem in the third month, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa.

11 And they offered unto the LORD † the same time, of the spoil *which* they had brought, seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep.

† Heb. *in that day.*

12 And they entered into a covenant to seek the LORD God of their fathers with all their heart and with all their soul;

13 That whosoever would not seek the LORD God of Israel [e] should be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman.

[e] Deut. 13. 9.

14 And they sware unto the LORD with a loud voice, and with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets.

15 And all Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn with all their heart, and sought him with their whole desire; and he was found of them: and the LORD gave them rest round about.

16 ¶ And also *concerning* [a] Maachah the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from *being* queen, because she had made an † idol in a grove: and Asa cut down her idol, and stamped *it*, and burnt *it* at the brook Kidron.

[a] 1 Kin. 15. 13.

† Heb. *horror.*

17 But the high places were not taken away out of Israel: neverthe-

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attached themselves to the more southern kingdom, within the limits of which lay their inheritance (Josh. xix. 1). But it appears from this passage, and from ch. xxxiv. 6, that some of them dwelt beyond the limits of Judah, and within those of Israel. (Compare Gen. xlix. 7, where it is prophesied that they shall be "scattered.") Some of these Simeonites now transferred their allegiance to Asa.

they fell to him out of Israel in abundance.] Compare above, ch. xi. 16.

10. *In the third month.*] *I.e.* the month Sivan (Esth. viii. 9), corresponding with our June. Zerah's invasion had probably fallen in the early spring, the ordinary time at which the Orientals commence their expeditions. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 69.)

11. *Of the spoil which they had brought.*] See ch. xiv. 13 and 15.

seven hundred . . . seven thousand.] The prevalence of the number seven in the religious system of the Jews has been often noticed. Seven bullocks and seven rams were a common offering. (Num. xxix. 32; 1 Chr. xv. 26; 2 Chr. xxix. 21; Job xlii. 8; Ezek. xlv. 23.) In the larger sacrifices, however, it is seldom that we find the number seven at all prominent. (Compare 1 K. viii. 63; 2 Chr. xxx. 24; xxxv. 7-9.)

12. *They entered into a covenant.*] Solemn renewals of the original covenant which God made with their fathers in the wilderness (Ex. xxiv. 3-8) occur from time to time in the history of the Jews, following upon intervals of apostacy. This renewal in the reign of Asa is the first on record. The next falls three hundred years later, in the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 3; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 31). There is a third in the time of Nehemiah, mentioned in Nehem. x. 28-39. On such occasions, the people bound themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the directions of the Law, and called down God's curse upon them if they forsook it.

13. *That whosoever would not seek the Lord . . . should be put to death.*] We do not find this engagement expressly made in other renewals of the covenant. It would, however, be implied in them, since it was one of the commandments of the Law. (See Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 9, 15; xvii. 2-7.)

15. *And the Lord gave them rest round about.*] Another period of tranquillity followed on the defeat of Zerah, a period, probably, of ten years. (See note on verse 19.) No state ventured to attack the powerful monarch who had defeated the vast levies of Egypt; and Asa on his part was apparently of a peaceful disposition.

16. *And also concerning Maachah.*] See 1 K. xv. 13, which is expressed in almost exactly the same words.

17. *The high places were not taken away.*] Yet we read, in ch. xiv. 3, that "Asa took away the high places," and, ib. verse 5, that he "took away out of *all* the cities of Judah the high places and the images." It has been proposed to reconcile the apparent discrepancy by distinguishing between two kinds of high places, those where Jehovah was worshipped and those dedicated to other gods; but the truer explanation would seem to be that in ch. xiv. 3 and 5 the intention and endeavours of the

less the heart of Asa was perfect all his days.

18 ¶ And he brought into the house of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himself had dedicated, silver, and gold, and vessels.

19 And there was no *more* war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa.

monarch are in the writer's mind, while in this verse he is speaking of the practice of the people. However earnestly the most pious monarchs sought to root out the high-place worship, which was probably always more or less tinged with idolatry, they failed of complete success. Labour as they would, "the high places were not"—all of them—"taken away." A similar discrepancy, to be similarly explained, occurs in the history of Jehoshaphat (ch. xvii. 6, and xx. 33).

the heart of Asa was perfect all his days.] It is not meant that Asa was sinless, for the writer soon afterwards records some grievous transgressions of this king's (ch. xvi. 2-10, and 12); but only that he was free from the sin of idolatry, and continued faithful to Jehovah all his life.

18. *And he brought into the house of God.*] This verse is identical with 1 K. xv. 15. (See the notes on that passage.)

19. *And there was no more war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa.*] The note of time contained in this verse and in verse 1 of the ensuing chapter, which is really part of the same sentence, cannot be reconciled with the chronology of Kings, since, according to that, Baasha died in the 26th year of Asa (1 K. xvi. 8). To remove the difficulty by supposing that "the 35th year *of the reign of Asa*" means "the 35th year after the separation of the kingdoms" is at once to violate all customary speech usage and to make the author of Chronicles adopt a mode of marking time unknown either to himself or to any other Scriptural writer. It is really necessary to suppose either the corruption of a figure here and in ch. xvi. 1, or the acceptance by the author of Chronicles of different chronological data from those made use of in Kings. The former supposition is evidently preferable—and the simplest alteration of the text would seem to be to read in both verses "twentieth" for "thirtieth." The attack of Baasha would then have been made in the last year of his reign; and ten years of peace would have followed Asa's victory over Zerah. (See note on verse 15.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 1. "The Son of Oded."

Oded is עֹדֵד, while Iddo is עִדּוֹ, or Oded with a *vau* added.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Asa, by the aid of the Syrians, diverteth Baasha from building of Ramah.* 7 *Being reproved thereof by Hanani, he putteth him in prison.* 11 *Among his other acts in his disease he seeketh not to God, but to the physicians.* 13 *His death and burial.*

IN the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa [b]Baasha king of Israel came up against Judah, and built Ramah, to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.

[b] 1 Kin. 15. 17.

2 Then Asa brought out silver and gold out of the treasures of the house of the LORD and of the king's house, and sent to Ben-hadad king of Syria, that dwelt at [†]Damascus, saying,

[†] Heb. *Darmesek.*

3 *There is* a league between me and thee, as *there was* between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent thee silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.

4 And Ben-hadad hearkened unto

CHAP. XVI. 1-6. This passage runs parallel with 1 K. xv. 17-22, and contains nothing additional, except the date in verse 1, and the mention, in verse 4, of the "store cities" of Naphtali.

3. *There is a league, &c.*] Rather, "Let there be a league between me and thee, as there was between my father and thy father." Compare note on 1 K. xv. 19.

king Asa, and sent the captains of † his armies against the cities of Israel; and they smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-maim, and all the store cities of Naphtali.

† Heb. *which were his.*

5 And it came to pass, when Baasha heard *it*, that he left off building of Ramah, and let his work cease.

6 Then Asa the king took all Judah; and they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha was building; and he built therewith Geba and Mizpah.

7 ¶ And at that time Hanani the seer came to Asa king of Judah, and said unto him, Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and not relied on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand.

8 Were not [c] the Ethiopians and the Lubims † a huge host, with very many chariots and horsemen? yet, because thou didst rely on the LORD, he delivered them into thine hand.

[c] ch. 14. 9.

† Heb. *in abundance.*

9 For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, [1] to shew himself strong in the behalf of *them* whose heart *is* perfect toward him. Herein thou hast done foolishly: therefore from henceforth thou shalt have wars.

[1] Or, *strongly to hold with* them &c.

10 Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in a prison house; for *he was* in a rage with him because of this *thing*. And Asa † oppressed *some* of the people the same time.

† Heb. *crushed.*

11 ¶ And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, lo, they *are* written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

12 And Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet, until his disease *was* exceeding *great:* yet in his disease he sought not to the LORD, but to the physicians.

13 ¶ And Asa slept with his fathers,

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4. *Abel-maim.*] In the parallel passage of Kings this place is called (1 K. xv. 20) "Abel-beth-maachah." It was one of the towns most exposed to attack when an invader entered Israel from the north, and is mentioned as taken from Pekah by Tiglath-pileser. (2 K. xv. 29.)

the store cities of Naphtali.] See above, ch. viii. 6, and compare 1 K. ix. 19.

7-10. The rebuke of Hanani and his imprisonment by Asa are omitted by the writer of Kings, and are among the most important of the additions to Asa's history for which we are indebted to the author of Chronicles.

7. *Hanani the seer.*] This is the only mention that we have of Hanani, unless he was the father of Jehu the seer, who prophesied against Baasha (1 K. xvi. 1-4, 7) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 2).

escaped out of thine hand.] This expression, which seems strange, as spoken of an ally who had just done good service, is best explained by regarding the prophet as having in his thought, not what had happened, but what might have happened. "Hadst thou been faithful," he means to say, "and opposed in arms the joint host of Israel and Syria, instead of bribing the Syrian king to desert to thy side, the entire host would have been delivered into thy hand, as was Zerah's, to slay and spoil. But now it is escaped from thee. Thou hast lost a glorious opportunity."

8. *The Ethiopians and the Lubims . . . with . . . chariots and horsemen.*] The army of Zerah was composed of the same principal nations, and consisted of the same principal elements, as that of Shishak. (See above, ch. xii. 3.) Hence it is absurd to regard him as an invader from the Persian Gulf or from Arabia.

9. *From henceforth thou shalt have wars.*] As peace had been the reward of Asa's earlier faith (ch. xiv. 5; xv. 5), so his want of faith was now to be punished by a period of war and disturbance.

10. *And put him in a prison house.*] Or, "in the stocks." Compare Ahab's treatment of Micaiah (1 K. xxii. 26, 27).

12. *Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet.*] Asa's malady began two years before his decease (see verse 13). It is generally supposed to have been gout; but this is really uncertain.

yet in his disease he sought not, &c.] Rather, "**and in his disease too** he sought not." The meaning is, that not only in his war with Baasha, but also when attacked by illness, Asa placed an undue reliance upon the aid obtainable from man.

13. *Asa . . . died in the one and fortieth year of his reign.*] Compare 1 K. xv. 10.

and died in the one and fortieth year of his reign.

14 And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had † made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds *of spices* prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him.

† Heb. *digged.*

CHAPTER XVII.

1 Jehoshaphat, succeeding Asa, reigneth well, and prospereth. 7 He sendeth Levites with the princes to teach Judah. 10 His enemies being terrified by God, some of them bring him presents and tribute. 12 His greatness, captains, and armies.

[d] 1 Kin. 15. 24.

AND [d] Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, and strengthened himself against Israel.

2 And he placed forces in all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken.

3 And the LORD was with Jehoshaphat, because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought not unto Baalim;

4 But sought to the *LORD* God of his father, and walked in his commandments, and not after the doings of Israel.

5 Therefore the LORD stablished the kingdom in his hand; and all Judah † brought to Jehoshaphat presents; and he had riches and honour in abundance.

† Heb. *gave.*

6 And his heart ‖ was lifted up in the ways of the LORD: moreover he

‖ That is, *was encouraged.*

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14. *They buried him in his own sepulchres.*] The use of the plural—"sepulchres"—will not seem strange, if we remember that a tomb in Judæa was ordinarily an excavation in the solid rock containing a number of cells, each capable of holding a body. (See note on 1 K. xiii. 30.)

they made a very great burning for him.] Compare ch. xxi. 19, and Jer. xxxiv. 5; from which it appears that the burning of spices in honour of a king at his funeral was customary, and that the only peculiarity in the instance before us was the large quantity, and perhaps the rare quality, of the spice burnt.

CHAP. XVII. **1.** *Jeshoshaphat ... strengthened himself against Israel.*] Jehoshaphat ascended the throne in the fourth year of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 41), probably after that monarch had contracted his alliance with the royal family of Sidon, and before he was engaged in war with Syria. It was thus not unnatural that he should begin his reign by strengthening himself against a possible attack on the part of his northern neighbour.

2. *He ... set garrisons.*] Or, "governors." (Compare 1 K. iv. 7, 19.)

the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken.] See note on ch. xv. 8.

3. *He walked in the first ways of his father David.*] The Septuagint and several of the Hebrew MSS. omit "David," which has probably crept in from the margin; for David's "first ways" are nowhere else contrasted with his later ways. The real meaning of the writer is, that Jehoshaphat followed the example set by his father Asa in his earlier years. (See above, chs. xiv. and xv.) It is wrong to translate, as is done in the margin of some bibles, "of his father and of David."

Baalim.] By "Baalim" seem to be meant different forms of the god Baal, such as Baal-berith, Baal-peor, Baal-zebub, and the like. Jehoshaphat was not seduced into this worship, though in his day it overspread almost the whole kingdom of Israel. (See the next note.)

4. *The doings of Israel.*] By this we are to understand not so much the worship of the calves, which, being antagonistic to Judah, could scarcely possess attractions for a Jewish king, as the special idolatrous doings of the time—the introduction and establishment of the worship of Baal and the groves. (See 1 K. xvi. 31-33; xix. 18.)

5. *Presents.*] *I.e.* "free-will offerings," in addition to the regular taxes. There is some reason to believe that a "benevolence" of this kind was expected as a matter of course, at the accession of a new sovereign. (See 1 Sam. x. 27.)

6. *His heart was lifted up.*] This expression generally occurs in a bad sense (as in Deut. viii. 14; 2 Chr. xxvi. 16; Ps. cxxxi. 1; Prov. xviii. 12; &c.); but it is evident that here it must be taken differently. The marginal "was encouraged" expresses fairly the true meaning. Jehoshaphat was emboldened by his sense of the Divine favour resting on him to go further than he had ventured at

took away the high places and groves out of Judah.

7 ¶ Also in the third year of his reign he sent to his princes, *even* to Ben-hail, and to Obadiah, and to Zechariah, and to Nethaneel, and to Michaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah.

8 And with them *he sent* Levites, *even* Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, Levites; and with them Elishama and Jehoram, priests.

9 And they taught in Judah, and *had* the book of the law of the LORD with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people.

10 ¶ And the fear of the LORD †fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that *were* round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat.

† Heb. *was.*

11 Also *some* of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents, and tribute silver; and the Arabians brought him flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and seven thousand and seven hundred he goats.

12 ¶ And Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly; and he built in Judah ‖castles, and cities of store.

‖ Or, *palaces.*

13 And he had much business in the cities of Judah: and the men of war, mighty men of valour, *were* in Jerusalem.

14 And these *are* the numbers of them according to the house of their fathers: Of Judah, the captains of thousands; Adnah the chief, and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand.

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first. He began by setting an example of faithfulness to Jehovah. He proceeded to use his best endeavours to extirpate idolatry.

he took away the high places.] Compare ch. xx. 33: "Howbeit the high places were not taken away;" and on the proper mode of reconciling the apparent contradiction, see note on ch. xv. 17.

7. *He sent to his princes . . . to teach.*] Some translate, "He sent his princes to teach;" but the peculiar construction, which does not occur elsewhere, seems to be used in order to mark that the princes were not sent as teachers themselves, but only had the duty committed to them of seeing that the people were taught. The actual teachers were the priests and Levites of the next verse. (See above, ch. xv. 3, and below, ch. xxxv. 3.)

9. *And had the book of the law . . . with them.*] There is no reasonable doubt that this "book of the law" was the Pentateuch—nearly, if not quite, in the shape in which we now have it. Copies of the whole Law were, no doubt, scarce; and therefore Jehoshaphat's commission took care to carry a copy with them.

11. *Some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents.*] *I. e.* "some of the Philistines were among his tributaries." (Compare 2 Sam. viii. 2; 1 K. iv. 21; x. 25; &c.)

tribute silver.] Or, "much silver"—literally, "silver of burthen."

the Arabians.] The Arab tribes who bordered Judæa to the south and the south-east paid Jehoshaphat a fixed tribute in kind. On the wide prevalence of this practice, see 2 K. iii. 4, and note ad loc.

12. *He built in Judah castles* (marg. *palaces*).] The rare word here used, which occurs only in this place and in ch. xxvii. 4, appears by the context of both passages to mean "castles" rather than "palaces."

13. *He had much business in the cities of Judah.*] Besides building new castles and new "cities of store" or fortified towns, Jehoshaphat expended much labour on the old "cities of Judah," in multiplying and strengthening their defences.

and the men of war . . . were in Jerusalem.] Rather, "**and he had men of war**, mighty men of valour, in Jerusalem."

14. *According to the house of their fathers.*] Whenever a census was taken among the Israelites, the numbering was by tribes and families. Hence the expression in the text, which occurs thirteen times in the first chapter of Numbers. (See verses 18, 22, 24, 26, &c.)

the captains of thousands.] Literally "princes of thousands." In the Hebrew there is no article; and the term used is that commonly translated "princes." (See 1 K. iv. 2; 2 Chr. xii. 5; &c.)

Adnah the chief.] Translate, "Adnah the **prince**." The writer does not mean that Adnah was in any way superior to the other "princes," but only that he was one of them.

three hundred thousand.] This number, and

† Heb. *at his hand.*

15 And †next to him *was* Jehohanan the captain, and with him two hundred and fourscore thousand.

16 And next him *was* Amasiah the son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour.

17 And of Benjamin; Eliada a mighty man of valour, and with him armed men with bow and shield two hundred thousand.

18 And next him *was* Jehozabad, and with him an hundred and fourscore thousand ready prepared for the war.

19 These waited on the king, besides *those* whom the king put in the fenced cities throughout all Judah.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *Jehoshaphat, joined in affinity with Ahab, is persuaded to go with him against Ramoth-gilead.* 4 *Ahab, seduced by false prophets, according to the word of Micaiah, is slain there.*

NOW Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance, and joined affinity with Ahab.

2 [a]And †after *certain* years he went down to Ahab to Samaria. And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him

[a] 1 Kings 22. 2.

† Heb. *at the end of years.*

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those which follow in verses 15-18, have been with good reason regarded as corrupt by most critics. They cannot be successfully defended either as probable in themselves or as in harmony with the other statements of the military force, or of the population, contained in our author. For—1. They imply a minimum population of 1480 to the square mile, which is more than three times greater than that of any country in the known world. 2. They produce a total which largely exceeds every other statement of the military force of Judah which we have in Scripture, the amount being *just double* that of the next largest estimate—the 580,000 of ch. xiv. 8. 3. They are professedly a statement, not of the whole military force, but of the force maintained *at Jerusalem* (verse 13), and are distinctly said to be exclusive of the numerous garrisons in the other cities and strongholds of Judah (see verse 19, and compare verses 2 and 12). 4. They are suspicious in themselves, the first (300,000) and second (280,000) being repetitions of the numbers in ch. xiv. 8, while the remainder (200,000, 200,000, and 180,000) are formed from these by the deduction from them in each case of 100,000. Some writers would correct the passage by removing from each of the numbers one cypher, thus reducing the total from 1,160,000 to 116,000: but it is more probable that the original numbers have been lost, and the loss supplied by a scribe, who took ch. xiv. 8 as his basis.

15. *Jehohanan the captain.*] *I.e.* "the prince." The title is exactly the same as that given in the preceding verse to Adnah.

16. *Who willingly offered himself unto the Lord.*] The meaning of this clause is very doubtful. Some suppose it simply to mark that Amasiah served as a volunteer. Others understand that by an act of his own he had consecrated himself to the service of Jehovah.

17. *Armed men with bow and shield.*] On the use of the Benjamites as light-armed troops, rather than as heavy-armed, see note on ch. xiv. 8.

19. *These waited on the king.*] Some understand these words of the "princes" only. But they are more properly taken as referring to all the "men of war." Compare the two clauses—"*These* are the numbers" (verse 14)—"*These* waited on the king" (verse 19)—the one clause introducing, the other concluding the enumeration.

CHAP. XVIII. 1. *Jehoshaphat . . . joined affinity with Ahab.*] Ahab gave his daughter, Athaliah, in marriage to Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's eldest son. (See below, ch. xxii. 2, and compare 2 K. viii. 26.) The date of the marriage must have been at least as early as Jehoshaphat's eighth or ninth year. (See note on 1 K. xxii. 2.)

2. *After certain years.*] The visit of Jehoshaphat to Ahab fell in Jehoshaphat's seventeenth year (1 K. xxii. 51), not less than eight years after the marriage.

he went down to Ahab.] The history of Jehoshaphat in Chronicles has, up to this point, been almost entirely additional to the narrative contained in Kings. Now, however, we come to a passage in his life which both writers deliver to us almost in the same words. The present chapter runs parallel with 1 K. xxii. 2-35, which it closely follows, only adding a few touches.

Ahab killed sheep and oxen.] Ahab, that is, feasted his royal brother magnificently, before he opened to him the subject of the Syrian war, hoping thereby to dispose him to receive favourably his request for aid.

in abundance, and for the people that *he had* with him, and persuaded him to go up *with him* to Ramoth-gilead.

3 And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he answered him, I *am* as thou *art*, and my people as thy people; and *we will be* with thee in the war.

4 ¶ And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Enquire, I pray thee, at the word of the LORD to day.

5 Therefore the king of Israel gathered together of prophets four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for God will deliver *it* into the king's hand.

6 But Jehoshaphat said, *Is there* not here a prophet of the LORD † Heb. *yet*, or, *more*. †besides, that we might enquire of him?

7 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, *There is* yet one man, by whom we may enquire of the LORD: but I hate him; for he never prophesied good unto me, but always evil: the same *is* Micaiah the son of Imla. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so.

8 And the king of Israel called for ‖ Or, *eunuchs*. one *of his* ‖officers, and said, † Heb. *Hasten*. †Fetch quickly Micaiah the son of Imla.

9 And the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah sat either of them on his throne, clothed in ‖ Or, *floor*. *their* robes, and they sat in a ‖void place at the entering in of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them.

10 And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah had made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With these thou shalt push Syria † Heb. *thou consume them*. until †they be consumed.

11 And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver *it* into the hand of the king.

12 And the messenger that went to call Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the words of the prophets *declare* good to the king †with one † Heb. *with one mouth*. assent; let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of their's, and speak thou good.

13 And Micaiah said, *As* the LORD liveth, even what my God saith, that will I speak.

14 And when he was come to the king, the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And he said, Go ye up, and prosper, and they shall be delivered into your hand.

15 And the king said to him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou say nothing but the truth to me in the name of the LORD?

16 Then he said, I did see all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no master; let them return *therefore* every man to his house in peace.

17 And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee *that* he would not prophesy good unto me, ‖ Or, *but for evil*! ‖but evil?

18 Again he said, Therefore hear the word of the LORD; I saw the LORD sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and *on* his left.

19 And the LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake saying after this manner, and another saying after that manner.

20 Then there came out a [b]spirit, [b] Job 1. 6. and stood before the LORD, and said, I will entice him. And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith?

21 And he said, I will go out, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And *the* LORD said, Thou shalt entice *him*, and thou shalt also prevail: go out, and do *even* so.

22 Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth

of these thy prophets, and the LORD hath spoken evil against thee.

23 Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee?

24 And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day when thou shalt go ‖into †an inner chamber to hide thyself.

‖ Or, *from chamber to chamber.*

† Heb. *a chamber in a chamber.*

25 Then the king of Israel said, Take ye Micaiah, and carry him back to Amon the governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son;

26 And say, Thus saith the king, Put this *fellow* in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I return in peace.

27 And Micaiah said, If thou certainly return in peace, *then* hath not the LORD spoken by me. And he said, Hearken, all ye people.

28 So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah went up to Ramoth-gilead.

29 And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and will go to the battle; but put thou on thy robes. So the king of Israel disguised himself; and they went to the battle.

30 Now the king of Syria had commanded the captains of the chariots that *were* with him, saying, Fight ye not with small or great, save only with the king of Israel.

31 And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, It *is* the king of Israel. Therefore they compassed about him to fight: but Jehoshaphat cried out, and the LORD helped him; and God moved them *to depart* from him.

32 For it came to pass, that, when the captains of the chariots perceived that it was not the king of Israel, they turned back again †from pursuing him.

† Heb. *from after him.*

33 And a *certain* man drew a bow †at a venture, and smote the king of Israel †between the joints of the harness: therefore he said to his chariot man, Turn thine hand, that thou mayest carry me out of the host; for I am †wounded.

† Heb. *in his simplicity.*

† Heb. *between the joints and between the breastplate.*

† Heb. *made sick.*

34 And the battle increased that day: howbeit the king of Israel stayed *himself* up in *his* chariot against the Syrians until the even: and about the time of the sun going down he died.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *Jehoshaphat, reproved by Jehu, visiteth his kingdom.* 5 *His instructions to the judges,* 8 *to the priests and Levites.*

AND Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned to his house in peace to Jerusalem.

2 And Jehu the son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said

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31. *And the Lord helped him; and God moved them to depart from him.*] There is nothing correspondent to this passage in Kings. It must be viewed as a pious reflection on the part of the author, who traces all deliverance to its real divine source, but does not at all intend to say that any special divine influence was used to induce the Syrians to depart. See the next verse, where the reason why the Syrian captains turned back is stated in the same words as in Kings —they "perceived" (probably by his cry) "that it was not the king of Israel."

CHAP. XIX. This chapter is entirely additional to Kings, and of great interest. It deals with three matters only, the rebuke addressed to Jehoshaphat by the prophet Jehu (verses 1-3), the personal efforts of Jehoshaphat to effect a religious reformation (verse 4), and his reform of the judicial system (verses 5-11).

1. *Jehoshaphat . . . returned to his house in peace.*] With the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, and the death of Ahab, the war came to an end. The combined attack of the two kings having failed, their troops had been withdrawn, and the enterprise in which they had joined relinquished. The Syrians, satisfied with their victory, did not press on the retreating foe, or carry the war into their enemies' country.

2. *Jehu . . . went out to meet him.*] So Azariah, the son of Oded, "went out to meet" Asa (ch. xv. 2). The monarch was thus rebuked at the earliest possible moment, and in the most effective way—when he was

to king Jehoshaphat, Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the LORD? therefore *is* wrath upon thee from before the LORD.

[a] ch. 17. 4, 6. 3 Nevertheless there are [a]good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away the groves out of the land, and hast prepared thine heart to seek God.

† Heb. *he returned and went out.* 4 And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and [†]he went out again through the people from Beer-sheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back unto the LORD God of their fathers.

5 ¶ And he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city,

6 And said to the judges, Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the LORD, who *is* with you [†]in the judgment. † Heb. *in the matter of judgment.*

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entering his capital at the head of his returning army. It would seem that Jehu, who, thirty-five years previously, had his sphere of action in the northern kingdom, and prophesied against Baasha (1 K. xvi. 1–7), had now transferred his residence to Jerusalem, where he filled the offices of prophet and historian. (Compare ch. xx. 34.)

Shouldest thou help, &c.] As a matter of mere human politics, the conduct of Jehoshaphat in joining Ahab against the Syrians was not only justifiable but wise and prudent. Notwithstanding the occasional losses inflicted upon her by the Assyrians, Syria of Damascus was at this time growing in power, and threatening the independence of both the Palestinian kingdoms. Her possession of the highlands of Gilead was a standing menace, no less to Judah than to Israel. The cessation, therefore, of fratricidal wars between the Ten Tribes and the Two, their substitution of friendship and alliance for distrust or hostility, and their close union against the common enemy, must to mere worldly politicians in either country have seemed eminently fit and proper, and calculated to be of advantage to both nations. And the reasonings upon which such a conviction was founded would have been unexceptionable but for one circumstance. Ahab was an idolater, and had introduced into his kingdom a false religion of a new and most degraded type. This should have led Jehoshaphat to reject his alliance. As Hanani rebuked Asa for his league with Benhadad (ch. xvi. 7), so his son is instructed to rebuke Jehoshaphat for his league with the idolatrous Ahab. Military success could only come from the blessing and protection of Jehovah, which such an alliance, if persisted in, was sure to forfeit.

therefore is wrath upon thee.] Therefore, in other words, is God angry with thee, and has caused the joint expedition to fail. Therefore is He still displeased; but, nevertheless, He has not forgotten that there are "good things" in thee. He withholds his hand on this account, and waits to see how thou wilt act in future.

3. *Thou hast taken away the groves, &c.*] See above, ch. xvii. 4 and 6.

4. *Jehoshaphat . . . went out again through the people . . . and brought them back, &c.*] While declining to renounce the alliance with Israel, which had become a settled part of his policy, and continuing to maintain, both with Ahaziah (ch. xx. 35–37) and with his successor Jehoram (2 K. iii. 7–27), the closest and most friendly relations, Jehoshaphat was careful to show that he had no sympathy with idolatry, and was determined to keep his people, so far as he possibly could, free from it. He therefore now personally set about a second reformation. Passing through the whole land, from the extreme south to the extreme north—from Beer-sheba to the cities in Mount Ephraim which Abijah had taken from Jeroboam (ch. xiii. 19)—he once more put down by the strong arm of authority all idolatrous worship, and brought his people back to Jehovah, the God of their fathers.

5. *And he set judges in the land.*] What exact change Jehoshaphat made in the judicial system of Judah, it is impossible to determine. There had, no doubt, been from the first local judges, or magistrates, in all the chief cities and towns (Deut. xvi. 18). David seems to have assigned the office of judge to 6000 Levites (1 Chr. xxiii. 4). Probably Jehoshaphat found corruption widely spread (see verse 7), and the magistrates in some places tainted with the prevailing idolatry. He therefore made a fresh appointment of judges throughout the whole country—not, perhaps, excluding all the old magistrates, but issuing to such as he chose to reappoint a fresh commission.

throughout all the fenced cities.] This limitation to the "fenced cities" seems to imply either a concentration of judicial authority in the hands of a few, or the creation of superior courts in the chief towns, with a right of appeal to such courts from the village judge.

6. *Ye judge not for man, but for the Lord.*]

7 Wherefore now let the fear of the LORD be upon you; take heed and do *it:* for *there is* no iniquity with the LORD our God, nor [b] respect of persons, nor taking of gifts.

[b] Deu. 10. 17. Job 34. 19. Acts 10. 34. Rom. 2. 11. Gal. 2. 6. 1 Pet. 1. 17.

8 ¶ Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites, and *of* the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the LORD, and for controversies, when they returned to Jerusalem.

9 And he charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the LORD, faithfully, and with a perfect heart.

10 And what cause soever shall come to you of your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgments, ye shall even warn them that they trespass not against the LORD, and *so* wrath come upon you, and upon your brethren: this do, and ye shall not trespass.

11 And, behold, Amariah the chief priest *is* over you in all matters of

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Compare Deut. i. 17; and on the general principle that we are to perform all our duties to God rather than man, see Eph. vi. 6, 7; Col. iii. 23; &c.

who is with you in the judgment.] Some translate, "And with you by a word is the judgment"—"on you," *i.e.* "it depends by a single word to decide each matter however important." But the meaning given in the A. V. is probably the true one.

7. *There is no iniquity with the Lord, &c.*] Compare Deut. x. 17 and xvi. 19—passages which were probably in the speaker's mind.

8. *The chief of the fathers of Israel.*] The "fathers of Israel" are the heads of families—the "chief fathers" are the great patriarchal chiefs, the admitted heads of great houses or clans. It is interesting to find that such persons were now admitted to share in the judicial office which seems in David's time to have been confined to the Levites.

for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies.] By "the judgment of the Lord" we must understand cases wherein there was dispute concerning the performance of religious obligations, such as payments to the temple, offerings to redeem the first-born, and the like. In "controversies" we must regard as included all the ordinary causes, whether criminal or civil.

when they returned to Jerusalem.] The Hebrew has not, "when they returned," but, "and they returned to Jerusalem," a clause which has no meaning if we attach it to what goes before. If, however, we detach the clause from verse 8, and attach it to verse 9, the sense is fairly satisfactory. Translate the whole passage as follows: "And he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city; and said to the judges, Take heed, &c. Moreover, in Jerusalem had Jehoshaphat set of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord and for controversies. And they returned to Jerusalem" (*i.e.* the king and his attendants), "and he" (the king) "charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do," &c.

10. *What cause soever shall come to you of your brethren, &c.*] It is evident from this passage that the court at Jerusalem was to be especially, if not wholly, a court of appeal. The Jews who "dwelt in the cities," if dissatisfied with the decision given by the provincial judges, might remove the cause to Jerusalem, and there obtain a judgment of the Metropolitan Court.

between blood and blood.] 'In cases of homicide, question might arise as to the degree of blood-guiltiness. (Ex. xxi. 12-23.)

between law and commandment, statutes and judgments.] *I. e.* when there is a conflict of laws, when one clashes with another.

ye shall even warn them, &c.] Jehoshaphat seems not to have thought it necessary to warn the High Court of Jerusalem against respecting persons or taking bribes. He assumes that they will give just judgments, and requires them to do something more, viz. to admonish those who come before them to abstain from wrong in order not to bring down God's vengeance on the nation.

11. *Amariah the chief priest.*] Rather, "the high priest." Compare 1 Chr. vi. 11.

in all matters of the Lord.] See note on verse 8. In religious causes, Amariah, the high priest, was to preside over the court; in civil or criminal causes, Zebadiah was to

the LORD; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king's matters: also the Levites *shall be* officers before you. † Deal courageously, and the LORD shall be with the good.

† Heb. *Take courage and do.*

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Jehoshaphat in his fear proclaimeth a fast.* 5 *His prayer.* 14 *The prophecy of Jahaziel.* 20 *Jehoshaphat exhorteth the people, and setteth singers to praise the Lord.* 22 *The great overthrow of the enemies.* 26 *The people, having blessed God at Berachah, return in triumph.* 31 *Jehoshaphat's reign.* 35 *His convoy of ships, which he made with Ahaziah, according to the prophecy of Eliezer, unhappily perished.*

IT came to pass after this also, *that* the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them *other* beside the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle.

2 Then there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, There cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond the sea on this side Syria; and, behold, they *be* in Hazazon-tamar, which *is* En-gedi.

3 And Jehoshaphat feared, and set † himself to seek the LORD, and proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah.

† Heb. *his face.*

4 And Judah gathered themselves together, to ask *help* of the LORD: even out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD.

5 ¶ And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new court,

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be president. The fitness of this provision is apparent.

the Levites shall be officers before you.] A certain number of the Levites were included among the judges (see verse 8); but it is not these of whom Jehoshaphat is here speaking. He means to assign to Levites, other than the judges, all the subordinate offices about the court, as those of scribe, constable, and the like.

the Lord shall be with the good.] Compare ch. xv. 2-6. God shall be with those—*i.e.* shall protect and bless those —who are good and upright judges.

CHAP. XX. The narrative contained in this chapter, as far as verse 30, is entirely additional to Kings. The remainder, except verse 37, runs parallel with 1 K. xxii. 41-49.

1. *Other beside the Ammonites.*] This is a mistranslation. As the Hebrew text now stands, the only legitimate rendering of the passage would be—"The children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them of the Ammonites." As, however, the Ammonites would thus be mentioned twice over, it is impossible that the present text can be sound. Probably we ought to read "*Mehunim*," or "*Maonites*," for "Ammonites." (See above, note on 1 Chr. iv. 41; and below, notes on Ps. xlvi. Compare also Judg. x. 12; 2 Chr. xxvi. 7.) The passage would then run thus—"It came to pass after this that the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them **certain of the Maonites**," &c. (See Additional Note A at the end of the chapter.)

2. *From beyond the sea on this side Syria.*] Translate, "from beyond the sea, **from Edom**." The "sea" intended is, of course, the Dead Sea. "Syria" (Aram) is probably a mistake of a copyist for "Edom," which occurs in one MS. (On the close resemblance of these two words in the original, see Additional note on 1 K. xi. 25.) The Moabites and Ammonites, who dwelt beyond —*i.e.* east of—the Dead Sea, had marched round the southern extremity of that sheet of water, and had thus entered Judæa from Edom.

Hazazon-tamar, which is En-gedi.] En-gedi (now *Ain-Jidy*) is, properly speaking, the name of a copious spring of fresh water on the western side of the Dead Sea, about halfway between its northern and southern extremities. The spring bursts out from the limestone rocks at a considerable elevation, and forms a stream which runs into the sea. The town lay among the palm trees in the plain below, through which the stream flowed. Hence its name, Hazazon-tamar, "dividing the palm." By degrees the town itself got the name of its stream. It is still the custom of the predatory bands which invade southern Palestine from Moab to skirt the Dead Sea as far as *Ain-Jidy*, where they are certain of finding abundant water and forage, and whence they have a wide choice of routes and points of attack.

3. *Jehoshaphat . . . proclaimed a fast.*] General fasts had been previously observed by the Israelites, both in their internal wars (Judg. xx. 26) and in their struggle with the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 6); but we do not hear of any fast having been "proclaimed" by authority before this.

5. *In the house of the Lord, before the new*

6 And said, O LORD God of our fathers, *art* not thou God in heaven? and rulest *not* thou over all the kingdoms of the heaven? and in thine hand *is there not* power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?

† Heb. *thou.*

7 *Art* not thou our God, †*who* didst drive out the inhabitants of this land before thy people Israel, and gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy friend for ever?

8 And they dwelt therein, and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying,

[c] 1 Kin. 8. 37. ch. 6. 28.

9 [c]If, *when* evil cometh upon us, *as* the sword, judgment, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence, (for thy name *is* in this house,) and cry unto thee in our affliction, then thou wilt hear and help.

10 And now, behold, the children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom thou [d]wouldest not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned from them, and destroyed them not;

[d] Deut. 2. 9.

11 Behold, *I say*, *how* they reward us, to come to cast us out of thy possession, which thou hast given us to inherit.

12 O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do: but our eyes *are* upon thee.

13 And all Judah stood before the LORD, with their little ones, their wives, and their children.

14 ¶ Then upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, came the Spirit of the LORD in the midst of the congregation;

15 And he said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat,

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court.] The "house of the Lord," or temple, in the most extended sense of the term, included the courts, of which, in Solomon's temple, there were two. One of these had probably been renovated, either by Jehoshaphat or perhaps by his father, Asa (ch. xv. 8), and was now known as "the new court." In this the people were assembled, and Jehoshaphat prayed in front of them.

6. *And said.*] Jehoshaphat's appeal is threefold—1. "Art thou not the true God—omnipotent, and so able to help us?" 2. "Art thou not *our* God, who hast given us this land, and so art bound to help us against invaders?" And 3. "Art thou not the God especially *of this place*—the temple—and so bound to help those who pray to thee here?"

7. *Abraham thy friend.*] Historically, this is the first use of this remarkable expression, which is repeated by Isaiah (xli. 8) and St. James (ii. 23). The ground of the expression is to be found, not so much in Gen. xvii. 1-22, or xxii. 1-18, as in xviii. 23-33, where Abraham, in interceding for Sodom, spoke with God as a man with his friend. (Compare Ex. xxxiii. 11.)

for ever.] See Gen. xiii. 15; xvii. 8; &c.

8, 9. *Saying, If, when evil cometh upon us, &c.*] The appeal here is to the words of Solomon's prayer (1 K. viii. 33-45; 2 Chr. vi. 24-35), which God had formally accepted by sending down fire from heaven to consume the accompanying offering. (See ch. vii. 1.)

10. *The children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir.*] The Maonites of verse 1 are here, and in verses 22 and 23, called the "children" or "inhabitants of mount Seir." Hence we may gather that they were a tribe of Edomites, the inhabitants, probably, of a city Maon (now *Ma'an*) on the eastern side of the *Wady el-Arabah*. (Burckhardt, 'Syria,' Aug. 24.)

whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade.] See Deut. ii. 4, 9, 19. The Edomites were spared as descendants of Esau; the Moabites and Ammonites, as "children of Lot."

they turned from them.] See Num. xx. 21; Deut. ii. 8; Judg. xi. 18.

12. *Our eyes are upon thee.*] *I. e.* "we look to thee for succour." (Compare Ps. xxv. 15; cxli. 8; &c.)

14. *Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph.*] "Mattaniah" is probably a corrupt reading for "Nethaniah," who is mentioned among the sons of Asaph in 1 Chr. xxv. 2, 12.

came the Spirit of the Lord.] See note on ch. xv. 1.

Thus saith the LORD unto you, Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude; for the battle *is* not your's, but God's.

16 To morrow go ye down against them: behold, they come up by the † cliff of Ziz; and ye shall find them at the end of the ‖ brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel.

17 Ye shall not *need* to fight in this *battle:* set yourselves, stand ye *still*, and see the salvation of the LORD with you, O Judah and Jerusalem: fear not, nor be dismayed; to morrow go out against them: for the LORD *will be* with you.

18 And Jehoshaphat bowed his head with *his* face to the ground: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell before the LORD, worshipping the LORD.

19 And the Levites, of the children of the Kohathites, and of the children of the Korhites, stood up to praise the LORD God of Israel with a loud voice on high.

20 ¶ And they rose early in the morning, and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa: and as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; [e] Believe in the LORD your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper.

21 And when he had consulted with the people, he appointed singers unto the LORD, and † that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the LORD; for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

22 ¶ † And when they began † to sing and to praise, the LORD set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Moab, and mount Seir,

† Heb. *ascent.*
‖ Or, *valley.*
[e] Isai. 7. 9.
† Heb. *praisers.*
† Heb. *And in the time that they,* &c.
† Heb. *in singing and praise.*

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15. *Be not afraid nor dismayed.*] These were words familiar to the people, and connected with several great deliverances. (See Deut. i. 21; Josh. i. 9; &c.)

16. *The cliff* (marg. *ascent*) *of Ziz.*] By the "ascent of Ziz" or rather "of Hazziz" (for the initial *h*, which our translators have regarded as the article, is more probably a root letter) we must understand the mountain path which leads up from *Ain-Jidy* across the elevated tract still known as *El-Husasah*, in the direction of Tekoa, now *Tekua*. (See Robinson's 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 242-244.) This tract is furrowed by wadys, or torrent-courses, which run down to the Dead Sea.

ye shall find them at the end of the brook.] Rather, "at the end of the gulley," or dry torrent-course. It is impossible to say which of the wadys is intended, since no name like Jeruel has been as yet found either in the Husasah district or in the vicinity of *Tekua*, and since this is the only place where Jeruel is mentioned.

17. *Stand ye still, and see the salvation of the Lord.*] The prophet used words almost identical with those which Moses had addressed to the Israelites on the shores of the Red Sea immediately before the destruction of Pharaoh's hosts (Ex. xiv. 13), thus indicating that the deliverance would, now as then, be wholly from God.

19. *The Levites, of the children of the Kohathites, and of the children of the Korhites.*] There is a slight inaccuracy of expression here, as the Korhites (descendants of Korah) were Kohathites. (See 1 Chr. vi. 22.) But the author desires to particularise this particular branch of the Kohathite family, because they were famous for their excellent minstrelsy. (See titles to Psalms xlii., xliv., xlv., xlvi., &c.)

20. *The wilderness of Tekoa.*] Tekoa was about 10 or 11 miles from Jerusalem, in a direction nearly due south. It lay on the borders of the desert which skirts the highlands of Judæa towards the east. The town was built on a hill of a considerable height, and commanded a wide prospect over the bare tableland in this direction, with a distant view of Jerusalem. (See Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 182; Delitzsch on Ps. xlviii.)

21. *That should praise the beauty of holiness.*] Rather, "in the beauty of holiness"—*i. e.* in such rich apparel and ornaments as were suitable to a holy occasion. (Compare Ps. xxix. 2.).

Praise the Lord, &c.] Compare above, ch. v. 13; vii. 3, 6.

22. *The Lord set ambushments.*] Literally, "liers in wait." These liers in wait have been regarded either (1) as Jews placed in ambush by Jehoshaphat; (2) as Edomites who intended to act against the Jews, but

which were come against Judah; and ‖ Or, *they smote one another.* ‖they were smitten.

23 For the children of Ammon and Moab stood up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy *them:* and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped † Heb. *for the destruction.* †to destroy another.

24 And when Judah came toward the watch tower in the wilderness, they looked unto the multitude, and, behold, they *were* dead bodies fallen to the earth, and † Heb. there was *not an escaping.* †none escaped.

25 And when Jehoshaphat and his people came to take away the spoil of them, they found among them in abundance both riches with the dead bodies, and precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves, more than they could carry away: and they were three days in gathering of the spoil, it was so much.

26 ¶ And on the fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of ‖ That is, *Blessing.* ‖Berachah; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore the name of the same place was called, The valley of Berachah, unto this day.

27 Then they returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the † Heb. *head.* †forefront of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the LORD had made them to rejoice over their enemies.

28 And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the LORD.

29 And the fear of God was on all the kingdoms of *those* countries, when they had heard that the LORD fought against the enemies of Israel.

30 So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave him rest round about.

31 ¶ [a] And Jehoshaphat reigned [a] 1 Kings 22. 41, &c.

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by mistake attacked the Moabites and Ammonites; or (3) as angels employed by God to confuse the host and cause its destruction. The last of these three explanations is alone in harmony with the general narrative.

and they were smitten.] The marginal translation is better—"and they slew one another." The angelic liers-in-wait so confused the minds, or senses, of the confederate host that its component parts turned their swords one against another. First the Moabites and Ammonites united to destroy the Edomite contingent, and then these two allies engaged in a fierce conflict, and fought till nearly every man perished.

24. *The watch tower in the wilderness.*] Watch-towers, whence a look-out can be kept, and an alarm given in case of sudden invasion, are a necessity in the countries bordering upon Arabia. Such towers are still in use throughout Palestine and Syria; and are most frequent on the borders of the desert. (Compare ch. xxvi. 10.)

they were dead bodies.] The Jews did not see the contest. It began as their army marched out of Jerusalem. By the time they reached the wilderness of Jeruel (verse 16), which must have been near Tekoa (verse 20), and therefore not more than 10 or 12 miles from Jerusalem, the whole was over, and the field was strewn with corpses. The march would probably occupy five or six hours.

25. *Riches with the dead bodies, and precious jewels.*] The ordinary Hebrew text runs thus—"They found among them in abundance both riches, and dead bodies, and precious vessels." If it be regarded as sound, we must suppose the dead bodies, both of men and animals, to be viewed as a distinct source of spoil on account of their ornaments and trappings. Several MSS., however, have a reading which gives a better sense, and which seems altogether preferable. (See Additional Note B at the end of the chapter.) If we adopt this, the translation should run as follows:—"They found among them in abundance both riches, **and garments**, and precious **vessels**, which they **made a spoil of** for themselves," &c.

26. *The valley of Berachah.*] The *Wady Bereikut*, which lies at a short distance from Tekoa towards the north-west, is probably this place, to which it corresponds both in name and position.

29. *The fear of God was on all the kingdoms of those countries.*] Compare ch. xvii. 10. It was probably now that tribute was brought to Jehoshaphat from the Philistines and the Arabians, as related in that chapter (verse 11), where some of the main features of Jehoshaphat's reign are thrown together.

31-33. *Jehoshaphat reigned, &c.*] Compare 1 K. xxii. 41-43, which is closely parallel with this passage.

over Judah: *he was* thirty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Azubah the daughter of Shilhi.

32 And he walked in the way of Asa his father, and departed not from it, doing *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD.

33 Howbeit the high places were not taken away: for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers.

34 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they *are* written in the †book of Jehu the son of Hanani, [b]who †*is* mentioned in the book of the kings of Israel.

35 ¶ And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, who did very wickedly:

36 And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-gaber.

37 Then Eliezer the son of Dodavah of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath broken thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

† Heb. *words.*

[b] 1 Kin. 16. 1.

† Heb. *was made to ascend*

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33. *The people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers.*] This clause helps to reconcile the statement of this place, that "the high places were not taken away," with that of ch. xvii. 1, that Jehoshaphat "took away the high places." It shows us that the people were not wholly to be diverted from the idolatry, however anxious the king was to put it down.

34. *Jehu the son of Hanani, who is mentioned in the book of the kings.*] Literally, "who was made to ascend into the book of the kings of Israel," which is now generally thought to mean "whose work was inserted into the Book of the Kings." (See Introduction, § 5, note [14].)

of Israel.] "Israel" is probably used here inexactly for "Judah." (Compare above, ch. xii. 6; and below, ch. xxi. 2, and 4.)

35. *After this.*] This extract from the Book of the Kings comes in out of place, having been added as an after-thought to the history of Jehoshaphat, which had been formally completed (verse 34). Consequently we can lay no stress on the note of time contained in the words "after this," which are detached from the context whereto they originally referred. The alliance with Ahaziah must have followed very closely on the death of Ahab, whom Ahaziah survived little more than a year. (See 1 K. xxii. 51; 2 K. iii. 1.)

Ahaziah . . . who did very wickedly.] Rather, "and he" (*i.e.* Jehoshaphat) "did wickedly." (Compare ch. xix. 2.)

36. *To make ships to go to Tarshish.*] The author of Kings calls these ships "ships of Tharshish," but says they were "*to go to Ophir* for gold." As they were built on the shores of the Red Sea, they certainly cannot have been intended to trade with Tartessus, in Spain; for to transport ships across an isthmus more than 100 miles broad is a thing unheard of in antiquity. There may, however, possibly have been a second Tarshish on the shores of the Indian Ocean or the Persian Gulf, since the Phœnicians had trading establishments in this quarter, and were in the habit of repeating their local names. Or the author of Chronicles may perhaps have misunderstood the expression "ships of Tarshish"—which merely meant ships of a certain make and size—and have changed it into "ships to go to Tarshish," without suspecting that the two expressions were not equivalent.

37. *Eliezer the son of Dodavah of Mareshah.*] Eliezer is mentioned only in this passage. On his city, Mareshah, see note on ch. xi. 8.

the ships were broken.] The ships were wrecked in the immediate neighbourhood of Ezion-geber. (See 1 K. xxii. 48.) Ahaziah, it appears from Kings, attributed the disaster to unskilfulness on the part of Jehoshaphat's sailors, and proposed to fit out another joint fleet, and man it in part with his own subjects. But Jehoshaphat, accepting the disaster as a judgment, declined the offer.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 1 and 25.

NOTE A, on verse 1. "And with them other," &c.

For מהעמונים, "from the Ammonites," which cannot possibly be sound, most modern critics would read מהמעונים, "from the *Maonites*." Some, however, prefer to read מהאדמים, "from the *Edomites*;" holding that the Edomites are mentioned by implication in verses 10, 22, and 23, while there is no further reference to the Maonites. It does not, however, seem likely that so well known a term as "Edomites," אדמים, would ever have been corrupted into "Ammonites;" עמונים, while the corruption of the rarer and far more similar מעונים is extremely probable. And the Maonites were very probably a tribe of Edomites.

NOTE B, on verse 25. "Riches with the dead bodies."

For פגרים, "dead bodies," eight MSS. have בגדים, "garments." The LXX. render by "*ἀποσκευὴν καὶ σκύλα*." The Vulgate has "vestes."

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Jehoram, succeeding Jehoshaphat, slayeth his brethren.* 5 *His wicked reign.* 8 *Edom and Libnah revolt.* 12 *The prophecy of Elijah against him in writing.* 16 *Philistines and Arabians oppress him.* 18 *His incurable disease, infamous death, and burial.*

[c] 1 Kings 22. 50. NOW [c] Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David. And Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.

2 And he had brethren the sons of Jehoshaphat, Azariah, and Jehiel, and Zechariah, and Azariah, and Michael, and Shephatiah: all these *were* the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Israel.

3 And their father gave them great gifts of silver, and of gold, and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah: but the kingdom gave he to Jehoram; because he *was* the firstborn.

[d] 2 Kings 8. 16, 17. 4 Now [d] when Jehoram was risen up to the kingdom of his father, he strengthened himself, and slew all his brethren with the sword, and *divers* also of the princes of Israel.

5 ¶ Jehoram *was* thirty and two

CHAP. XXI. 1. *Jehoram his son reigned.*] Jehoram's *sole* reign now began. He had been previously associated in the kingdom by his father. (See note on 2 K. viii. 16.) His eight years (verse 5) must be counted from the time of his association, in his father's 23rd year.

3. *With fenced cities.*] Jehoshaphat pursued the same policy as Rehoboam in the endowment and settlement of his sons (see ch. xi. 23), but apparently went further by actually making over to them the "fenced cities" in which they dwelt. This, it is probable, provoked the jealousy of Jehoram, and induced him to put them to death. Compare the execution of Smerdis by Cambyses. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. pp. 382, 383.) Athaliah's influence may also have been used to remove those who might have interfered with her ambitious projects.

because he was the firstborn.] The natural right of the firstborn to succeed was recognised and confirmed by the Law (Deut. xxi. 15-17), and was no doubt ordinarily admitted and acted on, both in the northern and the southern kingdom. The only known exceptions are those of Solomon, where divine appointment superseded the natural order; of Abijah, where the partiality of a monarch for one of his wives caused the preference of her son over his elder brothers; and of Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 30), where popular favour gave precedence to the second son over the first.

4. *And divers also of the princes of Israel.*] *I.e.* "of Judah." The author often uses the generic term, where the specific one would have been more appropriate. (See above, ch. xii. 6; xv. 17; xx. 34; and xxi. 2, where Jehoshaphat is called "king of Israel.") The execution of several "princes of Israel" at this time implies that some, at least, of Jehoram's brothers found supporters among the chief men of the country, and that Jehoram's sole sovereignty was not established without a struggle.

5-10. In these verses the writer follows closely the same authority as the writer of

years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem.

6 And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, like as did the house of Ahab: for he had the
[e] ch. 22. 2. daughter of [e]Ahab to wife: and he wrought *that which was* evil in the eyes of the LORD.

7 Howbeit the LORD would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that he had made with David, and as he promised to
† Heb. *lamp*, or, *candle.* give a †light to him and to his [f]sons
[f] 2 Sam. 7. 12, 13. 1 Kin. 11. 36. 2 Kin. 8. 19. Ps. 132. 11, &c. for ever.

8 ¶ In his days the Edomites revolted from under the †dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king.

9 Then Jehoram [g]went forth with his princes, and all his chariots with
† Heb. *hand.* him: and he rose up by night, and
[g] 2 Kin. 8. 21. smote the Edomites which compassed him in, and the captains of the chariots.

10 So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day. The same time *also* did Libnah revolt from under his hand; because he had forsaken the LORD God of his fathers.

11 Moreover he made high places in the mountains of Judah, and caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication, and compelled Judah *thereto.*

12 ¶ And there came a writing to him from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD God of David thy father, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the ways of Asa king of Judah,

13 But hast walked in the way of the kings of Israel, and hast made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring, like to the whoredoms of the house of Ahab, and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house, *which were* better than thyself:

14 Behold, with †a great plague will the LORD smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods:
† Heb. *a great stroke.*

Kings, in 2 K. viii. 17-21. The author of Chronicles adds nothing in the way of fact, but, on the contrary, is rather less full than his predecessor. He however, in his favourite manner, appends the reflection that the calamities, which he relates in verses 8-10, befell Jehoram "because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers."

11. *Moreover he made high places.*] The writer of Kings only tells us in general terms that Jehoram "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and "walked in the way of the house of Ahab." Here, in verses 11 and 13, we have particulars of his idolatry. Jehoram, it seems, seduced by the evil influence of his wife—Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab—introduced into Judah the Baal worship which Ahab had introduced into Israel. Idolatrous altars were established in various high places —groves, images, and pillars were no doubt set up—and the people were not only allowed, but compelled to take part in the new rites. "To commit fornication" is a common metaphor, signifying idolatry or spiritual unfaithfulness. (See note on 2 K. ix. 22.)

12. *There came a writing to him from Elijah.*] This is the only notice which we have of Elijah in Chronicles. As a prophet of the northern kingdom, it is natural that he should engage but very slightly the attention of the historian of the southern one. The notice itself is one of considerable interest. It shows that Elijah did not confine his attention to the affairs of his own state, but looked beyond its borders, and strove to check the progress of idolatry in Judah. And it proves that the prophet was still upon the earth after the death of Jehoshaphat (verse 13)—whence it follows (1) that the account of his translation occurs in Kings out of its chronological order, and (2) that Elisha, who prophesied in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 K. iii. 11-19), commenced his public ministry before his master's translation. (See notes on 2 K. ii. 1, and iii. 11.)

13. *And also hast slain thy brethren.*] See verse 4. Jehoram did not slay his brethren till after his father's decease, nor probably did he till then introduce the Baal idolatry. This letter, therefore, must have been written after the commencement of his *sole* reign.

14. *With a great plague* (Heb. *a great stroke*) *will the Lord smite thy people, &c.*] This threat was fulfilled by the invasion of the Philistines and Arabs. (See verses 16 and 17.)

15 And thou *shalt have* great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day.

16 ¶ Moreover the LORD stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians, that *were* near the Ethiopians:

17 And they came up into Judah, and brake into it, and † carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save ‖ Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons.

18 ¶ And after all this the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease.

19 And it came to pass, that in process of time, after the end of two years, his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness: so he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.

20 Thirty and two years old was he when he began † to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years, and departed † without being desired. Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

† Heb. *carried captive.*

‖ Or, *Ahaziah*, ch. 22. 1. or, *Azariah*, ch. 22. 6.

† Heb. *without desire.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Ahaziah succeeding reigneth wickedly.* 5 *In his confederacy with Joram the son of Ahab, he is slain by Jehu.* 10 *Athaliah, destroying all the seed royal, save Joash, whom Jehoshabeath his aunt hid, usurpeth the kingdom.*

AND the inhabitants of Jerusalem made [a] Ahaziah his youngest son king in his stead: for the band of men that came with the Arabians to the camp had slain all the [b] eldest. So Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah reigned.

[a] 2 Kings 8. 24, &c.

[b] ch. 21. 17.

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16. *The Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians.*] Southern Arabia was originally occupied by Cushites, or Ethiopians (Gen. x. 7), whose descendants still exist in the modern *Mahra*, a remnant of the Himyaritic Arabs. "The Arabians that were near the Ethiopians" were probably Joktanian Arabs from the neighbourhood of these Cushites.

17. *And brake into it.*] *I.e.* "wasted it" (Vulg. *vastaverunt*). The word is commonly, and most properly, used of cities. (See below, ch. xxxii. 1, and compare Ezek. xxx. 16; Jer. xxxix. 2; &c.)

carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house.] The plunder of the royal palace implies the capture of Jerusalem, which must have been stormed and sacked by the invaders. (Compare verse 14.)

his sons also.] The sons of Jehoram were full grown, and had taken an active part in the introduction of the Baal worship. (See below, ch. xxiv. 7.) Thus they had provoked the judgment which fell upon them.

Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons.] The writer of Chronicles calls this prince indifferently Jehoahaz and Ahaziah. (See the next chapter, *passim*, and compare ch. xxv. 23.) In one place the present text has Azariah (ch. xxii. 6); but this is probably a corruption. Jehoahaz and Ahaziah are equivalent names, composed of identically the same elements, the only difference being that the order of the two roots is inverted. (A similar instance of inversion is found later in the history, where the same king is called indifferently Jechon-iah and Jeho-iachin.) Ahaziah is the only form of the name used by the writer of Kings.

19. *His people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.*] See note on ch. xvi. 14.

20. *Without being desired.*] *I.e.* "unregretted."

not in the sepulchres of the kings.] Compare the similar treatment of Joash (ch. xxiv. 25), and Ahaz (ch. xxviii. 27.)

CHAP. XXII. 1. *The inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah . . . king.*] Jehoram, apparently, had not designated Ahaziah as his successor. He had perhaps not been aware of his own imminent danger, and he may have hoped that ere he died, he might recover some of his elder sons from the hands of the Arabians. (See ch. xxi. 17.) Hence Ahaziah had to receive his investiture from the people.

the band of men that came with the Arabians to the camp, &c.] Some of the mixed host that came and encamped against Jerusalem with the Arabs, had slain all the captive princes. Otherwise the people would probably have sought to ransom the eldest, and would then have made him king.

2 Forty and two years old *was* Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was*
ch. 21. 6. [c] Athaliah the daughter of Omri.

3 He also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab: for his mother was his counsellor to do wickedly.

4 Wherefore he did evil in the sight of the LORD like the house of Ahab: for they were his counsellors after the death of his father to his destruction.

5 ¶ He walked also after their counsel, and went with Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel to war against Hazael king of Syria at Ramoth-gilead; and the Syrians smote Joram.

6 And he returned to be healed in Jezreel because of the wounds [†] which were given him at Ramah, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria. And [‖] Azariah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab at Jezreel, because he was sick.

7 And the [†] destruction of Ahaziah was of God by coming to Joram: for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of Nimshi, [d] whom the LORD had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab.

8 And it came to pass, that, when Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab, and found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, that ministered to Ahaziah, he slew them.

9 [e] And he sought Ahaziah: and they caught him, (for he was hid in

[†] Heb. *wherewith they wounded him.*

[‖] Otherwise called *Ahaziah*, ver. 1. and *Jehoahaz* ch. 21. 17.

[†] Heb. *treading down.*

[d] 2 Kin. 9. 7.

[e] 2 Kings 9. 27.

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2. *Forty and two years.*] This number is impossible, since Ahaziah's father, Jehoram, was but forty when he died (ch. xxi. 5, 20). We must read 22 for 42, and thus bring the passage into agreement with 2 K. viii. 26.

Athaliah the daughter of Omri.] *I.e.* the grand-daughter. (Compare ch. xxi. 6.) Omri is mentioned rather than Ahab, since he was the founder of the family, and the most famous king of his house. (See note on 2 K. viii. 26.)

3. *He also walked, &c.*] Like his father, *he too* walked in the way of the house of Ahab. There is a reference to ch. xxi. 6 and 13.

4. *They were his counsellors.*] The influence of his mother Athaliah and her brother, Jehoram of Israel, seems to be especially intended. (See verses 1, 3, and 5.)

5. *He . . . went with Jehoram, &c.*] This verse and the next have come from a source used also by the writer of Kings, and are nearly identical with 2 K. viii. 28, 29. (See the notes on that passage.)

7. *The destruction of Ahaziah was of God.*] It is not meant that there was anything supernatural in the circumstances of Ahaziah's death, but only that his untimely end was in fact a judgment upon him for his idolatry. Divine Providence, working by natural causes, brought it about that his visit to Jehoram should fall exactly at the time of Jehu's revolt, whence it came to pass that he was involved in his uncle's destruction.

he went out with Jehoram against Jehu.] Rather, "to meet Jehu." The intent of the two kings was peaceful, not hostile.

whom the Lord had anointed.] Compare 1 K. xix. 16; 2 K. ix. 6.

8. *The princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah.*] It appears from 2 K. x. 13 that the young princes of the royal house of Judah, the nephews of Ahaziah, and grand-nephews of Jehoram, were on their way to Jezreel, on a visit to their cousins the young princes of the house of Israel, when Jehu "found" them, or fell in with them as he went from Jezreel to Samaria. Learning who they were he put them all to death, together with their escort, the "princes of Judah" here mentioned. The princes and the escort together numbered 42 persons.

9. *And he sought Ahaziah, &c.*] The statement in 2 K. ix. 27, that Ahaziah "fled to Megiddo, and died there," is difficult to reconcile with this narrative, but does not amount to a contradiction of it. We may suppose that, after remaining a while at Megiddo, Ahaziah removed thence to Samaria, where his wounds could be better cared for (ἰατρευόμενον ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, LXX.), and concealment might be easier; that, when there, Jehu's emissaries discovered him; that they took him to Jehu, who happened at the time to be at Megiddo; and that then and there Jehu put him to death. According to this view, the narrative in Chronicles would be supplementary to that of 2 Kings, and would find its proper place between the clause, "He fled to Megiddo," and the words, "and died there."

Samaria,) and brought him to Jehu: and when they had slain him, they buried him: Because, said they, he *is* the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all his heart. So the house of Ahaziah had no power to keep still the kingdom.

10 ¶ *f* But when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal of the house of Judah.

11 But Jehoshabeath, the daughter of the king, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him from among the king's sons that were slain, and put him and his nurse in a bedchamber. So Jehoshabeath, the daughter of king Jehoram, the wife of Jehoiada the priest, (for she was the sister of Ahaziah,) hid him from Athaliah, so that she slew him not.

12 And he was with them hid in the house of God six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

f 2 Kings 11. 1.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *Jehoiada, having set things in order, maketh Joash king.* 12 *Athaliah is slain.* 16 *Jehoiada restoreth the worship of God.*

AND *g* in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah the son of Jeroham, and Ishmael the son of Jehohanan, and Azariah the son of Obed, and Maaseiah the son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with him.

g 2 Kings 11. 4, &c.

2 And they went about in Judah,

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and when they had slain him, they buried him.] The same persons did not both slay him and bury him. Jehu's emissaries did the former, his own servants the latter. (See 2 K. ix. 28.) But the burial is attributed here to Jehu's emissaries, because they allowed it when they might have prevented it. Ahaziah was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there in the sepulchres of the kings.

So the house of Ahaziah, &c.] Rather, "**And there was no one of the house of Ahaziah that had strength to take the kingdom.**" As Ahaziah was but twenty-three at his death, (see note on verse 2) he had no grown-up son to take the crown.

10-12. These verses run parallel with 2 K. xi. 1-3, and agree closely with that passage. They add nothing to the earlier narrative except the fact that Jehoshabeath, or Jehosheba, was the wife of Jehoiada, the high priest.

11. *in a bed-chamber.*] Rather, "**in the chamber of mattresses.**" (See note on 2 K. xi. 2.)

CHAP. XXIII. This chapter is parallel with 2 K. xi. 4-20, and is evidently derived from the same source, although at the same time it presents certain important points of difference. While, in Kings the narrative is related from the civil point of view, in Chronicles the writer concerns himself mainly with the ecclesiastical aspect of the transaction. The writer of Kings makes no mention at all in his narrative of the Levites, or of any priest besides Jehoiada, the high priest. In Chronicles, the Levites play the principal part; they are consulted beforehand; they have the chief part at the ceremonial; they guard the young king; and, under Jehoiada, restore the Temple service. It has been argued, on the one hand, that the writer of Chronicles, unduly prejudiced in favour of the Levitical system, has warped and changed the real circumstances of the transaction to the glorification of his favourites; while, on the other hand, it has been maintained that his narrative alone is trustworthy, and that it has not only filled out, but corrected the scanty, and in part mistaken, account which has come down to us in Kings. These two views alike exaggerate the real divergence between the two accounts. These accounts are reconcileable on the supposition that both of them were drawn from a source which was far ampler than either, and that, while the writer of Kings seized the points of greatest historic importance, the later author of Chronicles was careful to collect and preserve all notices of the part which the sacred order (whereto he probably belonged) had taken in the transactions.

1. *Jehoiada strengthened himself.*] Rather, "**took courage**"—braced himself to the effort from which he had previously shrunk.

Azariah the son of Jehoram, &c.] These five names do not occur in Kings, nor is even the number of the captains of hundreds directly stated. Incidentally, however, the author of Kings, by mentioning five divisions of the royal guard (2 K. xi. 5-7), implies five commanders. (See note on 2 K. xi. 5.)

2. *They went about in Judah.*] Jehoiada

and gathered the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the chief of the fathers of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem.

3 And all the congregation made a covenant with the king in the house of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath [h] said of the sons of David.

4 This *is* the thing that ye shall do; A third part of you entering on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, *shall be* porters of the [†] doors;

5 And a third part *shall be* at the king's house; and a third part at the gate of the foundation: and all the people *shall be* in the courts of the house of the LORD.

6 But let none come into the house of the LORD, save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites; they shall go in, for they *are* holy: but all the people shall keep the watch of the LORD.

7 And the Levites shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and whosoever *else* cometh into the house, he

[h] 2 Sam. 7. 12. 1 Kin. 2. 4. & 9. 5. ch. 6. 16. & 7. 18.

[†] Heb. *thresholds.*

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was unwilling to trust the success of the revolution, which he aimed at accomplishing, wholly and entirely to the royal body-guard, a force (apparently) of no more than 500 men. He thought it necessary to have in reserve a further and more numerous support. Accordingly, the first task which he assigned to the captains after they had agreed to join him, was the collection from the cities of Judah of a strong body of Levites and other trusty persons, who were brought up to Jerusalem, perhaps under colour of a festival, and kept there, organised into bands, until the plot was ripe for execution.

the chief of the fathers of Israel.] "Israel" is evidently here used for "Judah," according to the wont of our author. (See note on ch. xxi. 4.)

3. *All the congregation made a covenant.*] We must understand by "all the congregation" here the select body of Levites and other trusty persons, collected from the various cities by the captains. (See verse 2.) Jehoiada, it seems, brought these persons into the temple—the captains also being present (2 K. xi. 4)—and producing the young prince Joash before them, bound them by an oath to support his cause. This was the second step in the revolution.

he said unto them.] Jehoiada said, pointing to Joash, "Behold the king's son: he shall reign, as the Lord hath said concerning the sons of David."

4. *This is the thing that ye shall do.*] The writer of Chronicles relates the orders that were given to the Levites, the author of Kings those received by the royal body-guard. There is a certain correspondence in the orders given to each, but not an exact parallelism. The guard was to be divided into four, the Levites into three bodies; one body only in each case entering within the Temple precincts, while the others stayed without and kept watch on the palace. The three remaining divisions of the guard were stationed (1) inside the palace; (2) at the gate Sur; and (3) at the gate of the guard. The two Levite divisions were placed (1) inside the palace, and (2) at the gate of the foundation, perhaps the same as the gate Sur. (See note on verse 5.)

of you entering on the sabbath.] The Levites relieved each other at the temple every sabbath day (1 Chr. ix. 25). Those who had now come up to Jerusalem, though far more numerous than the ordinary "course," were regarded and addressed as the natural and regular relief.

5. *At the gate of the foundation.*] On the probable identity of this gate with the "gate Sur" of 2 K. xi. 6, see note A at the end of 2 K. xi.

in the courts.] Ordinarily the *people* were not admitted into the inner court; but on this occasion they seem to have been allowed an entrance, the better to witness the proceedings. We must remember that Athaliah had completely desecrated the entire enclosure. (See ch. xxiv. 7.)

6. *Shall keep the watch of the Lord.*] The people in the two courts were to "keep the watch of the Lord"—*i.e.* to guard against any attempt that might be made by the Baal-worshippers to force their way through the courts into the temple.

7. *The Levites shall compass the king round about.*] In Kings this compassing the king round about is assigned to the guard (2 K. xi. 8, 11). We may suppose that the soldiers and the Levites in the Temple were intermixed in about equal proportions, so that the entire body might naturally be called by the name of either of its two component elements.

shall be put to death: but be ye with the king when he cometh in, and when he goeth out.

8 So the Levites and all Judah did according to all things that Jehoiada the priest had commanded, and took every man his men that were to come in on the sabbath, with them that were to go *out* on the sabbath: for Jehoiada the priest dismissed not the courses.

9 Moreover Jehoiada the priest delivered to the captains of hundreds spears, and bucklers, and shields, that *had been* king David's, which *were* in the house of God.

10 And he set all the people, every man having his weapon in his hand, from the right †side of the †temple to the left side of the temple, along by the altar and the temple, by the king round about.

11 Then they brought out the king's son, and put upon him the crown, and ‡*gave him* the testimony, and made him king. And Jehoiada and his sons anointed him, and said, †God save the king.

12 ¶ Now when Athaliah heard the noise of the people running and praising the king, she came to the people into the house of the LORD:

13 And she looked, and, behold, the king stood at his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king: and all the people of the land rejoiced, and sounded with trumpets, also the singers with instruments of musick, and such as taught to sing praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, †Treason, Treason.

14 Then Jehoiada the priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were set over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth of the ranges: and whoso followeth her, let him be slain with the sword. For the priest said, Slay her not in the house of the LORD.

15 So they laid hands on her; and when she was come to the entering of the horse gate by the king's house, they slew her there.

16 ¶ And Jehoiada made a covenant between him, and between all the people, and between the king,

† Heb. *shoulder.*
† Heb. *house.*
‡ Deu. 17. 18.
† Heb. *Let the king live.*
† Heb. *Conspiracy.*

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8. *All Judah.*] By "all Judah" are probably meant "the chief of the fathers" (verse 2), or "princes" (verse 13), who represented the whole nation.

and took every man his men.] This is said of the Levites especially. The meaning is that the relief already organised by Jehoiada into three bodies (see verses 4 and 5), was further strengthened by the members of the outgoing "course," who were associated in the work to be done.

the courses.] On the "courses" of the Levites, see 1 Chr. xxiv. and xxv.

10. *He set all the people.*] By "all the people" we must understand here, not the congregation, but the combined princes, guardsmen, and Levites who compassed the king round about. In Kings the whole mixed body is termed in the parallel passage (2 K. xi. 11) "the guard."

11. *And put upon him the crown, and gave him the testimony.*] Rather "**and put upon him the crown and the testimony.**" (See note on 2 K. xi. 12.)

Jehoiada and his sons anointed him.] The parallel passage of Kings (2 K. xi. 12) has simply "they anointed him."

12-15. The proceedings and fate of Athaliah are related here in almost exactly the same words as in Kings (2 K. xi. 13-16). The only important differences are the substitution of "at the entering" for "as the manner was" in the early part of verse 13, and the insertion of the clause "also the singers with instruments of musick, and such as taught to sing praise" in the latter part of the same verse.

13. *At the entering.*] *I.e.* "at, or near, the opening from the main chamber of the temple into the Holy of Holies."

such as taught to sing praise.] Rather, "such as **were skilled** to sing praise."

16. *Jehoiada made a covenant between him, and between all the people, and between the king.*] Rather, "Jehoiada made a covenant between **himself**, and all the people, and the king." Compare 2 K. xi. 17, where, however, the covenant is said to have been

that they should be the LORD's people.

17 Then all the people went to the house of Baal, and brake it down, and brake his altars and his images in pieces, and [a] slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars.

[a] Deut. 13. 9.

18 Also Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the LORD by the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had [b] distributed in the house of the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as *it is* written in the [c] law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, *as it was ordained* [†] by David.

[b] 1 Chr 24. 1.

[c] Num. 28. 2.

[†] Heb. *by the hands of David.*

19 And he set the [d] porters at the gates of the house of the LORD, that none *which was* unclean in any thing should enter in.

[d] 1 Chron. 26. 1, &c.

20 And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles, and the governors of the people, and all the people of the land, and brought down the king from the house of the LORD: and they came through the high gate into the king's house, and set the king upon the throne of the kingdom.

21 And all the people of the land rejoiced: and the city was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the sword.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Joash reigneth well all the days of Jehoiada.* 4 *He giveth order for the repair of the temple.* 15 *Jehoiada's death and honourable burial.* 17 *Joash, falling to idolatry, slayeth Zechariah the son of Jehoiada.* 23 *Joash is spoiled by the Syrians, and slain by Zabad and Jehozabad.* 27 *Amaziah succeedeth him.*

JOASH [e] *was* seven years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years in [e] Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was* Zibiah of Beer-sheba.

[e] 2 Kings 12. 1, &c.

2 And Joash did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD all the days of Jehoiada the priest.

3 And Jehoiada took for him two wives; and he begat sons and daughters.

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made between "Jehovah," the king, and the people. We may best reconcile the passages by considering (with Bp. Patrick) that Jehoiada "sustained the person of God," and received the pledges of king and people as God's representative.

17. See notes on 2 K. xi. 18.

18. *Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the Lord by the hand, &c.*] Rather, "Jehoiada **put** the offices of the house of the Lord **into** the hand, &c."

the priests the Levites.] All the versions have "the priests **and** the Levites"—which is absolutely required by the context, since it was the duty of the priests alone to offer the burnt offerings (Num. xviii. 1-7), and of the Levites alone to praise God with singing and music (1 Chr. xxiii. 5, xxv. 1-7).

whom David had distributed.] See 1 Chr. xxiv. 3-19, xxv. 8-31.

with rejoicing and with singing, as it was ordained by David.] The *musical* service of the tabernacle was not commanded in the Law, but was originated by David—"the sweet singer of Israel." (See 1 Chr. xxiii. 5, xxv. 1, 6, 7; 2 Chr. xxix. 25, 26.)

19. *He set the porters.*] He restored the system of porters organised by David. (See 1 Chr. xxiii. 5, xxvi. 1-19.)

20. *The nobles and the governors of the people.*] The "chief of the fathers of Israel," or heads of the principal families, whom Jehoiada had previously brought to Jerusalem (verse 2), and who had joined in making Joash king (verses 8 and 13).

through the high gate.] Or "the upper gate," called in Kings "the gate of the guard" (2 K. xi. 19)—probably one of the palace gates, and not the "high gate" of 2 Chr. xxvii. 3, which was a temple gate.

CHAP. XXIV. This chapter is parallel with 2 K. xii., but has less appearance than usual of having been taken from the same document. It preserves the same general order of events, but introduces several very important matters, which are not mentioned in Kings at all (see especially verses 3, 7, and 15-22), while it treats the matters common to both narratives in quite a different way from Kings, and in one that seems intended to be supplemental.

2. *All the days of Jehoiada.*] Jehoiada lived after the accession of Joash at least 23 years (2 K. xii. 6), probably 25 or 30. Thus the idolatries of Joash (infra, verse 18) were confined to his last 10 or 15 years.

3. *Jehoiada took for him two wives.*] Athaliah's destruction of the seed royal (ch.

4 ¶ And it came to pass after this, *that* Joash was minded † to repair the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *to renew.*

5 And he gathered together the priests and the Levites, and said to them, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel money to repair the house of your God from year to year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit the Levites hastened *it* not.

6 And the king called for Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou not required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and out of Jerusalem the collection, *according to the commandment* of ƒ Moses the servant of the LORD, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tabernacle of witness?

ƒ Ex. 30. 12, 13, 14.

7 For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken up the house of God; and also all the dedicated things of the house of the LORD did they bestow upon Baalim.

8 And at the king's commandment they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the house of the LORD.

9 And they made † a proclamation through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring in to the LORD the collection *that* Moses the servant of God *laid* upon Israel in the wilderness.

† Heb. *a voice.*

10 And all the princes and all the people rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into the chest, until they had made an end.

11 Now it came to pass, that at what time the chest was brought unto the king's office by the hand of

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xxii. 10) had left Joash without a natural successor, and his marriage, therefore, at the earliest suitable age, was a matter of state policy. As Jehoiada was evidently guardian and regent for the young king during his minority, it devolved on him to moot the matter, and probably to suggest the wives. The number "two," on which he fixed, implies a desire to combine regard for the succession with a discouragement of excessive polygamy. (Compare 1 K. xi. 3; 2 Chr. xi. 21, xiii. 21.) One of the wives in question was probably "Jehoaddan of Jerusalem," the mother of Amaziah (ch. xxv. 1), who is proved by Amaziah's age at his accession to have been taken to wife by Joash at least as early as his 21st year.

5. *Go out unto the cities of Judah.*] See note on 2 K. xii. 5, where the fact that each was to gather "of his acquaintance," implies, what is here, and here alone, expressly stated—that the collection was to be local.

6. *Jehoiada the chief.*] *I.e.* "the high priest." Compare verse 11, where the same word is prefixed as an epithet to "priest."

the collection . . . of Moses, &c.] This phrase designates properly only the half-shekel tax which was specially assigned by the Law to the service of the tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 13-16). It appears by 2 K. xii. 4 that Joash had assigned to the restoration-fund two other payments also. But this the writer of Chronicles does not think it necessary to repeat either here, or in verse 9.

7. *The sons of Athaliah.*] Ahaziah, and his elder brothers (ch. xxi. 17); who in Jehoram's reign, before their capture by the Arabs, had, with the recklessness and violence of youth, carried out their mother's designs against the Temple, engaging (it would seem) personally in the work of devastation, which others may have been too timid to venture on.

had broken up the house of God.] The expression "broken up" is somewhat too strong. "Broken **into**" would be a better translation of the original. (Compare 2 K. xii. 5, and note ad loc.

the dedicated things.] Vessels, *i.e.* and implements. (See below, verse 14, and compare 2 K. xii. 13.)

Baalim.] On this plural form, which is common in Chronicles (infra, ch. xxviii. 2, xxxiii. 3, xxxiv. 4), see note on ch. xvii. 3.

8. *They made a chest.*] Compare 2 K. xii. 9, which gives fuller particulars.

9. *They made a proclamation.*] This is additional to the narrative in Kings. It is readily conceivable that such a solemn call, and the announcement that a special "chest" was assigned to contributions towards the restoration would have the effect, described in the next verse, of causing all classes of the people to flock to Jerusalem and fill the chest with their offerings.

10. *Until they had made an end.*] That is, either "until they had given to the utmost of their means," or "until they had given enough to complete the restoration."

11. *At what time the chest was brought unto the king's office.*] Here Chronicles is ampler

the Levites, and when they saw that *there was* much money, the king's scribe and the high priest's officer came and emptied the chest, and took it, and carried it to his place again. Thus they did day by day, and gathered money in abundance.

12 And the king and Jehoiada gave it to such as did the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and hired masons and carpenters to repair the house of the LORD, and also such as wrought iron and brass to mend the house of the LORD.

13 So the workmen wrought, and † the work was perfected by them, and they set the house of God in his state, and strengthened it.

† Heb. *the healing went up upon the work.*

14 And when they had finished *it*, they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for the house of the LORD, *even* vessels to minister, and ‖ to offer *withal*, and spoons, and vessels of gold and silver. And they offered burnt offerings in the house of the LORD continually all the days of Jehoiada.

‖ Or, *pestils.*

15 ¶ But Jehoiada waxed old, and was full of days when he died; an hundred and thirty years old *was he* when he died.

16 And they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God, and toward his house.

17 Now after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah, and made

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than Kings. The chest, it appears, was, from time to time (when it seemed to be pretty full), removed from its place, and taken by the Levites to a royal office, where it was emptied in the presence of the High Priest (or his deputy) and of a Royal Scribe; after which it was taken back to the temple. The money was "told," placed in bags, and made over to the overseers of the work (2 K. xii. 10, 11).

the king's scribe and the high priest's officer came and emptied, &c.] Rather, "the king's scribe came, and the high priest's officer; and **they** emptied the chest, and took it and carried it to its place again." The verb is changed from the singular to the plural; and the meaning is, not that the scribe and the officer emptied the chest and took it and carried it back, but that certain other persons did this—probably the Levites, who brought the chest from the temple.

Thus they did day by day.] Or, "from time to time."

12. *To such as did the work.*] *I.e.* "to the overseers of the work." (See 2 K. xii. 11.)

and hired.] Rather, "And **they**" (the overseers) "hired."

13. *They set the house of God in his state.*] Rather, "they **set up** the house of God in its (old) **measure**" or "**proportions.**"

14. *Whereof were made vessels.*] On the proper mode of reconciling this passage with 2 K. xii. 13, see the note on that passage.

vessels . . . to offer (marg. *pestils*).] The translation in the text is to be preferred, since "pestles" are nowhere else mentioned among the implements of the temple.

spoons.] Compare 1 K. vii. 50.

15. *An hundred and thirty years old.*] There is no parallel to this extreme old age in Jewish history from the days of the Exodus downwards; and it is rendered especially improbable by the activity of Jehoiada against Athaliah not 35 years before his death. Most critics, therefore, suppose the number in the text to be corrupt, and suggest in its stead 103 or 83. The statement that Jehoiada "was full of days when he died," would be justified even by the lower of these two numbers.

16. *They buried him in the city of David among the kings.*] This unparalleled honour, while due in part to the respect in which Jehoiada was held for his religious character, was probably, also, in part attributable to his connexion with the royal family through his wife (ch. xxii. 11), and to the fact that, for 10 or 12 years, he had practically held the kingly office.

toward his house.] "Toward God's house," *i.e.* the temple.

17. *Came the princes of Judah.*] The nobles had taken part in the revolution, which placed Joash on the throne in the place of Athaliah (ch. xxiii. 2, 13, 20), but probably rather on political than on religious grounds. They might dislike the rule of a woman and a foreigner without participating in the zeal of Jehoiada for purity of religion. At any rate, after 25 or 30 years of Jehovistic worship,

obeisance to the king. Then the king hearkened unto them.

18 And they left the house of the LORD God of their fathers, and served groves and idols: and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass.

19 Yet he sent prophets to them, to bring them again unto the LORD; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear.

† Heb. *clothed.*

20 And the Spirit of God †came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he hath also forsaken you.

21 And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the LORD.

22 Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but slew his son. And when he died, he said, The LORD look upon *it*, and require *it*.

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they were weary of the simplicity and austerity of true religion, and yearned after the seductive rites of the neighbouring heathen.

and made obeisance.] Seeking by unusual humility to dispose the king favourably towards their request. It would seem that their petition was for a toleration of idolatry, not for a return to the condition of things which prevailed under Athaliah. (See the next verse.)

18. *They left, &c.*] They (*i.e.* the princes) left the house of the Lord (deserted the temple-worship), and served groves, &c. No doubt they carried a considerable party with them; but the temple-worship continued, as appears even from the story of Zechariah. Nor is the king taxed personally with idolatry.

for this their trespass.] For this trespass of the princes wrath came upon the whole nation. (See below, verses 23, 24.)

19. *Yet he sent prophets unto them.*] The only one of these prophets that can be named is Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, whose prophecy is recorded below (verse 20). Some have supposed that the prophet Joel lived and wrote about this time; but the majority of critics assign him a later date. On the mercy and long-suffering of God in continually raising up prophets, when the need of them was the greatest, see note on 1 K. xvii. 1, and compare 2 K. xvii. 13, and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 15.

20. *Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest.*] "*The* priest" means always the high priest. Here the title belongs, not to Jehoiada, but to Zechariah, who had succeeded his father in the office.

which stood above the people.] To gain general attention, and make himself better heard, Zechariah had taken up an elevated position, perhaps on the steps of the inner court, which was elevated above the outer court, where the people would be.

ye cannot prosper.] Since prosperity was attached to obedience by the Law. (Deut. xxxviii. 1-14.)

because ye have forsaken the Lord, &c.] Compare ch. xv. 2.

21. *At the commandment of the king.*] Perhaps the Syrian invasion already threatened; and the denunciations of the Prophet-Priest, warning the people that they could not prosper, and that God had forsaken them, seemed to Joash—as Jeremiah's denunciations appeared to Zedekiah (Jer. xxxii. 2-5)—treasonable utterances, designed to produce the disasters they announced as impending. Of such a feeling, if it existed in the royal mind, the idolatrous nobles would not be slow to take advantage. They would inflame the king's anger, and urge him on to extreme measures. To strike the religion of Jehovah through its chief official, to deal it a heavy blow and great discouragement, would be their object. And the weak king, though not an idolater himself, yielded to the persuasions of the idolatrous party, and allowed himself to be a mere tool in their hands.

in the court of the house of the Lord.] "Between the altar and the temple," or directly in front of the temple porch, if it be this Zechariah of whom our Lord speaks (Matt. xxiii. 35). A horror of their impious deed long possessed the Jews, who believed that the blood was not to be effaced, but continued to bubble on the stones of the court, like blood newly shed, until the temple was entered, just prior to its destruction, by Nebuzaradan. ('Talmud,' as quoted by Lightfoot.)

22. *The Lord look upon it and require it.*] Compare Gen. ix. 5, xlii. 22; and contrast

† Heb. *in the revolution of the year.*

23 ¶ And it came to pass †at the end of the year, *that* the host of Syria came up against him: and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil of them unto the king of †Damascus.

† Heb. *Darmesek.*

24 For the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the LORD delivered a very great host into their hand, because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers. So they executed judgment against Joash.

25 And when they were departed from him, (for they left him in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings.

26 And these are they that conspired against him; ‖Zabad the son of Shimeath an Ammonitess, and Jehozabad the son of ‖Shimrith a Moabitess.

‖ Or, *Jozachar.* 2 Kings 12. 21.

‖ Or, *Shomer.*

27 ¶ Now *concerning* his sons, and

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the words of St. Stephen (Acts vii. 60). Zechariah's prayer was prophetic. Within little more than a year he was avenged by the violent death of his chief oppressors (see verses 23 and 25), while the Jewish people which had participated in the crime continued to expiate their offence by sufferings till the close of their existence as a nation. (See Luke xi. 51.)

23. *The host of Syria came up against him.*] From Gath, which they had besieged and taken. On the unusual character of this expedition, see note on 2 K. xii. 17.

and destroyed all the princes of the people.] No doubt the princes fell in the great battle of which the writer speaks in the next verse. As the authors of the recent apostacy (supra, verse 17), and the instigators in all probability, of the proceedings against Zechariah, a special judgment fell on them.

and sent all the spoil of them unto the king.] The king intended is Hazael, the successor of Benhadad, as appears from 2 K. xii. 17. We should naturally have concluded from that passage that he undertook the expedition in person, but the fact here recorded seems to imply the contrary.

24. *For the army of the Syrians came.*] Rather "**had come.**" The writer is explaining how the princes happened to be slain, and their spoils to be taken.

delivered.] "**Had** delivered."

they executed judgment against Joash.] By defeating his army and slaying all his nobles. There is no reason to think that Joash was himself wounded, or that the "great diseases" mentioned in the next verse were in any way caused by the Syrians.

25. *When they were departed.*] After defeating Joash's army, the Syrians pressed on against Jerusalem, and probably commenced its siege, whereupon Joash purchased their retreat by the gift of all the Temple treasures. (See 2 K. xii. 18.)

in great diseases.] Rather "in **a sore disease.**" The plural is merely one of intensity. Compare above, ch. xxi. 15, where the phrase translated "great sickness" is nearly the same as this.

for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada.] The Septuagint and the Vulgate have "*son* of Jehoiada," and this reading is preferred by many. But it is possible that other sons of Jehoiada were involved in the fate of Zechariah.

they slew him on his bed.] In the Castle of Millo (2 K. xii. 20), whither he had retired for some unknown reason.

they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings.] Compare 2 K. xii. 21, and note ad loc.

26. *Zabad.*] This form of the name is probably a corruption of the true form, which is given in Kings, viz., Jozachar. (See 2 K. xii. 21, and compare additional note at the end of the chapter.)

Shimrith.] Called in Kings "Shomer," which is probably an incomplete rendering of the Moabite word. Moabite female names seem to have terminated in *b* or *th.* (Compare Ruth i. 4.)

27. *His sons.*] Nothing is known of any son of Joash except Amaziah. The mention of his sons in the Book of the Kings was probably owing to the previous destruction of the royal family (ch. xxii. 1, 8, 10), which made it more than commonly important that the single remaining scion of the stock should have a numerous male offspring.

the greatness of the burdens laid upon him.] Translate, "And the **multitude of burdens**

the greatness of the burdens *laid* upon him, and the †repairing of the house of God, behold, they *are* written in the ‖story of the book of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

† Heb. *founding.*

‖ Or, *commentary.*

uttered against him." "Burdens," according to a usage of speech common to the historical writers with the prophets (2 K. ix. 25; Is. xiii. 1, xv. 1, &c.; Lam. ii. 14), are prophetical denunciations of coming evil. Concerning the many prophecies of evil published in this reign, see above, verse 19.

the repairing (Heb. *founding*) *of the house of the Lord.*] The strong expression here used is a proof of the vast extent of Joash's repairs, which, in some places, must have extended to the very base of the temple building.

the story (marg. *commentary*) *of the book of the kings.*] On this unusual phrase, see Introduction, § 5, note 9.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 26. "Zabad."

The original reading here was probably, as in 2 K. xii. 21, not זָבָד, but יוֹזָכָר. The initial syllable יו was lost, owing to the immediate precedence of the same two letters in אֵלִיו. זָבָד then became זָבָר, through the influence of the neighbouring name יְהוֹזָבָד.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *Amaziah beginneth to reign well.* 3 *He executeth justice on the traitors.* 5 *Having hired an army of Israelites against the Edomites, at the word of a prophet he loseth the hundred talents, and dismisseth them.* 11 *He overthroweth the Edomites.* 10, 13 *The Israelites, discontented with their dismission, spoil as they return home.* 14 *Amaziah, proud of his victory, serveth the gods of Edom, and despiseth the admonitions of the prophet.* 17 *He provoketh Joash to his overthrow.* 25 *His reign.* 27 *He is slain by conspiracy.*

[a] 2 Kin. 14. 1, &c.

AMAZIAH [a]*was* twenty and five years old *when* he began to reign, and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.

2 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, but not with a perfect heart.

3 ¶ Now it came to pass, when the kingdom was †established to him, that he slew his servants that had killed the king his father.

† Heb. *confirmed upon him.*

4 But he slew not their children, but *did* as *it is* written in the law in the book of Moses, where the LORD commanded, saying, [b]The fathers shall not die for the children, neither shall the children die for the fathers,

[b] Deut. 24. 16. 2 Kin. 14. 6. Jer. 31. 30. Ezek. 18. 20.

CHAP. XXV. This chapter corresponds to 2 Kings xiv. 2-20, and is evidently taken to a large extent from the same document. Verses 1-4 correspond closely to 2 K. xiv. 2-6; verses 17-24 to 2 K. xiv. 8-14; and verses 25-28 to 2 K. xiv. 17-20; the verbal agreement being much greater in the Hebrew than in the Authorised Version. At the same time the chapter contains large and important additions to the narrative of Kings—as (1) the passage beginning with verse 5 and ending with verse 10; and (2) that beginning with verse 13 and ending with verse 16; both of which are entirely new. The narrative of the Edomite war (verses 11, 12) is also ampler than the corresponding narrative in Kings (verse 7), but omits some important points which are there mentioned.

1. *Amaziah was twenty and five years old, &c.*] Joash died at the age of 47 (ch. xxiv 1). Amaziah must therefore have been born when his father was 22; and the marriage of Joash with Jehoaddan must have been, at the latest, when he was just 21. (See note on ch xxiv. 3.)

2. *Not with a perfect heart.*] The author of Kings notices (2 K. xiv. 4) that "the high places were not taken away." The writer of Chronicles considers the especial sin of Amaziah to have been his worship of the gods of Edom. (See below, verses 14, 15, and 20.)

3. *When the kingdom was established to him.*] See note on 2 K. xiv. 5.

but every man shall die for his own sin.

5 ¶ Moreover Amaziah gathered Judah together, and made them captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, according to the houses of *their* fathers, throughout all Judah and Benjamin: and he numbered them from twenty years old and above, and found them three hundred thousand choice *men*, *able* to go forth to war, that could handle spear and shield.

6 He hired also an hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel for an hundred talents of silver.

7 But there came a man of God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the LORD *is* not with Israel, *to wit*, *with* all the children of Ephraim.

8 But if thou wilt go, do *it*, be strong for the battle: God shall make thee fall before the enemy: for God hath power to help, and to cast down.

9 And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the †army of Israel? And the man of God answered, The LORD is able to give thee much more than this. † Heb. *band.*

10 Then Amaziah separated them, *to wit*, the army that was come to him out of Ephraim, to go †home again: wherefore their anger was greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned home †in great anger. † Heb. *to their place.* † Heb. *in heat of anger.*

11 ¶ And Amaziah strengthened himself, and led forth his people, and went to the valley of salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand.

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5. *Amaziah ... made them captains over thousands, &c.*] Rather "**arranged them by the houses of their fathers under** captains of thousands and captains of hundreds." Nothing more seems to be intended than a recurrence to the old system of organisation by families (Num. ii. 34) under captains of hundreds and thousands, which prevailed from the time of the Exodus to David, and which was probably restored under Rehoboam. (Compare above, ch. xvii. 14.)

from twenty years old and above.] Compare Num. i. 3; 1 Chr. xxvii. 23. Twenty was regarded as the military age.

three hundred thousand.] Asa's army had been nearly twice as numerous, amounting to 580,000 (supra, ch. xiv. 8). We must ascribe the great diminution of force in part to the Edomite, Arabian, Philistine, and Syrian wars (see ch. xxi. 8, 16; xxiv. 23, 24); in part, to the general decadence of the kingdom, attributable mainly to moral causes.

6. *He hired also an hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel.*] The number of 100,000 has been doubted, since in the time of Jehoahaz, which was a little before this, the Israelite army is said to have been reduced to fifty horse and 10,000 foot (2 K. xiii. 7). But that reduction applied only to the standing force (see note ad loc.), and, being compulsory, proves nothing with respect to the military population of the country. This, which was 800,000 in Jeroboam's time (2 Chr. xiii. 3), is not likely to have been less now than 200,000 or 300,000. It was sufficient at any rate to meet and defeat the 300,000 of Amaziah. (See verse 22.)

7. *To wit with all the children of Ephraim.*] This clause is added on account of the ambiguity of the word "Israel"—which often means the whole chosen people, and which in our author sometimes means Judah only. (See ch. xii. 6; xv. 17; xx. 34; xxi. 2, 4, &c.)

8. *But if thou wilt go, &c.*] If the present text be regarded as sound, this passage must be taken ironically—"Nay, but [if thou believest me not,] go thou, act, be strong for the battle—God then shall make thee fall, &c." As this is somewhat harsh, most recent commentators conclude that a negative has fallen out of the second clause, and supplying this, render—"But go thou alone, act, be strong for the battle—God shall then **not** make thee to fall."

10. *Their anger was greatly kindled.*] Such a dismissal as is here recorded could not fail to arouse great indignation. The Israelites if aware of the grounds of the prophet's objection, would be angry at its being publicly proclaimed that "the Lord was not with them," and that their aid would draw down a judgment. If—as is more probable—they were not aware of this, they would suppose themselves dismissed because their good faith was suspected, and would reasonably be very indignant. (Compare the feelings of the Athenians when their contingent was dismissed from Ithome. Plut. 'Cimon,' § 17.) On the consequences of their indignation see verse 13.

12 And *other* ten thousand *left* alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they all were broken in pieces.

† Heb. *the sons of the band.*

13 ¶ But †the soldiers of the army which Amaziah sent back, that they should not go with him to battle, fell upon the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon, and smote three thousand of them, and took much spoil.

14 ¶ Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up *to be* his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them.

15 Wherefore the anger of the LORD was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, which said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine hand?

16 And it came to pass, as he talked with him, that *the king* said unto him, Art thou made of the king's counsel? forbear; why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the prophet forbare, and said, I know that God hath †determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this, and hast not hearkened unto my counsel.

† Heb. *counselled.*

17 ¶ Then [c] Amaziah king of Judah took advice, and sent to Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let us see one another in the face.

[c] 2 Kin. 14. 8, 9.

18 And Joash king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying,

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11. *To the valley of salt.*] On the probable position of the "valley of salt," see note on 2 K. xiv. 7.

the children of Seir.] *I.e.* the Edomites (2 K. l. s. c.). Compare 2 Chr. xx. 10.

12. *And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive.*] Rather, "And other ten thousand did the children of Judah **take alive**." (ἐζώγρησαν, LXX.) It is not implied that the prisoners were carried away to any distance.

and brought them unto the top of the rock &c.] Rather, "and brought them unto the **height of Selah**, and cast them down from the **height of Selah**." The battle was probably fought not far from Selah (Petra); the captives, about 10,000 in number, were marched to Petra itself, and precipitated from the steep cliffs in its neighbourhood. The town was then captured (Kings). On the cruel features of the Edomite wars, see 1 K. xi. 15; Ezek. xxv. 12; Obad. 14.

13. *From Samaria even unto Beth-horon.*] The order of the names seems to imply that these ravages were not committed by the soldiers in hot blood on their way back to Samaria, but were the result of instructions deliberately given to them at Samaria after they had returned thither. To revenge the insult put upon him, Joash sent the troops on an expedition against Judæa, which starting from Samaria, proceeded southwards and ravaged all the Jewish towns and villages between the Israelitish frontier and Beth-horon. This invasion probably took place while Amaziah was still in Edom.

three thousand of them.] *I.e.* "three thousand of their inhabitants."

14. *Brought the gods of the children of Seir.*] The practice of carrying off the images of the gods from a conquered country, or city, was common among the nations of the East, and, indeed, extended to the West also. (See Liv. v. 22.) They were not ordinarily taken in order to be worshipped but as trophies of victory, indicating the completeness of a conquest, since the vanquished people would rather have yielded anything than their idols. Still, sometimes, as with the Romans, the object was worship, especially when the gods were previously among those of the conquering country, and the images had the reputation of peculiar sanctity.

16. *Art thou made of the king's counsel?*] Literally, "Have we made thee a king's counsellor?" A subtle irony. "Have I made thee one of my council, and forgotten it? If not, what entitles thee to offer thy advice?"

the prophet forbare.] The prophet ceased his remonstrances and retired, but aimed a Parthian shaft on quitting the royal presence —"If I am not of thy council, I am of God's council, and know what is determined there —God has counselled to destroy thee." For the fulfilment of the prophecy, see verses 22-24, and 27.

17-24.] For the general illustration of this passage, see notes on 2 K. xiv. 8-14.

‖ Or, *furze bush*, or, *thorn*.

† Heb. *a beast of the field*.

The ‖thistle that *was* in Lebanon sent to the cedar that *was* in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by †a wild beast that *was* in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.

19 Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten the Edomites; and thine heart lifteth thee up to boast: abide now at home; why shouldest thou meddle to *thine* hurt, that thou shouldest fall, *even* thou, and Judah with thee?

20 But Amaziah would not hear; for it *came* of God, that he might deliver them into the hand *of their enemies*, because they sought after the gods of Edom.

21 So Joash the king of Israel went up; and they saw one another in the face, *both* he and Amaziah king of Judah, at Beth-shemesh, which *belongeth* to Judah.

† Heb. *smitten*.

22 And Judah was †put to the worse before Israel, and they fled every man to his tent.

23 And Joash the king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, at Beth-shemesh, and brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim to †the corner gate, four hundred cubits.

† Heb. *the gate of it that looketh*.

24 And *he took* all the gold and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with Obed-edom, and the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

25 ¶ And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years.

26 Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, first and last, behold, *are* they not written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel?

27 ¶ Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away †from following the LORD they †made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there.

† Heb. *from after*.

† Heb. *conspired a conspiracy*.

28 And they brought him upon horses, and buried him with his fathers in the city of ‖Judah.

‖ That is, *the city of David*, as it is 2 Kin. 14. 20.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *Uzziah succeeding, and reigning well in the days of Zechariah, prospereth.* 16 *Waxing proud, he invadeth the priest's office, and is smitten with leprosy.* 22 *He dieth, and Jotham succeedeth him.*

THEN all the people of Judah took [d]‖Uzziah, who *was* sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his father Amaziah.

[d] 2 Kin. 14. 21. & 15. 1.

‖ Or, *Azariah*.

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20. *For it came of God.*] Here the author of Chronicles, quitting his authority, interposes a remark of his own—a remark thoroughly characteristic of his tone of mind, which leads him to see always, and to note pointedly, the finger of God in the important reverses of fortune that befall the Jewish monarchs. (See 'Introduction' § 9, *c*.)

23. *The corner gate* (Heb. *the gate of it that looketh*).] It is generally agreed that the text is corrupt here, and that for *sha'ar happôneh*, we should read *sha'ar happinnah* ("the corner gate"), as in 2 K. xiv. 13.

24. *With Obed-edom.*] This is another very characteristic touch. The writer finds in his authority mention of the Levite who had charge of the temple treasures at this time, and *places his name on record*, though nothing else is said of him. (Compare 'Introduction,' § 9, *b*.)

25-28.] See notes on 2 K. xiv. 17-20.

27. *After the time that Amaziah did turn away.*] This is really not so much a note of time as of causation and providential sequence. The writer means to observe that the violent death of Amaziah followed on his apostacy, not closely in point of time—for it must have been at least fifteen years after (verse 25)—nor as, humanly speaking, caused by it; but in the way of a divine judgment—a complete fulfilment of the prophecy of verse 16.

28. *The city of Judah.*] Several MSS., and all the versions except the Chaldee, have "the city of *David*;" which is the phrase elsewhere always found in this combination (supra, ch. ix. 31; xii. 16; xiv. 1; xvi. 14; xxi. 1, 20; xxiv. 25; and infra, xxvii. 9).

CHAP. XXVI. Nearly the whole of this chapter is additional to the narrative in Kings,

2 He built Eloth, and restored it to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

3 Sixteen years old *was* Uzziah when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was* Jecoliah of Jerusalem.

4 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah did.

5 And he sought God in the days of Zechariah, who had understanding † Heb. *in the seeing of God.* †in the visions of God: and as long as he sought the LORD, God made him to prosper.

6 And he went forth and warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and built cities ‖about Ashdod, and among the Philistines. ‖ Or, *in the country of Ashdod.*

7 And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the Mehunims.

8 And the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: and his name †spread abroad *even* to the entering in of † Heb. *went.*

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where the reign of Uzziah (Azariah) occupies only two verses of ch. xiv. (verses 21, 22) and seven verses of ch. xv. (verses 1-7). The only events of Uzziah's reign touched by the writer of Kings are his rebuilding of Elath or Eloth, his leprosy (which is related without any mention of its cause), and the regency of Jotham. It is not too much to say that we are indebted to Chronicles for our whole conception of the character of Uzziah, and for nearly our whole knowledge of the events of his reign.

1. *Uzziah.*] This form of the name is found uniformly in Chronicles, with the single exception of 1 Chr. iii. 12, where Azariah occurs. Uzziah is likewise the only form used by the prophets. (See Is. i. 1; vi. 1; vii. 1; Hos. i. 1; Am. i. 1.) The writer of Kings prefers the form Azariah (2 K. xiv. 21; xv. 1, 6, 7, 8, 23, 27), but has Uzziah in four places (2 K. xv. 13, 30, 32, 34). Gesenius regards Uzziah as a phonetic corruption of the real name in the mouth of the common people. (Compare the change of Azareel into Uzziel. 1 Chr. xxv. 4 and 18.)

2. *He built Eloth, &c.*] See notes on 2 K. xiv. 22.

5. *He sought God in the days of Zechariah.*] Nothing more is known of this Zechariah. We must conclude that he stood to Uzziah somewhat in the position of Jehoiada to Joash (ch. xxiv. 2), guiding him and exercising an influence over him for good.

who had understanding in the visions of God.] Or, if we follow the reading of a few MSS. which have the support of the Septuagint, and of most ancient versions, "Who instructed him in the fear of God." (See additional note at the end of the chapter.)

6. *He . . . warred against the Philistines.*] The Philistines, who had submitted to Jehoshaphat and paid him tribute (ch. xvii. 11), had rebelled against Jehoram, and attacked him in conjunction with the Arabians (ch. xxi. 16). After this, Hazael of Syria had made war upon them and taken Gath (2 K. xii. 17). Uzziah's expedition was the natural sequel to the Edomite war of Amaziah, which crushed the most formidable of all the tribes of the south.

Jabneh.] Jabneh is probably the Jabneel of Josh. xv. 11, which was at the extreme border of Judah to the north-west. The name appears as Jamnia in the books of Maccabees (1 Mac. iv. 15; v. 58; &c.; 2 Mac. xii. 9), and has been corrupted into *Yebna.* The position is near the coast, about nine miles north-east of Ashdod, and five west of Ekron (*Akir*).

Ashdod.] Ashdod was the strongest of all the Philistine towns. It was originally assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 47) but was perhaps never conquered till now. It lay on the great Egyptian route, which it commanded; and in the wars between Egypt and Assyria, its possession was eagerly coveted and hotly contested between the rival powers. (See Is. xx. 1; Herod. ii. 157.) It lay half-way between Ekron and Ascalon, on elevated ground, about three miles from the sea. The village which occupies the site is still called *Esdud.*

7. *The Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal.*] The position of Gur-baal is unknown. We may conjecture from the context that it was in the desert to the south-east of Judæa, not far from the country of the Mehunim. On the Mehunim or Maonites, see note on Judges x. 12.

8. *The Ammonites gave gifts.*] *I.e.* "paid tribute." Compare 1 K. iv. 21; x. 25; 2 Chr. xvii. 11. A right of pasture in the Ammonite country seems implied in verse 10.

Egypt; for he strengthened *himself* exceedingly.

9 Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning *of the wall*, and ‖fortified them.

‖ Or, *repaired.*

10 Also he built towers in the desert, and ‖digged many wells: for he had much cattle, both in the low country, and in the plains: husbandmen *also*, and vine dressers in the mountains, and in ‖Carmel: for he loved †husbandry.

‖ Or, *cut out many cisterns.*

‖ Or, *fruitful fields.* † Heb. *ground.*

11 Moreover Uzziah had an host of fighting men, that went out to war by bands, according to the number of their account by the hand of Jeiel the scribe and Maaseiah the ruler, under the hand of Hananiah, *one* of the king's captains.

12 The whole number of the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valour *were* two thousand and six hundred.

13 And under their hand *was* †an army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy.

† Heb. *the power of an army.*

14 And Uzziah prepared for them throughout all the host shields, and

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9. *The corner gate.*] See note on 2 K. xiv. 13.

the valley gate.] The gate leading into the valley of Hinnom, the ancient representative of the modern "Jaffa gate"—situated probably on the same spot.

the turning of the wall.] See note on Neh. iii. 19.

10. *He built towers in the desert.*] Or "In the *wilderness*," as the word is more commonly rendered—that is, in the wild pasture country on the borders of the Holy Land, especially towards the south and south-east. These districts being peculiarly liable to the attacks of the Arabs and other marauders, "towers" were needed as refuges for the flocks and the herdsmen.

and digged many wells (marg. *cut out many cisterns*).] The marginal translation is preferable. Judæa depends largely for its water supply on reservoirs in which the rain-fall is stored. These are generally cut in the natural rock, and covered at top with the exception of a small aperture. Numerous cisterns, apparently of great antiquity, are met with along all the ancient lines of route, and in the vicinity of almost every ancient site. In the "desert" they would be especially wanted.

for he had much cattle, both in the low country, and in the plains.] Rather "for he had much cattle **there, and** in the low country, and **on the downs**." Three pasture districts are mentioned—1. The "wilderness," or high tract to the south and south-east, extending from the western shores of the Dead Sea to the vicinity of Beersheba; 2. The "low country," or maritime plain on the west, between the hills of Judæa and the sea; and 3. The "downs," or rich grazing land beyond the Jordan, on the plateau of Gilead. Uzziah's possession of this last-named district must have been connected with the submission of the Ammonites (see verse 8).

in the mountains, and in Carmel.] These terms describe Judæa Proper—the hilly tract between the low maritime plain on the one side, and the wilderness and Jordan valley on the other. By "Carmel" we must understand, not the mountain of that name, which belonged to Samaria, but the cultivated portions of the Judæan hill-tract. (Compare Is. xxix. 17; xxxii. 15; Jer. ii. 7; &c.)

11. *According to the number of their account by the hand of Jeiel the scribe.*] Rather "according to the numbers of **the enrolment** made by Jeiel, &c." Jeiel the scribe (compare ch. xxiv. 11) and Maaseiah the ruler, acting under the direction of Hananiah, captain of the host, had made out the list of the army, numbered it, and organised it into bands, which formed separate divisions in the field.

12. *The whole number of the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valour.*] Rather "The whole number of the chief of the fathers, mighty men of valour, was 2600." "Mighty men of valour" is an epithet applied to the patriarchal chiefs.

13. *Three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred.*] A more exact numbering than usual—such as a scribe would make—is implied in these figures. In general the army is very roughly counted by tens or even hundreds of thousands. (See above, ch. xi. 1; xiii. 3; xiv. 8; xvii. 14-18; xxv. 5.) It is remarkable that Uzziah had not added much to the military strength of the nation by his conquests. His army exceeds that of his father Amaziah by 7500 men only. (See ch. xxv. 5.)

spears, and helmets, and habergeons, and bows, and †slings *to cast* stones.

† Heb. *stones of slings.*

15 And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal. And his name †spread far abroad; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong.

† Heb. *went forth.*

16 ¶ But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to *his* destruction: for he transgressed against the LORD his God, and went into the temple of the LORD to burn incense upon the altar of incense.

17 And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the LORD, *that were* valiant men:

18 And they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, *It* [a] *appertaineth* not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the LORD, but to the [b]priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither *shall it be* for thine honour from the LORD God.

[a] Num. 18. 7.

[b] Ex. 30. 7.

19 Then Uzziah was wroth, and *had* a censer in his hand to burn incense: and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy even rose up in his forehead before the priests in the house of the LORD, from beside the incense altar.

20 And Azariah the chief priest, and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he *was* leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out from thence; yea, himself [c]hasted also to go out, because the LORD had smitten him.

[c] As Esth. 6. 12.

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14. *Slings to cast stones.*] Rather "**stones for slings.**" The sling was used in war by the Assyrians ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 35, 43), the Egyptians (Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. i. p. 316), the Persians (Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 3, § 6), the Greeks, Romans, and others. Its employment by the Benjamites in the time of the Judges appears from Judg. xx. 16; and its use by the ten tribes, a century before Uzziah, is indicated in 2 K. iii. 25. In early times the slinger probably found his own stones (1 S. xvii. 40); and the supply of them to his soldiers by Uzziah is meant to mark the completeness of his equipment.

15. *He made in Jerusalem engines.*] Uzziah's engines seem to have been of two kinds, corresponding respectively to the Roman *balista* and *catapulta*. The *balista*, which threw stones, was known to the Assyrians as early as the time of Sardanapalus I., who was contemporary with Jehoshaphat. It is rudely represented on the sculptures ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 81), but the principle on which it was worked is not apparent. The catapult is not represented either on the Assyrian or the Egyptian sculptures, and (though it is mentioned, with the balista, in at least one of the later hieroglyphical inscriptions) yet the allusion to it in this verse is the earliest notice that we have of its invention. It would seem however to be on the whole most probable that both kinds of engines were invented in Assyria and introduced from thence into Palestine.

he was marvellously helped.] *I.e.* by God. (Compare verse 7.)

16. *His heart was lifted up to his destruction.*] Rather, "his heart was lifted up to **do wickedly.**" (Compare ch. xxvii. 2.)

he transgressed.] None but the priests might offer incense on the golden altar before the vail, or even, under ordinary circumstances, enter within the temple building, which represented the original tabernacle. (See Num. xviii. 1-7.) Uzziah must have deliberately determined to invade the priest's office, thus repeating the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. (Num. xvi. 1-35.)

17. *Azariah the priest.*] Though the name of this Azariah does not seem to occur in the list of 1 Chr. vi. 4-15, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that he was the high priest at the time. (See verse 20.) As such, it would have been his duty to oppose the sacrilegious act of the king.

with him fourscore priests.] Uzziah had no doubt entered the temple with a considerable retinue, and it was possible that he might resist the high priest's attempt to expel him. Azariah seems to have intended in that case to use force.

19. *The leprosy rose up in his forehead.*] Compare the sudden seizure of Gehazi. (2 K. v. 27.)

from beside the incense altar.] *I.e.* "as they stood beside the altar of incense," the king preparing to offer, the priests to prevent him.

20. *Himself hasted also to go out, because the Lord had smitten him.*] Death was denounced by the Law against those who invaded

21 [d] And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a [e†] several house, *being* a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the LORD: and Jotham his son *was* over the king's house, judging the people of the land.

22 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write.

23 So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which *belonged* to the kings; for they said, He *is* a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

[d] 2 Kin. 15. 5.

[e] Lev. 13. 46.

† Heb. *free.*

the office of the priest (Num. xviii. 7); and death had been the actual punishment of Korah and his company, (ib. xvi. 31-35). Uzziah, when he felt the hand of God laid upon him, feared probably lest from him too the extreme penalty should be exacted, and therefore hasted to quit the sacred building where his bare presence was a capital crime.

21. *Uzziah . . . dwelt in a several house.*] Literally, "a house of liberation." See notes on 2 K. xv. 5; and compare also those on Ps. lxxxviii., which is supposed by some to refer to Uzziah.

22. *The rest of the acts of Uzziah . . . did Isaiah . . . write.*] Isaiah speaks of himself as having seen his visions partly "in the days of Uzziah" (ch. i. 1; vi. 1). Since, however, he lived far into the reign of Hezekiah, Uzziah's great-grandson, he cannot have been contemporary with Uzziah as an adult for more than a very small portion of his long reign. Most critics regard him as about 20 when Uzziah died. He must, then, have written his history of Uzziah's reign rather from documents and accounts of others, than from his own knowledge.

23. *In the field of the burial.*] *I.e.* "in the burial ground"—in the same piece of ground, but in a separate sepulchre. As the Law separated off the leper from his fellows during life (Lev. xiii. 46), so Jewish feeling required that he should remain separate even in death.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 5. "Who had understanding in the visions of God."

The present text is המבין בראת האלהים, "intelligens in visione Dei." But several MSS. have ביראת, "in timore," for בראת, "in visione;" and the LXX. have ἐν φόβῳ. Some propose to alter המבין into המבינו; but this seems scarcely necessary. The accusative "him" may be *understood* after המבין, and the sense of המבין ביראת האלהים may well be "erudiens illum in timore Dei."

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *Jotham reigning well prospereth.* 5 *He subdueth the Ammonites.* 7 *His reign.* 9 *Ahaz succeedeth him.*

[f] 2 Kin. 15. 32.

JOTHAM [f] *was* twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also *was* Jerushah, the daughter of Zadok.

2 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Uzziah did: howbeit he entered not into the temple of the LORD. And the people did yet corruptly.

CHAP. XXVII. This short chapter runs parallel with 2 Kings xv. 32-38, and is taken mainly from the same source or sources. It is ampler than the narrative in Kings, containing all the facts of that narrative except the notice of the Syrian war (verse 37), and adding besides, 1. a much fuller account of Jotham's buildings (verses 3 and 4): and 2. the entire account of the Ammonite war (verse 5). The writer inserts also, after his manner, certain religious reflections—as that Jotham, warned by his father's fate, did not attempt to enter the temple (verse 2); and that he became mighty *because* he established his way before the Lord his God (verse 6).

2. *He did . . . right . . . according to all that his father Uzziah did.*] Compare ch. xxvi. 4, and 2 K. xv. 34. Uzziah's single act of impiety is not regarded as destroying the generally good character of his reign.

howbeit he entered not, &c.] While in other

3 He built the high gate of the house of the LORD, and on the wall
‖ Or, *The tower.* of ‖Ophel he built much.

4 Moreover he built cities in the mountains of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers.

5 ¶ He fought also with the king of the Ammonites, and prevailed against them. And the children of Ammon gave him the same year an hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten
† Heb. *This.* thousand of barley. †So much did the children of Ammon pay unto him, both the second year, and the third.

6 So Jotham became mighty, be-
‖ Or, *established.* cause he ‖prepared his ways before the LORD his God.

7 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars, and his ways, lo, they *are* written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

8 He was five and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem.

9 ¶ And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Ahaz reigning very wickedly is greatly afflicted by the Syrians.* 6 *Judah being captivated by the Israelites is sent home by the counsel of Oded the prophet.* 16 *Ahaz sending for aid to Assyria is not helped thereby.* 22 *In his distress he groweth more idolatrous.* 26 *He dying, Hezekiah succeedeth him.*

AHAZ [g] *was* twenty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: but he did not *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, like David his father:

[g] 2 Kin. 16. 2.

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respects Jotham imitated his father, he did not follow him in his impiety.

the people did yet corruptly.] Compare 2 K. xv. 35; and for the general character of the corruption at this date, see Isaiah i.-v.

3. *He built the high gate.*] See 2 K. xv. 35.

on the wall of Ophel (marg. *the tower*) *he built much.*] It is best to take Ophel (literally "the Ophel") here as a proper name. (Compare below, ch. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27; xi. 21; and Is. xxxii. 14.) All commentators are now agreed that Ophel was the name given to the southern swelling of the temple-hill—the "long, narrowish, rounded spur or promontory, which intervenes between the central valley of Jerusalem (the Tyropœon) and the Kidron, or Valley of Jehoshaphat" (Grove). Jotham greatly strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem in this quarter.

4. *He built cities in the mountains of Judah.*] Rather, "in the hill tract of Judah." The Hebrew word is in the singular. Compare note on Josh. ix. 1.

and in the forests he built castles and towers.] See note on ch. xvii. 12. The anxiety of Uzziah and Jotham to fortify their territory indicates a fear of external attack, which at this time was probably felt mainly in connexion with Samaria and Syria. The faithless trust put in fortifications was rebuked by the prophets of the time. (Hos. viii. 14; Is. ii. 15.)

5. *He fought also with the king of the Ammonites.*] The Ammonites, who had submitted to Uzziah, (ch. xxvi. 8), revolted against Jotham, probably at the beginning of his reign. (See note on 2 K. i. 1.) This revolt he firmly repressed; and, to punish it, he exacted a higher rate of tribute than the regular one for the three years following on the termination of the war.

ten thousand measures of wheat, &c.] On the Oriental practice of taking tribute in kind, see note on 2 K. iii. 4, and compare 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 421. The productiveness of the Ammonite country in grain, which is here indicated, has been remarked upon as extraordinary by modern travellers (Tristram, 'Land of Israel,' p. 537).

6. *Because he prepared* (marg. *established*) *his ways.*] Rather, "because he directed his ways," or, "disposed them aright." (Compare Prov. xxi. 29.)

7. *All his wars.*] Besides contending with the Ammonites, Jotham had wars (apparently in the later years of his reign) with Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel. (See 2 K. xv. 37.)

9. *They buried him in the city of David.*] "With his fathers," according to 2 K. xv. 38; that is, in the sepulchre of the kings.

CHAP. XXVIII. This chapter corresponds with 2 K. xvi. and describes the chief events of the reign of Ahaz in precisely the same order. The narrative is on the whole

2 For he walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and made also molten images for Baalim.

3 Moreover he [l] burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt [h] his children in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen whom the LORD had cast out before the children of Israel.

4 He sacrificed also and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.

5 Wherefore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of them captives, and brought *them* to [†] Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter.

6 ¶ For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, *which were* all [†] valiant men; because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers.

7 And Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the governor of

[l] Or, *offered sacrifice.*

[h] Lev. 18. 21.

[†] Heb. *Darmesek.*

[†] Heb. *sons of valour.*

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fuller than that of Kings, more especially in the portions which treat of military matters (verses 5-15, 17, 18). At the same time there is a remarkable omission of important facts contained in Kings—as the siege of Jerusalem, the capture of Elath by the Syrians (?), and that of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser—which gives to the chapter a pointedly *supplemental* character. The writer seems to assume that the narrative of Kings is known, and is mainly anxious to add points which the author of that narrative has omitted.

2. *And made also molten images for Baalim.*] Ahaz made molten images to serve as Baalim, *i.e.* as representatives of the different forms or characters of the chief Phœnician deity. In this respect especially he "walked in the ways of the kings of Israel" (1 K. xvi. 31; 2 K. i. 2; 2 Chr. xxi. 6; xxii. 3; xxiii. 17), returning to the idolatry from which Judah had been clear since the time of Joash.

3. *Moreover he burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom.*] Ahaz, *i.e.* restored the worship of Moloch, which had been unknown in Judæa since the days of Solomon (1 K. xi. 7), and allowed it to establish itself in the valley of Hinnom (or Ben-Hinnom)—the ravine bounding Jerusalem to the west and south—under the very walls of the city.

and burnt his children in the fire.] The infatuated monarch gave to this revolting cult the sanction of his own personal adhesion by burning to death one or more of his own sons, as victims to Moloch. (Compare 2 K. xvi. 3.)

4. *He sacrificed also, &c.*] Compare 2 K. xvi. 4.

5. *The king of Syria.*] Rezin. (See 2 K. xvi. 5; Is. vii. 1.) The two battles here mentioned, one with Rezin, and the other with Pekah, are omitted by the writer of Kings, who hurries on to the result—the siege of Jerusalem by the victorious allies, its failure, and the success of Rezin in Southern Idumæa, which caused the permanent loss of Elath to Judah. (See notes on 2 K. xvi. 5 and 6.) We have no sufficient data for determining whether all the events of the Syro-Israelite war were included in one year, or whether they were spread over several. On the whole the latter is the more probable supposition.

6. *Pekah, the son of Remaliah.*] See 2 K. xv. 25, 27, 30, 32, 37; xvi. 15; Is. vii. Pekah appears to have been almost better known by his patronymic, Ben-Remaliah, than by his own proper name. (See particularly Is. vii. 4 and 5.)

slew in Judah a hundred and twenty thousand in one day.] These numbers have been suspected of corruption or exaggeration; but, if armies of 300,000 men, or more, were brought into the field about this time by the Jewish kings (see ch. xxv. 5; xxvi. 13), a complete rout and panic would almost necessarily result in such a loss as that stated in the text. When an Oriental army is once defeated, its masses allow themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Darius Codomannus lost 100,000, or 110,000, at Issus, out of probably 131,200. Out of 300,000, 100,000 are said to have fallen at Platæa. At the battle of Tigranocerta the Armenians lost 150,000 out of 260,000. (Plutarch, 'Lucullus,' § 28.) At Arbela 300,000 are said to have fallen; but this was out of a total which exceeded a million.

7. *Zichri . . . slew Maaseiah, the king's son.*] Either an officer so called (compare 1 K. xxii. 26), or perhaps a son of Jotham, since Ahaz, if he was only 20 at his accession (verse 1), is not likely to have had a son old enough to take part in the battle.

Azrikam, the governor of the house.] Chief

the house, and Elkanah *that was* †next to the king.

† Heb. *the second to the king.*

8 And the children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought the spoil to Samaria.

9 But a prophet of the LORD was there, whose name *was* Oded: and he went out before the host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, because the LORD God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have slain them in a rage *that* reacheth up unto heaven.

10 And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: *but are there* not with you, even with you, sins against the LORD your God?

11 Now hear me therefore, and deliver the captives again, which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the fierce wrath of the LORD *is* upon you.

12 Then certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the war,

13 And said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the captives hither: for whereas we have offended against the LORD *already*, ye intend to add *more* to our sins and to our trespass: †for our trespass is great, and *there is* fierce wrath against Israel.

14 So the armed men left the captives and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation.

15 And the men which were ex-

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officer, *i.e.* of the Royal Palace. (Compare 1 K. iv. 6; xviii. 3; 2 K. xviii. 18.)

Elkanah, that was next to the king.] By "next to the king" or "second to the king" (marg.), we are probably to understand the chief of the royal counsellors. (Compare Esth. x. 3; and for the office of chief counsellor among the Jews, see 1 S. xxiii. 17; 2 S. xv. 12; 2 Chr. xxvi. 5.)

9. *Oded.*] Nothing more is known of this Oded; but the name is one that has occurred before in notices of prophets. (Supra, ch. xv. 1 and 8.) According to some it is the same name as Iddo (ch. ix. 29).

he went out before the host.] Rather—"He went out **to meet** the host," as the same phrase is translated in ch. xv. 2.

ye have slain them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven.] See above, verse 6. By "a rage that reacheth up to heaven" is meant, not merely an exceedingly great and violent rage, but one that has displeased God. (Compare Ezr. ix. 6.)

10. *Are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord?*] The Ten Tribes had fallen away from the true faith far more completely and more hopelessly than the Two. It was not for them to press hard against their erring brothers, and aggravate their punishment.

11. *The fierce wrath of the Lord is upon you.*] The Law expressly forbade the Israelites to make bondmen from among their brethren. (Lev. xxv. 39-46).

12. *Heads of the children of Ephraim.*] "Ephraim" is probably used here in the generic sense so common in the prophets (Is. vii. 2, 5, 9; Hos. v. 9-14; Obad. 19; Jer. vii. 15; Zech. ix. 10; &c.), as synonymous with the Ten Tribes. The "heads" are the patriarchal chiefs, the grey-beards of the tribes, who form the king's council and dwell at Samaria. (See 1 K. xx. 7.)

13. *Ye shall not bring in the captives.*] Conscience-stricken, when they remembered their own sins against Jehovah, and alarmed by the solemn denunciations of the prophet Oded, the head men of Israel, in the absence of Pekah, who may have been with his troops besieging Jerusalem, forbade the entrance of the captives into Samaria. Then, when the armed escort yielded to their authority, they hospitably entertained the unfortunates, and reconducted them to their own country.

15. *The men which were expressed by name.*] *I.e.* the men named in verse 12. These four took the lead, both in opposing the reception of the captives, and in the laborious and difficult task of effecting their restoration. It is plain, however, from verse 14, that they acted with the general consent of the whole body of

pressed by name rose up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, [a] the city of palm trees, to their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.

[a] Deut. 34. 3.

16 ¶ At that time did king Ahaz send unto the kings of Assyria to help him.

17 For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away [†] captives.

[†] Heb. *a captivity.*

18 The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Shocho with the villages thereof, and Timnah with the villages thereof, Gimzo also and the villages thereof: and they dwelt there.

19 For the LORD brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for he made Judah naked, and transgressed sore against the LORD.

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the "princes," and, indeed, with the tacit acquiescence of the people.

carried all the feeble of them upon asses.] In the Assyrian sculptures we often see the female captives and their children conveyed in this way. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 292; Layard, 'Monuments,' 2nd Series, pl. 35, &c.)

and brought them to Jericho.] Jericho lies so much further from Samaria than many points of the territory of Judah, that it is difficult to understand its selection as the point whereto the captives should be conducted. Perhaps they had been carried off principally from this point of the Jewish territory; or there may have been less danger of falling in with portions of Pekah's army on this than on the direct route.

the city of palm trees.] See Deut. xxxiv. 3.

16. *At that time.*] *I.e.* during the continuance of the Syro-Israelite war; probably soon after the combined army broke up from before Jerusalem.

the kings of Assyria.] All the ancient versions, including the Septuagint, have "the *king* of Assyria," but the reading of the Hebrew text may be defended by the frequent use of a vague plural in Chronicles. (See above, ch. xxviii. 2, and below, ch. xxxii. 4, 31; xxxiii. 6, &c.)

17. *The Edomites had come and smitten Judah.*] Taking advantage of the reverses which Ahaz had sustained, and perhaps invited to join the league against Judah by Rezin, who had recovered Elath and put it into their hands (see note on 2 K. xvi. 6), the Edomites made a raid into Judæa on the south-east and swept off a portion of the inhabitants. The pitilessness of Edom, and her readiness to turn against Judah in any severe distress, is noticed and sternly rebuked by the Prophets. (Am. i. 11; Ezek. xxxv 5; Obad. 10-14; &c.)

18. *The Philistines also.*] Eager to retaliate the blows she had received from Uzziah (ch. xxvi. 6), Philistia seized the golden opportunity now presented to her: "Rejoicing that the rod of him that smote her was broken," (Is. xiv. 29), she poured her forces into the Judæan lowland on the west, and, not content with ravaging, besieged and took six important towns:—Ajalon and Shocho, which were among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (ch. xi. 7, 10); Beth-shemesh, famous as the scene of Amaziah's defeat (ch. xxv. 23) Timnah, or Timnatha, the city of Samson's wife; and two others of minor note, Gederoth (see Josh. xv. 41) and Gimzo. This last place, which is not elsewhere mentioned in Scripture, has been probably identified with the modern *Jimzu*, a large village in the maritime plain, about 2½ miles from *Ludd* (the ancient Lydda). See Dr. Robinson's 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 56.

and they dwelt there.] As Uzziah had not only ravaged but occupied portions of the Philistine country (ch. xxvi. 6), so now the Philistines seized and retained portions of Judæa.

19. *Ahaz, king of Israel.*] This is a remarkable instance of that lax use of the word "Israel" by our author, which has been already frequently noted. (Supra, ch. xii. 6, xv. 17, xx. 34, xxi. 2, 4, &c.) We are not to attach any special force, ironical or other, to the expression. It is simply equivalent to "king of Judah." (Compare especially, ch. xxi. 2.)

he made Judah naked.] Literally, "he **had caused licentiousness** in Judah"—*i.e.* he had allowed Judah to break loose from all restraints of true religion, and to turn to any idolatry that they preferred. (See verses 2-4.)

and had transgressed sore.] Rather, "had **dealt very faithlessly**" with the Lord. In both this and the preceding expression

20 And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not.

21 For Ahaz took away a portion *out* of the house of the LORD, and *out* of the house of the king, and of the princes, and gave *it* unto the king of Assyria: but he helped him not.

22 ¶ And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the LORD: this *is that* king Ahaz.

23 For he sacrificed unto the gods of †Damascus, which smote him: and he said, Because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, *therefore* will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him, and of all Israel.

† Heb. *Darmesek.*

24 And Ahaz gathered together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the LORD, and he made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem.

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there is the same idea of apostacy resembling the unfaithfulness of a wife.

20. *Tilgath-pilneser.*] This form of the name—found also in 1 Chr. v. 6 and 26—is doubly corrupt. The Assyrian characters read *Tiglat-pal-zira*, and are properly Hebraized by *Tiglath-pil-eser*, the form used by the author of Kings. (2 K. xv. 29, xvi. 10.)

distressed him, but strengthened him not.] This statement, and that at the end of the next verse ("he helped him not"), have been regarded as contradicting the narrative of Kings, where Tiglath-Pileser is said to have "hearkened to Ahaz," and to have assisted him by attacking the Syrians, capturing Damascus, carrying its inhabitants away captive, and killing Rezin. (2 K. xvi. 9.) And certainly from the narrative of Chronicles, had it stood alone, we could not have gathered the fact that Tiglath-pileser lent Ahaz any material aid. But the narrative of Chronicles was never intended to stand alone. The writer constantly assumes that what is said in Kings will be known to his readers, and, in a certain sense, comments upon it. Here it is his object to note that the material assistance rendered by Tiglath-Pileser to Ahab, at which he glances in the words, "and T. came *unto him*," was no real "help" or "strength," but rather a cause of "distress." It did not replace Ahaz in an independent or even a safe position; it merely substituted an actual for a threatened subjection. It straitened Ahaz's resources by depriving him of all his accumulated treasure, and it left him subject to a heavy annual impost. Moreover, it led him on to further idolatry and impiety, which, by provoking God's anger, tended to the ruin of the nation.

21. *Ahaz took away a portion.*] Compare 2 K. xvi. 8; and, for instances of similar conduct, see above ch. xvi. 2; 2 K. xii. 18, xviii. 15.

22. *This is that king Ahaz.*] Rather—"In the time of his distress **trespassed still more against the Lord this king Ahaz.**"

23. *He sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus.*] This adoption of the Syrian gods, Hadad, Rimmon, and others, as objects of worship by Ahaz, no doubt preceded the destruction of Damascus by the Assyrians. It belonged probably to the time of his direst distress, when he had sustained his double defeat (verse 5), had lost Elath (2 K. xvi. 6), and was attacked by the Edomites and Philistines (verses 17, 18). It may be paralleled by the prayer of Camillus to the Veientine Juno (Liv. v. 21), and the custom of the Romans, related by Macrobius ('Sat.' iii. 9), of enticing the tutelary gods from the cities, with which they were at war, by supplications and vows.

which smote him.] *I.e.* "which *he believed* to have smitten him." The author is not concerned here with his own belief, which, besides, he had shown sufficiently by ascribing the victory of Rezin to Jehovah (verse 5), but means to tell us the motive of Ahaz' act. The words which follow—"And he said, Because . . . help me"—are exegetical, setting forth the king's motive more plainly, and in a greater number of words.

all Israel.] *I.e.* "all Judah." Compare above, verse 19, and below, verse 27.

24. *Ahaz cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God.*] Compare 2 K. xvi. 17, where, however, the writer describes only a small portion of the work of destruction, which, by the present passage, appears to have been general.

and shut up the doors of the house of the Lord.] The temple worship was suspended, the lamps put out, and the doors shut, to prevent the priests from entering. (See below, ch. xxix. 3 and 7.) The Jews still celebrate a yearly fast in commemoration of this time of affliction.

he made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem.] As the one altar for sacrifice, which alone the Law allowed, symbolized in

25 And in every several city of Judah he made high places [1]to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger the LORD God of his fathers.

[1] Or, *to offer.*

26 ¶ Now the rest of his acts and of all his ways, first and last, behold, they *are* written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

27 And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, *even* in Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 Hezekiah's good reign. 3 He restoreth religion. 5 He exhorteth the Levites. 12 They sanctify themselves, and cleanse the house of God. 20 Hezekiah offereth solemn sacrifices, wherein the Levites were more forward than the priests.

HEZEKIAH [b]began to reign *when he was* five and twenty years old, and he reigned nine and twenty years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Abijah, the daughter of Zechariah. [b] 2 Kin. 18. 1.

2 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.

3 ¶ He in the first year of his reign, in the first month, opened the doors of the house of the LORD, and repaired them.

4 And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into the east street,

5 And said unto them, Hear me, ye Levites, sanctify now yourselves, and sanctify the house of the LORD God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy *place.*

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the strongest way the doctrine of One God, so these multitudinous altars, which met the eye at every turn, spoke unmistakably of the all-embracing polytheism affected by Ahaz.

27. *They brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings.*] There is the same difference here between Kings and Chronicles which we have found in the accounts of the burials of Jehoram, Joash, and Uzziah. (See above, ch. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25, and xxvi. 23; and compare 2 K. viii. 24, xii. 21, and xv. 7.) On the best mode of reconciling the discrepancy, see note on 2 K. xii. 21.

of Israel.] See note on verse 19.

CHAP. XXIX. The history of Hezekiah's reign, which is here commenced, and carried through four chapters, stands in marked contrast with the corresponding portion of Kings. (2 K. xviii.-xx.) While the writer of Kings fixes his eye mainly on civil affairs—on the two invasions of Sennacherib and on the embassy of Merodach-baladan, which he relates at length, passing lightly and hastily over Hezekiah's religious reformation (ch. xviii. 4-7), the author of Chronicles sets himself to give a full account of this latter, which he does in three chapters (xxix.-xxxi.), compressing into the compass of one (ch. xxxii.) the whole that he has to say of the civil history of the reign. Thus chapters xxix. to xxxi. of 2 Chron. contain matter which is almost wholly new; while ch. xxxii. is little more than a brief summary of what the writer of Kings has related fully in the three chapters which he has devoted to this reign.

1. *Five and twenty years old.*] See note on 2 K. xviii. 2.

Abijah.] "Abi," according to Kings. The difference in the Hebrew is the addition of a single letter.

the daughter of Zechariah.] The Zechariah intended can scarcely be the prophet of Uzziah's earlier years (ch. xxvi. 5), but may not improbably be the "faithful witness" of Isaiah (viii. 2).

3. *In the first year of his reign, in the first month.*] By "the first month" we are to understand—as appears from ch. xxx. 2, 3—the month Nisan, the first of the Jewish sacred year, not necessarily the first month of Hezekiah's reign.

He . . . opened the doors.] Compare ch. xxviii. 24, and xxix. 7, where the shutting of the doors by order of Ahaz is mentioned.

and repaired them.] Literally, "made them strong." It appears from 2 K. xviii. 16, that the repairs now made included the plating of the doors, wholly or in part, with gold.

4. *The east street.*] Bertheau understands by "the east street," or rather "the eastern *court*," the inner court of the temple, which lay directly in front of the porch, and so to the east of the temple building. But it is doubtful whether *rehôb* can have this meaning. Probably an open space before the eastern gate of the outer Temple Court is intended.

5. *Sanctify now yourselves.*] David ascribed the calamity which hindered his first attempt

6 For our fathers have trespassed, and done *that which was* evil in the eyes of the LORD our God, and have forsaken him, and have turned away their faces from the habitation of the LORD, and † turned *their* backs.

† Heb. *given the neck.*

7 Also they have shut up the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and have not burned incense nor offered burnt offerings in the holy *place* unto the God of Israel.

8 Wherefore the wrath of the LORD was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and he hath delivered them to † trouble, to astonishment, and to hissing, as ye see with your eyes.

† Heb. *commotion.*

9 For, lo, our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons and our daughters and our wives *are* in captivity for this.

10 Now *it is* in mine heart to make a covenant with the LORD God of Israel, that his fierce wrath may turn away from us.

‖ Or. *be not now deceived.*

11 My sons, ‖ be not now negligent: for the LORD hath [c] chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and ‖ burn incense.

[c] Num. 8. 14. & 18 2, 6.

‖ Or, *offer sacrifice.*

12 ¶ Then the Levites arose, Mahath the son of Amasai, and Joel the son of Azariah, of the sons of the Kohathites: and of the sons of Merari, Kish the son of Abdi, and Azariah the son of Jehalelel: and of the Gershonites; Joah the son of Zimmah, and Eden the son of Joah:

13 And of the sons of Elizaphan; Shimri, and Jeiel: and of the sons of Asaph; Zechariah, and Mattaniah:

14 And of the sons of Heman; Jehiel, and Shimei: and of the sons of Jeduthun; Shemaiah, and Uzziel.

15 And they gathered their brethren, and sanctified themselves, and came, according to the commandment of the king, ‖ by the words of the LORD, to cleanse the house of the LORD.

‖ Or, *in the business of the LORD.*

16 And the priests went into the inner part of the house of the LORD,

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at bringing the ark up into Sion to the fact that those who conducted it had not "sanctified themselves" (*i.e.* purified themselves from all legal defilement) previously; and afterwards, when he was about to complete the removal, he required the priests and Levites who took part in the ceremony first of all to "sanctify themselves" (1 Chr. xv. 12, 13). Hezekiah follows this example, knowing, probably, that the priests had in the preceding time of idolatry contracted many defilements.

carry forth the filthiness.] This "filthiness," or "uncleanness" (verse 16) might consist, in part, of mere dust and dirt, in part, of idolatrous objects introduced by Ahaz before he finally shut up the temple. (See 2 K. xvi. 10-16.)

8. *He hath delivered them to . . . hissing.*] This expression is new, and has no parallel in the rest of Chronicles. It was one, however, which Hezekiah might naturally use, for it had occurred in a prophecy of Micah (vi. 16), his contemporary and monitor (Jer. xxvi. 18, 19), which was probably uttered towards the close of Ahaz' reign. In Jeremiah the phrase becomes common. (Jer. xviii. 16; xix. 8; xxv. 9, 18, &c.)

9. *Our fathers have fallen by the sword.*] See above, ch. xxviii. 5, 17, 18.

10. *To make a covenant with the Lord.*] See note on ch. xv. 12.

11. *Be not now negligent.*] This is better than the marginal rendering, "Be not now deceived." Hezekiah means to exhort the priests and Levites to go about the work which he has assigned them actively and with a good will.

12. *The Kohathites, &c.*] On the triple division of the Levites, see 1 Chr. xxiii. 6.

13. *Elizaphan.*] Elizaphan, or Elzaphan, was a grandson of Kohath (Ex. vi. 22). He was chief of the Kohathites at the time of the census in the Wilderness (Num. iii. 30); and his descendants appear at all times to have formed a distinct branch of the Kohathites with special privileges. (See 1 Chr. xv. 8.)

of the sons of Asaph.] On the triple division of the musical Levites, see 1 Chr. xxv. 1-6; 2 Chr. v. 12.

15. *By the words of the Lord.*] Rather, as suggested in the margin, "According to the commandment of the king *in the business* (or matters) of the Lord."

16. *The priests went into the inner part.*] The "inner part" means here, not the Holy of Holies in particular, but the interior gene-

to cleanse *it*, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of the LORD. And the Levites took *it*, to carry *it* out abroad into the brook Kidron.

17 Now they began on the first *day* of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the LORD: so they sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days; and in the sixteenth day of the first month they made an end.

18 Then they went in to Hezekiah the king, and said, We have cleansed all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt offering, with all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread table, with all the vessels thereof.

19 Moreover all the vessels, which king Ahaz in his reign did cast away in his transgression, have we prepared and sanctified, and, behold, they *are* before the altar of the LORD.

20 ¶ Then Hezekiah the king rose early, and gathered the rulers of the city, and went up to the house of the LORD.

21 And they brought seven bullocks, and seven rams, and seven lambs, and seven he goats, for a [a]sin offering for the kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah. And he commanded the priests the sons of Aaron to offer *them* on the altar of the LORD. [a] Lev. 4. 14.

22 So they killed the bullocks, and the priests received the blood, and [b]sprinkled *it* on the altar: likewise, when they had killed the rams, they sprinkled the blood upon the altar: they killed also the lambs, and they sprinkled the blood upon the altar. [b] Lev. 8. 14, 15. Heb. 9. 21.

23 And they brought [†]forth the he goats *for* the sin offering before [†] Heb. *near.*

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rally. The priests alone might enter the temple building. The Levites might penetrate no further than the inner court.

the uncleanness.] See note on verse 5.

into the brook Kidron.] Compare 1 K. xv. 13; and 2 K. xxiii. 12.

17. *Now they began on the first day, &c.*] The work of purification began on the first day of the first month, immediately after Hezekiah called the priests and Levites together and addressed them (verses 3-11). It commenced with the repair of the doors (verse 3), with the self-purification of the collected priests and Levites (verse 15), and probably with the cleansing of the courts. This occupied eight days. By the close of the eighth day they had reached the porch of the Temple. It took them then eight days to cleanse the Temple itself, and, consequently, the whole work was not finished till the sixteenth day.

so they sanctified.] Rather, "And they sanctified."

18. *The altar of burnt offering.*] The great brazen altar which stood in the inner court. On the profanation of this altar by Ahaz, see 2 K. xvi. 14, 15.

19. *The vessels which king Ahaz . . . did cast away in his transgression.*] See above, ch. xxviii. 24.

20. *The rulers of the city.*] Or "the princes." Compare above, ch. xxiv. 17-23, and below, ch. xxx. 2.

21. *Seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven lambs.*] It has been supposed that these were to be offered as burnt offerings, and the goats alone as sin offerings (Bertheau); but the order of the sacrifice, as related in verses 22-24, renders this improbable. The sin offering, which was to make the worshipper acceptable in the sight of God, always preceded the burnt offering, which was a representative self-dedication of the worshipper to God's service. Hence it is best to consider that Hezekiah commenced his restoration of the Jehovah worship with an unusually comprehensive sin offering, embracing the four chief kinds of sacrificial animal, and seven animals of each kind, and that he intended to atone for the sins, both conscious and unconscious, of the king, the priests, the people of Judah, and the people of Israel. After the completion of these expiatory rites, he proceeded to the offering of the burnt offering, as related in verse 27.

for the kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah.] *I.e.* for the royal house, the ministers of the sanctuary, and the people of Judah generally.

22. *The priests received the blood, &c.*] The Levitical rites *i.e.* were duly observed (Lev. iv. 7, 18, 30, v. 9), and especially that rite which was most strongly expressive of expiation and atonement.

23. *They brought forth the he goats for the sin offering.*] Rather "the he goats of the

[c] 2 Kin. 18. 4. † Heb. *statues.* † Heb. *until to make an end.*

[c] brake the †images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, †until they had utterly destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their own cities.

2 ¶ And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after their courses, every man according to his service, the priests and Levites for burnt offerings and for peace offerings, to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates of the tents of the LORD.

3 *He appointed* also the king's portion of his substance for the burnt offerings, *to wit*, for the morning and evening burnt offerings, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, and for the new moons, and for the set feasts, as *it is* written in the [d] law of the LORD. [d] Num. 28.

4 Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites, that they might be encouraged in the law of the LORD.

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people of the northern kingdom especially, but the whole body of the worshippers, all who had been engaged in the festival.

went out to the cities of Judah.] Jerusalem had been cleansed before the Passover (ch. xxx. 14), and all the signs of idolatry removed. Now the land had to be purged. Hezekiah determined to sweep away, not merely the innovations of Ahaz, but all that tended to cherish an idolatrous spirit among the people. He therefore gave his sanction to a popular movement directed as much against the "high places" which had been maintained since the times of the patriarchs, as against the remnants of the Baal-worship, or the innovations of Ahaz. On the importance of this step, see note on 2 K. xviii. 4.

in Ephraim also and Manasseh.] This invasion of the northern kingdom—the words can mean no less—by a tumultuary crowd from the southern one, and the success which attended the movement, can only be explained by the state of weakness into which the northern kingdom had fallen. Hoshea, though not a very warm patron of idolatry (2 K. xvii. 2), would scarcely have allowed the iconoclastic fury of his southern neighbours to effect a religious revolution within his territory, if he had not needed all his power and all his remaining resources to resist the advance of his great enemy on the north. (See note on ch. xxix. 24.)

2. *Hezekiah appointed the courses.*] Every suspension of the temple worship involved a disarrangement of the "courses" as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxiii. 6, xxiv. 1), since these were intended to relieve each other in a perpetual succession. Consequently, after every such suspension it was necessary to re-arrange the courses, and settle anew the order in which they should undertake their portions of the service. (See above, ch. xxiii. 18, and below, xxxv. 2, 4.)

in the gates of the tents of the Lord.] Or, "within the gates" (*i.e.* "within the precincts) of the temple." The temple is called, not "the tents," but the "camp" (literally, "camps") of Jehovah by an apt enough metaphor, since the square enclosure, with its gates and stations, its guards and porters, its reliefs, its orderly arrangement, and its tabernacle, or tent, of the great commander in the midst, very much resembled a camp.

3. *He appointed also the king's portion of his substance.*] Amid the general neglect of the observances commanded by the Law, the tithe system had naturally fallen into disuse. Hezekiah now revived it, and, to encourage the people to give what was due cheerfully, set the example of paying the full proportion from his own substance. That he had considerable possessions in land, on which tithe would be payable, is apparent from ch. xxxii. 28, 29.

for the burnt offerings, &c.] The king's tithe was, it seems, specially devoted to the maintenance of the sacrificial worship, of the daily morning and evening offering—a lamb each time; the double offering of the sabbath—two lambs instead of one; the offerings at the new moons—two bullocks, seven lambs, a ram and a goat; and the more numerous offerings at the great festivals. There were needed for these purposes in the course of the year nearly 1100 lambs, 113 bullocks, 37 rams, and 30 goats, besides vast quantities of flour, oil, and wine for the accompanying meat and drink offerings. (See Num. xxviii. and xxix.)

4. *The portion of the priests and the Levites.*] *I.e.* the first-fruits (Num. xviii. 12-18), and the tithe (ib. 21-24). Compare verse 5.

that they might be encouraged in the law of the Lord.] *I.e.* "that they (the priests and Levites) might be encouraged to devote themselves wholly to their proper work, the

5 ¶ And as soon as the commandment †came abroad, the children of Israel brought in abundance the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, and ‖honey, and of all the increase of the field; and the tithe of all *things* brought they in abundantly.

†Heb. *make forth.*

‖Or, *dates.*

6 And *concerning* the children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought in the tithe of oxen and sheep, and the ᵉtithe of holy things which were consecrated unto the LORD their God, and laid *them* †by heaps.

ᵉLev. 27. 30. Deut. 14. 28.

† Heb. *heaps heaps.*

7 In the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished *them* in the seventh month.

8 And when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed the LORD, and his people Israel.

9 Then Hezekiah questioned with the priests and the Levites concerning the heaps.

10 And Azariah the chief priest of the house of Zadok answered him, and said, Since *the people* began to bring the offerings into the house of the LORD, we have had enough to eat, and have left plenty: for the LORD hath blessed his people; and that which is left *is* this great store.

11 ¶ Then Hezekiah commanded to prepare ‖chambers in the house of the LORD; and they prepared *them*,

‖ Or, *store-houses.*

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service of the sanctuary and the teaching of God's law (ch. xvii. 7-9), and not engage in secular occupations." (Compare Neh. xiii. 10-14.)

5. *The first fruits of honey* (or *dates*, marg.).] It is doubtful whether bee-honey was liable to first-fruits. The sort here intended may therefore be that, which, according to Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iv. 8, § 3), was manufactured from dates. Or the Jews may, in the generous spirit which was now rife, have brought first-fruits of real honey voluntarily.

all the increase of the field.] See Deut. xiv. 22.

6. *And concerning the children of Israel and Judah that dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also, &c.*] By "the children of Israel" in the last verse seem to be intended the inhabitants of Jerusalem only, to whom alone Hezekiah addressed his commandment (see verse 4); by "the children of Israel and Judah that dwelt in the cities of Judah" seem to be meant the Jews of the country districts and the Israelites who dwelt among them. (See ch. xxx. 25.) Of these two classes, the first—those to whom the command had been given—brought both first-fruits and tithes of *all things;* while the others, who had not been included in the command, brought in first-fruits and paid the tithe of sheep and oxen only, and of the things which they had vowed to God.

and laid them by heaps.] It would improve the sense to place the full stop at "God," and to attach this clause to the next verse, making it refer to all the givers of tithe, both those of verse 6 and those of verse 5. Translate—"**And they brought in heaps upon heaps**; in the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, &c."

7. *The third month.*] Compare ch. xxix. 3; xxx. 2, 13. It would seem that the events of this chapter—the destruction of the high-places, the re-appointment of the courses, and the re-establishment of the tithes and first-fruits—followed so closely upon the passover, that a month had not elapsed from the conclusion of the feast before the gifts began to pour in.

finished them in the seventh month.] In the seventh month the harvest was completed; and the last tithes and first-fruits of the year would naturally come in then.

9. *Hezekiah questioned with the priests.*] The purport of the king's enquiries may be gathered from the high priest's reply (verse 10). Hezekiah wished to know whether the ministering priests and Levites had had their maintenance out of the tithes, and whether the accumulation which he saw was clear surplus.

10. *Azariah the chief priest.*] If this was the Azariah who resisted Uzziah (ch. xxvi. 17-20), he must have held his office at least 33 years. (See ch. xxvii. 1, xxviii. 1.)

the Lord hath blessed his people.] *I. e.* God has made the harvest unusually abundant, and hence the amount of tithes and first-fruits is so great.

11. *Then Hezekiah commanded to prepare chambers* (marg. *storehouses*) *in the house of the Lord.*] There had probably always been store-chambers of the kind here spoken of, either among the rooms which abutted on the temple building (1 K. vi. 5), or among the

12 And brought in the offerings and the tithes and the dedicated *things* faithfully: over which Cononiah the Levite *was* ruler, and Shimei his brother *was* the next.

13 And Jehiel, and Azaziah, and Nahath, and Asahel, and Jerimoth, and Jozabad, and Eliel, and Ismachiah, and Mahath, and Benaiah, *were* overseers † under the hand of Cononiah and Shimei his brother, at the commandment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah the ruler of the house of God.

† Heb. *at the hand.*

14 And Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, the porter toward the east, *was* over the freewill offerings of God, to distribute the oblations of the LORD, and the most holy things.

15 And † next him *were* Eden, and Miniamin, and Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah, in the cities of the priests, in *their* ‖ set office, to give to their brethren by courses, as well to the great as to the small:

† Heb. *at his hand.*

‖ Or, *trust.*

16 Beside their genealogy of males, from three years old and upward, *even* unto every one that entereth into the house of the LORD, his daily portion for their service in their charges according to their courses;

17 Both to the genealogy of the priests by the house of their fathers, and the Levites from twenty years

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out-buildings attached to the courts. (Neh. xiii. 5, 7.) But, having been disused during the later years of Ahaz, they required now to be "prepared" afresh.

12. *The offerings.*] *I.e.* "the first-fruits" (τὰς ἀπαρχάς, LXX.).

Shimei his brother.] Shimei was among the Levites who undertook the cleansing of the temple (ch. xxix. 14), as were Jehiel and Mahath, who are mentioned in the next verse, and also Eden and Shemaiah, who appear in verse 15. The rest of the names are new.

13. *Azariah the ruler of the house of God.*] *I.e.* the high priest. (See verse 10.)

14. *The porter toward the east.*] *I.e.* the chief porter or door-keeper at the east gate, where the proper number of the porters was six (1 Chr. xxvi. 17).

the most holy things.] The sin-offerings and trespass-offerings. (See Lev. vi. 25, vii. 1, 6.)

15. *Next him.*] Or, "under him."

in the cities of the priests.] *I.e.* the Levitical cities, whereof there were originally, within the limits of the kingdom of Judah, thirteen (Josh. xxi. 9-19). Of these, some had gone to decay, while others, as Libnah and Beth-shemesh (ch. xxi. 10, xxviii. 18), had been lost, so that the number was now, apparently, reduced to six.

in their set office.] Rather, "**with a trust.**" These six Levites were stationed at the Levitical cities, with the trust committed to them, that they should distribute to the members of priestly families in those cities, whether big or little (*i. e.* whether old or young) their due share of the temple offerings.

by courses.] The distribution was made "by courses," probably because the officers in charge had lists of the priestly families drawn out according to the courses whereto they belonged.

16. *Beside their genealogy of males, &c.*] Translate—"**Excepting the list** of males from three years old and upwards—**the list of those who entered day by day into the house of the Lord** for their service in their charges, according to their courses." That is to say, the Levite officers in the Levitical towns distributed to all the members of the priestly families, excepting to those who at the time were at Jerusalem, performing the duties of their office, and to such members of their families as they had taken with them. These persons no doubt obtained their share at the temple itself.

17. *Both to the genealogy of the priests, &c.*] Rather—"**And as for the list of the priests, it was according to the houses of their fathers, and that of the Levites was** from twenty years old and upwards, according to their charges in their courses." The writer here proceeds to state the nature of the lists which guided the officers who made the distributions. Three lists are enumerated—one of the priests made out according to families; one of the Levites, including all above 20 years of age, and made out according to courses; and a third, of the priestly and Levitical families, containing the wives, sons, and daughters of both priests and Levites indiscriminately.

the Levites from twenty years old and upwards.] The priestly age was 30, and originally the Levites entered on their ministerial functions at that time of life (Num.

old and upward, in their charges by their courses;

18 And to the genealogy of all their little ones, their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, through all
‖ Or, *trust.* the congregation: for in their ‖ set office they sanctified themselves in holiness:

19 Also of the sons of Aaron the priests, *which were* in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, the men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogies among the Levites.

20 ¶ And thus did Hezekiah throughout all Judah, and wrought *that which was* good and right and truth before the LORD his God.

21 And in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did *it* with all his heart, and prospered.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 Sennacherib invading Judah, Hezekiah fortifieth himself, and encourageth his people. 9 Against the blasphemies of Sennacherib, by message and letters, Hezekiah and Isaiah pray. 21 An angel destroyeth the host of the Assyrians, to the glory of Hezekiah. 24 Hezekiah praying in his sickness, God giveth him a sign of recovery. 25 He waxing proud is humbled by God. 27 His wealth and works. 31 His error in the ambassage of Babylon. 32 He dying, Manasseh succeedeth him.

AFTER [a] these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought † to win them for himself.

[a] 2 Kin. 18. 13, &c. Isai. 36. 1, &c.

† Heb. *to break them up.*

2 And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that † he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem,

† Heb. *his face was to war.*

3 He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which *were* without the city: and they did help him.

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iv. 3). But Moses, after a while, reduced the necessary age to 25 (ib. viii. 24), and David, towards the close of his reign, still further reduced it to 20 (1 Chr. xxiii. 27).

18. *And to the genealogy of their little ones, &c.*] Translate—"**And as to the list of** all their little ones, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, **it extended to the whole body; for they dealt with the holy things faithfully.**" The register of the families was complete: no one was omitted; for the officers whose business it was to administer these "holy things," or "offerings," were faithful and honest in discharging their trust.

19. *Also of the sons of Aaron, &c.*] Translate—"Also **for** the sons of Aaron, the priests, who dwelt in the fields of the suburbs of their **several** cities, **there were men expressly named,** to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all who were **upon the list** among the Levites." The country priests and Levites are here distinguished from those who dwelt in the towns. The writer means to note that not even were they neglected—for them too, there were men named, other than those who distributed to the town priests (verses 14 and 15), and these gave portions to all the males of the priestly order, and to all the Levites from 20 years old and upwards.

21. *He did it with all his heart.*] Compare 2 K. xx. 3, and Is. xxxviii. 3.

CHAP. XXXII. 1. *After these things and the establishment thereof.*] Literally, "and the *faithfulness* thereof"—or, in other words, "after these things had been faithfully accomplished."

Sennacherib came.] This entire passage, from verse 1 to verse 8, is a notice of the first invasion of Sennacherib, and runs parallel with 2 K. xviii. 13-16. It is almost wholly supplementary, being concerned with the preparations made by Hezekiah for resistance, whereas in 2 Kings we are informed only of what he did when, after a time, he determined to make his submission.

the fenced cities.] These had been strengthened by Jotham (ch. xxvii. 4), but had probably fallen into decay during the disastrous reign of Ahaz. Sennacherib seems to have found little difficulty in reducing them. (See 2 K. xviii. 13.)

3. *He took counsel with his princes.*] Compare ch. xxx. 2.

and his mighty men.] *I.e.* "his chief military officers."

to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city.] Compare below, verse 30, and see note on 1 K. i. 33, and 2 K. xviii. 14. Hezekiah's object was probably two-

4 So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that † ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?

† Heb. *overflowed.*

5 Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised *it* up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo *in* the city of David, and made ‖ darts and shields in abundance.

‖ Or, *swords*, or, *weapons.*

6 And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together to him in the street of the gate of the city, and † spake comfortably to them, saying,

† Heb. *he spake to their heart.*

7 Be strong and courageous, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that *is* with him: for *there be* more with us than with him:

8 With him *is* an [b] arm of flesh; but with us *is* the LORD our God to

[b] Jer. 17. 5.

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fold,—he proposed to hide the springs outside the city in order to distress the Assyrians, and to convey their water underground into the city, in order to increase his own supply during the siege. (Compare Ecclus. xlviii. 17.)

4. *The brook that ran through the midst of the land.*] The "brook" intended is probably not the Kidron, but the natural water-course of the Gihon, which ran down the Tyropœon valley. (Compare verse 30.) This water-course may have commenced outside the Damascus gate, in the vicinity of the "Camp of the Assyrians." Hezekiah probably covered it in with masonry from its source to the point where it reached the north wall of Jerusalem.

5. *He built up the wall that was broken.*] The breaches in the wall of Jerusalem, of which Isaiah also speaks (xxii. 9), must not be attributed to the effects of the old hostility of Joash (ch. xxv. 23); for Uzziah and Jotham had, beyond a doubt, repaired the damage done at that time (ch. xxvi. 9; xxvii. 3). They must have been caused either by neglect and carelessness in the reign of Ahaz, or by the simple process of natural decay. Hezekiah's repairs were done in haste, the material used being that of the neighbouring houses, which were pulled down for the purpose (Is. xxii. 10).

and raised it up to the towers.] The sense of this clause is doubtful; but no better rendering than that of the text has been proposed. Hezekiah may very probably have thought it prudent to raise the wall to a level with the towers, which, in the fortified cities of the time, usually overtopped the walls considerably. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 386, 405; vol. ii. pp. 76, 77.) Towers had been built in the wall by Uzziah (ch. xxvi. 9).

Millo in the city of David.] Rather—"Millo, the city of David." Whatever Millo was originally (see note on 1 K. ix. 15), it seems to have been at this time the name for the old "city of David"—or, in other words, for the part of Jerusalem which lay due north of the temple.

darts (marg. *swords* or *weapons.*)] The word used, *shelach*, cannot possibly mean "swords." It is from *shâlach*, "to send," and means "darts" or "missile weapons."

6. *In the street of the gate of the city.*] Or "in the square at the gate of the city." The gate intended is probably that of Ephraim (ch. xxv. 23)—the great northern gate, opposite the "Camp of the Assyrians"—represented by the modern Damascus gate.

7. *The multitude that is with him.*] The multitude was probably in sight. The "valleys" about the city were "full of chariots"—the "horsemen" were "set in array at the gate" (Is. xxii. 7). The mounds and siege-towers were reared (ib. xxix. 3). A host that seemed innumerable threatened the city on every side; but especially on the north, where alone it was practically assailable. A deep despondency had settled on the inhabitants, who regarded escape as impossible (ib. xxii. 5, 13).

there be more with us than with him.] Hezekiah adopts the idea, and almost the words, of Elisha (2 K. vi. 16), when beleaguered by an enemy. He substitutes, however, God Himself for the angelic host of the Prophet.

8. *With us is the Lord our God, &c.*] The faith, which these words express would, one might have thought, not have wavered. But—alas! for human infirmity!—we learn, both from Kings (2 K. xviii. 14), and from the inscriptions of Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies' vol. ii. p. 435), that within a little while this noble confidence died away, and was succeeded by despair and submission. Like Rehoboam (ch. xii. 9), like Joash (2 K. xii. 18), Hezekiah was content to purchase his safety. The narrative of Kings tells us at what price (2 K. xviii. 15, 16). Hezekiah stripped the temple and emptied his treasuries to obtain what proved a mere temporary relief.

help us, and to fight our battles. And the people † rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.

† Heb. *leaned.*

9 ¶ [c] After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, (but he *himself laid siege* against Lachish, and all his † power with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah, and unto all Judah that *were* at Jerusalem, saying,

[c] 2 Kin. 18. 17.

† Heb. *dominion.*

10 Thus saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust, that ye abide ‖ in the siege in Jerusalem?

‖ Or, *in the strong hold.*

11 Doth not Hezekiah persuade you to give over yourselves to die by famine and by thirst, saying, The LORD our God shall deliver us out of the hand of the king of Assyria?

12 Hath not the same Hezekiah taken away his high places and his altars, and commanded Judah and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall worship before one altar, and burn incense upon it?

13 Know ye not what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of *other* lands? were the gods of the nations of those lands any ways able to deliver their lands out of mine hand?

14 Who *was there* among all the gods of those nations that my fathers utterly destroyed, that could deliver his people out of mine hand, that your God should be able to deliver you out of mine hand?

15 Now therefore let not Hezekiah deceive you, nor persuade you on this manner, neither yet believe him: for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand?

16 And his servants spake yet *more* against the LORD God, and against his servant Hezekiah.

17 He wrote also letters to rail on the LORD God of Israel, and to speak against him, saying, As the gods of the nations of *other* lands have not delivered their people out of mine hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver his people out of mine hand.

18 Then they cried with a loud voice in the Jews' speech unto the people of Jerusalem that *were* on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them; that they might take the city.

19 And they spake against the God of Jerusalem, as against the gods

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9. *After this.*] Omitting, as well known, the account of Hezekiah's submission contained in 2 K. xviii. 14-16, the writer now proceeds to the great event of that king's reign—the second expedition of Sennacherib, his impious threats, and his miraculous discomfiture. This matter was too important to be omitted altogether. As, however, it had been narrated in full by the writer of Kings, our author delivers it with great brevity, compressing into thirteen verses the history which occupies in Kings a chapter and a half (2 K. xviii. 17-37, and xix.). The few touches which he adds to the narrative of Kings will be noticed as we proceed.

he himself laid siege against Lachish.] Rather, "**was near** Lachish." He *may* have been engaged in its siege; but the fact is not stated nor implied.

unto all Judah.] Compare 2 K. xviii. 27, and infra, verse 18.

10. *In the siege* (marg. *stronghold*) *in Jerusalem.*] Rather "in **straitness**." (Compare Jer. xix. 9.) Jerusalem was not besieged at this time, but it was distressed and straitened for supplies, because the Assyrians were masters of the open country.

13. *My fathers.*] *I.e.* "my predecessors upon the throne of Assyria." It is the usual practice of Assyrian monarchs to call all their predecessors their "ancestors." Sennacherib really belonged to a dynasty that had only furnished one king before himself. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 408.)

16. *His servants spake yet more.*] See 2 K. xviii. 19-35.

17. *He wrote also letters.*] Or "a letter," as in 2 K. xix. 14. The plural form of the word seems to be used sometimes of a single document.

18. *Then they cried.*] Rather "**Also** they cried." The allusion is to the fact narrated in 2 K. xviii. 28-35, which occurred *before* Sennacherib wrote his letter.

the king and the congregation; and they laid their [c] hands upon them:

24 And the priests killed them, and they made reconciliation with their blood upon the altar, to make an atonement for all Israel: for the king commanded *that* the burnt offering and the sin offering *should be made* for all Israel.

25 [d] And he set the Levites in the house of the LORD with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet: for *so was* the commandment [†] of the LORD [†] by his prophets.

26 *And* the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets.

27 And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And [†] when the burnt offering began, the song of the LORD began *also* with the trumpets, and with the [†] instruments *ordained* by David king of Israel.

28 And all the congregation worshipped, and the [†] singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded: *and* all *this continued* until the burnt offering was finished.

29 And when they had made an end of offering, the king and all that were [†] present with him bowed themselves, and worshipped.

30 Moreover Hezekiah the king

[c] Lev. 4. 15.

[d] 1 Chr. 16. 4. & 25. 6.

[†] Heb. *by the hand of the* LORD.

[†] Heb. *by the hand of.*

[†] Heb. *in the time.*

[†] Heb. *hands of instruments.*

[†] Heb. *song.*

[†] Heb. *found.*

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sin offering"—that portion of the sin offering which had been reserved to the last.

they laid their hands upon them.] This was a requirement in all sin offerings (Lev. iv. 4, 15, 24), and, indeed, in burnt offerings also (ib. i. 4). It had, no doubt, been done in the case of all the animals sacrificed, but it is only noted here, because the writer wishes to give prominence to this the crowning act of the whole expiatory ceremony.

24. *To make an atonement for all Israel.*] The words "all Israel"—twice repeated in this verse—appear to be emphatic. Hezekiah aimed at reuniting once more the whole people of Israel, if not into a single state, yet, at any rate, into a single religious communion. The northern kingdom was in a condition approaching to anarchy. Since the downfall of the house of Jehu a succession of usurpers had borne rule for short terms. Four Assyrian invasions (or perhaps more, for it is not certain that all are recorded) had swept over the country within the space of 35 years. The Syrian kingdom, hitherto a barrier against the Assyrian power, had been absorbed, and Samaria had been laid completely open to the assaults of her great adversary. The end was evidently approaching. Hoshea, the king contemporary with Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 1), ruled, not as an independent monarch, but as an Assyrian feudatory (ib. xvii. 3). Under these circumstances Hezekiah designed to invite the revolted tribes to return, if not to their old temporal, at least to their old spiritual allegiance. (See ch. xxx. 5-10.) In order, therefore, to prepare the way for this return, he included "all Israel" in the expiatory sacrifice, by which he prefaced his restoration of the old worship.

the burnt offering and the sin offering.] The burnt offering of verse 27, and the sin offering of verses 21-24, were both to be offered on behalf of the whole people.

25. *The Levites ... with cymbals, psalteries, and harps.*] Compare 1 Chr. xxv. 1, and 2 Chr. v. 12.

and of Gad ... and Nathan.] It is not elsewhere stated that the musical service of the temple was commanded by the prophets Gad and Nathan; but we may well believe that David instituted it with their concurrence, or, perhaps, even at their instigation.

for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets.] Rather, "For **from the Lord** was the commandment given by his prophets." What the prophets ordered they ordered as inspired of God. Hence their commands were binding, not only in David's, but in Hezekiah's time.

26. *The instruments of David.*] See 1 Chr. xxiii. 5.

the priests with the trumpets.] Compare Num. x. 8; 1 Chr. xv. 24; 2 Chr. v. 12.

27. *Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering.*] All had hitherto been preparatory. Now Hezekiah gave orders that "*the* burnt offering"—*i.e.* the daily morning sacrifice—should be offered upon the brazen altar in front of the porch, thus restoring and re-instituting the regular temple-service. A burst of music gave notice to the people of the moment when the old worship recommenced.

and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the LORD with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their heads and worshipped.

31 Then Hezekiah answered and said, Now ye have [1]consecrated yourselves unto the LORD, come near and bring sacrifices and thank offerings into the house of the LORD. And the congregation brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as many as were of a free heart burnt offerings.

[1] Or, *filled your hand.*

32 And the number of the burnt offerings, which the congregation brought, was three-score and ten bullocks, an hundred rams, *and* two hundred lambs: all these *were* for a burnt offering to the LORD.

33 And the consecrated things *were* six hundred oxen and three thousand sheep.

34 But the priests were too few, so that they could not flay all the burnt offerings: wherefore their brethren the Levites [†]did help them, till the work was ended, and until the *other* priests had sanctified themselves: for the Levites *were* more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests.

[†] Heb. *strengthened them.*

35 And also the burnt offerings *were* in abundance, with the fat of

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30. *The princes.*] In the later portion of this Book the "princes of Judah" come more prominently before us than previously, and appear to wield a greater power. They first show themselves as an important body in the reign of Joash, when they oppose the priesthood and the worship of Jehovah (ch. xxiv. 17). In the reign of Ahaz they seem to share with the king the possession of the royal palace, which is then called "the house of the king and of the princes" (ch. xxviii. 21). Now we find Hezekiah doing everything with their sanction and support (ch. xxix. 20, xxx. 2, 24, xxxi. 8, &c.); and in the present passage they are even associated with the monarch in such a manner as to give them the appearance of co-ordinate authorities. (Compare xxx. 6, 12.)

with the words of David and of Asaph the seer.] Several of the Psalms are, by their titles, assigned to Asaph (Ps. l., where see note, and Ps. lxxiii.-lxxxiii.); and the present passage makes it certain that the Jews had psalms of his composition. He is not elsewhere called a "seer;" but his companions, Heman and Jeduthun, have the title (1 Chr. xxv. 5; 2 Chr. xxxv. 15); and Asaph himself is said to have "prophesied" in 1 Chr. xxv. 2.

31. *Now ye have consecrated yourselves.*] Hezekiah here addresses, not the priests, but the congregation. "Now," he says, "that by the atoning sacrifice which has been offered for you, you are consecrated once more to be a holy people to the Lord, approach with confidence and offer your free-will offerings as of old." And the congregation accordingly bring in "sacrifices, thank offerings, and burnt offerings."

burnt offerings.] The term thus translated is applied especially to those victims which were to be *wholly* consumed upon the altar. In the "sacrifices," or peace offerings generally, and the "thank offerings"—a particular kind of peace offering (Lev. vii. 12)—the greater part of the victim belonged to, and was consumed by, the worshipper. Hence, to offer "burnt offerings," was indicative of a "free heart."

33. *The consecrated things.*] *I.e.* the peace offerings and thank offerings.

34. *The priests were too few, so that they could not flay all the burnt offerings.*] According to the Law, the man who brought a "burnt offering" was both to slay and flay the victim (Lev. i. 5, 6); but it would appear by this passage that the custom was now different. The priests had taken the duty of flaying upon themselves, and were not even, ordinarily, assisted by the Levites. Probably it had been found to expedite matters that persons, whom constant practice had made expert, should perform the operation.

the Levites were more upright in heart . . . than the priests.] Urijah, the high priest, had participated to some extent in the idolatries, or at least the impieties, of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 10-16), and had probably carried with him a considerable number of the priests, who may, therefore, have looked coldly on the reforming zeal of Hezekiah.

35. *Also the burnt offerings were in abundance.*] Two things prevented the priests from accomplishing their task without assistance: 1. The smallness of their own numbers consequent upon their slowness to sanctify themselves, and 2. The great amount of the work which had to be done. Besides the 370 "burnt offerings," which had to be offered entire (verse 32), there was the fat

the peace offerings, and the drink offerings for *every* burnt offering. So the service of the house of the LORD was set in order.

36 And Hezekiah rejoiced, and all the people, that God had prepared the people: for the thing was *done* suddenly.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 *Hezekiah proclaimeth a solemn passover on the second month for Judah and Israel.* 13 *The assembly, having destroyed the altars of idolatry, keep the feast fourteen days.* 27 *The priests and Levites bless the people.*

AND Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel.

2 For the king had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the second [e]month.

[e] Num. 9. 10, 11.

3 For they could not keep it at that time, because the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently, neither had the people gathered themselves together to Jerusalem.

4 And the thing [†]pleased the king and all the congregation.

[†] Heb. *was right in the eyes of the king.*

5 So they established a decree to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beer-sheba even to Dan, that they should come to keep the passover unto the LORD God of Israel at Jerusalem: for they had not done *it* of a long *time in such sort* as it was written.

6 So the posts went with the letters [†]from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the commandment of the king,

[†] Heb. *from the hand.*

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of 3600 "peace offerings" to be burnt upon the altar (Lev. iii. 16), and there were also numerous "drink offerings" to be received and offered in combination with the burnt offerings (Num. xv. 4-12).

36. *God had prepared the people.*] God had prepared the people's minds and disposed them to take part heartily in the proceedings. There had been no time for Hezekiah himself, or the Levites, to prepare them.

CHAP. XXX. 1. *Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh.*] The "Ephraim and Manasseh" of the second clause must be taken as equivalent to the "all Israel" of the first; since it is evident that the letters were sent to the remoter tribes as well as to the nearer ones. (See verses 10 and 11.) On the circumstances under which the letters were sent, and the object which Hezekiah proposed to himself in sending them, see note on ch. xxix. 24.

2. *In the second month.*] The Law allowed individuals to keep the Passover on the fourteenth day of the second month, instead of the fourteenth day of the first, in case of absence on a journey, or temporary defilement (Num. ix. 10, 11). Hezekiah and his counsellors considered that this permission might, under the circumstances, be extended to the whole people. It had been found impossible to complete the cleansing of the temple till the fourteenth day of the first month was past (ch. xxix. 17); and even then the purification of the priests was far from complete (ib. 34); moreover, if the Passover had been held at once, few, comparatively speaking, would have been gathered to it. It was, therefore, determined to defer it to the 14th of the second month, which allowed time for the priests generally to purify themselves, and for proclamation of the festival to be made throughout all Israel. (See the next verse.)

3. *At that time.*] *I.e.* in the first month, at the time of the events mentioned in the last chapter.

5. *For they had not done it of a long time in such sort as it was written.*] Rather, "For they had not kept it **in full numbers**, as it was written"—*i.e.* "they (the Israelites of the northern kingdom) had not (for some while) kept the Passover in full numbers, as the Law required." Some few, especially those settled in the southern kingdom (ch. xi. 16, xv. 9), had kept it; but the great bulk of the Ten Tribes had stood aloof since the separation of the kingdoms.

6. *The posts went.*] There is no reason to believe that a regular system of posts was at this time established in Judæa. The bearers of the letters were probably the "runners" who formed a portion of the king's body guard. (See note on 2 K. xi. 4.)

from the king and his princes.] See note on ch. xxix. 30.

saying, Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the LORD God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he will return to the remnant of you, that are escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria.

7 And be not ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, which trespassed against the LORD God of their fathers, *who* therefore gave them up to desolation, as ye see.

† Heb. *harden not your necks.* † Heb. *give the hand.*

8 Now †be ye not stiffnecked, as your fathers *were*, *but* †yield yourselves unto the LORD, and enter into his sanctuary, which he hath sanctified for ever: and serve the LORD your God, that the fierceness of his wrath may turn away from you.

9 For if ye turn again unto the LORD, your brethren and your children *shall find* compassion before them that lead them captive, so that they shall come again into this land: for the LORD your God *is* [a]gracious and merciful, and will not turn away *his* face from you, if ye return unto him.

[a] Ex. 34. 6.

10 So the posts passed from city to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh even unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them.

11 Nevertheless divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem.

12 Also in Judah the hand of God was to give them one heart to do the commandment of the king and of the princes, by the word of the LORD.

13 ¶ And there assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the second month, a very great congregation.

14 And they arose and took away [b] the altars that *were* in Jerusalem,

[b] ch. 28. 24.

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turn again unto the Lord God.] We need not suppose that the Ten Tribes had at any time wholly laid aside the worship of Jehovah. But they had overlaid it with idolatrous rites and mixed it with polytheism (2 K. xvii. 7-17), thus practically turning away from the God of their fathers.

the remnant of you that are escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria.] Pul, Tiglath-pileser, and Shalmaneser may all be referred to in this passage. The first of these kings, though induced by Menahem to accept him as a tributary (2 K. xv. 19), may, on quitting the land, have carried off many captives; the second we know to have led into captivity the whole of the Trans-Jordanic population (1 Chr. v. 26); and the third had probably before this come up against Hoshea for the first time (2 K. xvii. 3) and spoiled a portion of the country. (See Hos. x. 14.) Thus this passage by no means implies that the fall of Samaria and final captivity of the Israelites had as yet taken place.

7. *Like your brethren, &c.*] The allusion is, apparently, to the recent captivity of Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh (1 Chr. v. 26), and to the desolation of the Trans-Jordanic region, which could be seen from almost any part of Samaria.

10. *Through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh even unto Zebulun.*] Ephraim and Manasseh are mentioned as the two tribes nearest to Judah, Zebulun as one of the furthest off.

11. *Divers of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun.*] Besides persons from these three tribes we hear (in verse 18) of "many" from Ephraim and Issachar. Thus five of the ten tribes certainly sent representatives. Two—Reuben and Gad—were in captivity. One—Dan—was absorbed into Judah. Simeon and Naphtali, which alone remain, seem to have been more than ordinarily idolatrous. (See ch. xxxiv. 6.)

12. *In Judah the hand of God was.*] Compare ch. xxix. 36. The writer can account for the zeal and unanimity of the Jewish people at this time in no other way than by ascribing it to the direct working of God in their hearts.

by the word of the Lord.] Compare ch. xxix. 15; and translate similarly, "to do the commandment of the king and the princes **in the Lord's business**"—or, "in the matter of the Lord."

14. *They . . . took away all the altars that were in Jerusalem.*] *I.e.* the idolatrous altars erected by Ahaz in every corner of the town (ch. xxviii. 24), which were partly for victims and partly for incense. Their continuance to this time shows that Hezekiah had been more anxious to construct than to destroy, to establish the Jehovah worship than to root out idolatry. Now, however, that the more im-

and all the altars for incense took they away, and cast *them* into the brook Kidron.

15 Then they killed the passover on the fourteenth *day* of the second month: and the priests and the Levites were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought in the burnt offerings into the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *their standing.*

16 And they stood in †their place after their manner, according to the law of Moses the man of God: the priests sprinkled the blood, *which they received* of the hand of the Levites.

17 For *there were* many in the congregation that were not sanctified: therefore the Levites had the charge of the killing of the passovers for every one *that was* not clean, to sanctify *them* unto the LORD.

18 For a multitude of the people, *even* many of Ephraim, and Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than it was written. But Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, The good LORD pardon every one

19 *That* prepareth his heart to seek God, the LORD God of his fathers, though *he be* not *cleansed* according to the purification of the sanctuary.

20 And the LORD hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people.

21 And the children of Israel that were †present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days

† Heb. *found.*

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portant work was done, the temple open, and the daily service restored, attention could be turned to the secondary object of removing from the city all traces of the late apostacy.

and cast them into the brook Kidron.] See above, ch. xxix. 16.

15. *The priests and the Levites were ashamed and sanctified themselves.*] The laggart priests and Levites, who from want of zeal for the Jehovah worship, or from actual inclination to idolatry, had hitherto neglected to purify themselves (see ch. xxix. 34, and xxx. 3), were now shamed by the general ardour, and sanctified themselves for the Paschal festival. It appears from this passage that, though the laggarts were chiefly priests, there were some Levites among them.

and brought in the burnt offerings.] Received them, *i. e.* from the offerers at the doors of the inner court, and took them up to the brazen altar in front of the porch. No part of the burnt offerings was ever taken inside the temple building.

16. *After their manner.*] *I. e.* "as custom prescribed"—"in their *regular* place." According to the Mishna, the custom was for the priests to stand in two rows extending from the altar to the outer court, where the people were assembled. As each offerer slew his lamb the blood was caught in a bason, which was handed to the nearest priest, who passed it on to his neighbour, and he to the next; the blood was thus conveyed to the altar, at the base of which it was thrown by the last priest in the row. While basons full of blood were thus passed up, empty basons were passed down in a constant succession, so that there was no pause or delay.

the priests sprinkled the blood.] Threw it so that some touched the altar. This "sprinkling" of the altar with the blood was an essential part of every sacrifice of a victim. (See Lev. i. 5, 11, 15, iii. 2, 8, 13, iv. 6; &c.)

which they received of the hand of the Levites.] Ordinarily, the blood was received at the hand of the offerer. The reason for the employment of Levites now is stated in the next verse.

17. *There were many in the congregation that were not sanctified.*] Who these were is explained in the next verse. The greater number of the *Israelites* who had come to keep the feast were involved in some ceremonial or moral defilement, from which there was not time for them to purify themselves. As the Passover was being held in the second month, and there could consequently be no "little Passover" for these (see Num. ix. 6-12), Hezekiah decided that they should be admitted to the feast, nothwithstanding their legal uncleanness (see verse 19). But, on account of this uncleanness, they were not to slay their own lambs, but to delegate the office to the Levites.

20. *The Lord ... healed the people.*] *I. e.* "pardoned their uncleanness and overlooked it." We are not told how this was known. Perhaps a prophet was commissioned to answer Hezekiah's prayer. (See 2 K. xix. 20; xx. 5.)

21. *Seven days.*] According to the requirements of the Law. (Ex. xii. 18, xxiii. 15, &c.)

with great gladness: and the Levites and the priests praised the LORD day by day, *singing* with †loud instruments unto the LORD.

† Heb. *instruments of strength.*

22 And Hezekiah spake †comfortably unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the LORD: and they did eat throughout the feast seven days, offering peace offerings, and making confession to the LORD God of their fathers.

† Heb. *to the heart of all, &c.*

23 And the whole assembly took counsel to keep other seven days: and they kept *other* seven days with gladness.

24 For Hezekiah king of Judah †did give to the congregation a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great number of priests sanctified themselves.

† Heb. *lifted up, or, offered.*

25 And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah, rejoiced.

26 So there was great joy in Jerusalem: for since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel *there was* not the like in Jerusalem.

27 ¶ Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came *up* to †his holy dwelling place, *even* unto heaven.

† Heb. *the habitation of his holiness.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *The people is forward in destroying idolatry.* 2 *Hezekiah ordereth the courses of the priests and Levites, and provideth for their work and maintenance.* 5 *The people's forwardness in offerings and tithes.* 11 *Hezekiah appointeth officers to dispose of the tithes.* 20 *The sincerity of Hezekiah.*

NOW when all this was finished, all Israel that were †present went out to the cities of Judah, and

† Heb. *found.*

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loud instruments.] Rather, "instruments **of praise.**"

22. *Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the Lord.*] Rather, "Hezekiah spake encouragingly to all the Levites that **were well skilled in the knowledge** of the Lord." The "knowledge" intended is perhaps chiefly ritualistic and musical—such knowledge as enabled them to conduct the service of the sanctuary satisfactorily. (See the last verse.)

they did eat throughout the feast seven days.] Literally, "they did *eat the feast*;" *i.e.* "they kept the feast," which was essentially kept by the eating of unleavened bread. The emphasis is on the words "seven days." (literally, "*the* seven days"). Encouraged by Hezekiah, the Levites kept the feast during the full term appointed for it, never failing in their duties, but taking their part day after day, both in the sacrifice of the victims and in singing praises to God.

making confession.] Rather, "giving thanks" or "praise," as in ch. xxxi. 2.

23. *To keep other seven days.*] This was a voluntary addition to the requirements of the Law—the fruit and sign of the abounding zeal which characterised the time. (Compare above, verse 12, and ch. xxix. 35, 36.) It was probably designed by Hezekiah and the princes, who proposed it to the people, and at the same time, as the stock of sacrificial animals which the people had brought was exhausted, presented them with others, so that the sacrifices and the sacrificial meals might be continued for another week.

24. *A great number of priests sanctified themselves.*] Compare above, verse 15, and note ad loc.

25. *The strangers that came out of the land of Israel, &c.*] *I.e.* the old Israelite settlers in Judæa, who are called "*strangers* out of Ephraim and Manasseh" in ch. xv. 9.

26. *Since the time of Solomon . . . there was not the like.*] Since the great festival of Solomon, which lasted for fourteen days, like this (ch. vii. 9), there had been no such feast in Judah, either for duration or for the number of victims, or for the general joy and rejoicing.

27. *The priests the Levites.*] Some would alter the text, and read "the priests *and* the Levites." But no emendation is required. The phrase used occurs elsewhere (Deut. xvii. 9, 18; Josh. iii. 3; Jer. xxxiii. 18); and, while it was the office of the priests to bless (Num. vi. 23; 1 Chr. xxiii. 13), there is no evidence that the Levites ever discharged the function. For the proper form of the priestly blessing, see Num. vi. 24-26.

CHAP. XXXI. 1. *All Israel that were present.*] By "all Israel" is meant here, not the

of the people of the earth, *which were* the work of the hands of man.

20 And for this *cause* Hezekiah the king, and the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz, prayed and cried to heaven.

21 ¶ [d] And the LORD sent an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and the leaders and captains in the camp of the king of Assyria. So he returned with shame of face to his own land. And when he was come into the house of his god, they that came forth of his own bowels [†] slew him there with the sword.

22 Thus the LORD saved Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of all *other*, and guided them on every side.

23 And many brought gifts unto the LORD to Jerusalem, and [†] presents to Hezekiah king of Judah: so that he was magnified in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.

24 ¶ [a] In those days Hezekiah was sick to the death, and prayed unto the LORD: and he spake unto him, and he [‖] gave him a sign.

25 But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit *done* unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem.

26 Notwithstanding Hezekiah humbled himself for [†] the pride of his heart, *both* he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the wrath of the LORD came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah.

27 ¶ And Hezekiah had exceeding much riches and honour: and he

[d] 2 Kin. 19. 35, &c.

[†] Heb. *made him full.*

[†] Heb. *precious things.*

[a] 2 Kings 20. 1. Isai. 38. 1.

[‖] Or, *wrought a miracle for him.*

[†] Heb. *the lifting up.*

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to affright them, and to trouble them; that they might take the city.] This assignment of motive is additional to the narrative in Kings, but harmonizes well with it. Rab-shakeh and his companions were accompanied by a strong body of troops (2 K. xviii. 17). If a tumult had arisen among the Jews who manned the walls, a gate might perhaps have been opened, and the Assyrians have been received into the town.

20. *Hezekiah the king and the prophet Isaiah . . . prayed.*] Hezekiah's prayer is given in 2 K. xix. 15-19; but no distinct mention is there made of the prayer of Isaiah. We hear, however, that Hezekiah asked him to pray (ib. verse 4).

21. *The Lord sent an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, &c.*] From Kings we learn the number destroyed (2 K. xix. 35), here we have the additional information, that the loss was especially among the officers and the troops of superior quality.

they that came forth of his own bowels.] *I.e.* his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer (2 K. xix. 37).

22. *From the hand of all other.*] Compare 2 K. xviii. 7, 8.

and guided them on every side.] The expression "on every side" does not suit the verb "led" or "guided," and it is therefore suspected that the existing text is a corrupt one. A very slight alteration (see additional note at the end of the chapter) will give the highly satisfactory sense—"and gave them rest round about." This expression is common in Chronicles.

24. *In those days Hezekiah was sick.*] The writer now relates, with the same brevity which has characterised his narrative of Sennacherib's second invasion, the illness and miraculous recovery of Hezekiah, his fall, and his repentance, which form the subject of 2 Kings xx. The opening phrase is identical with that wherewith the author of Kings introduces his narrative. The rest is greatly abbreviated.

he spake unto him, &c.] Rather—"He (Jehovah) promised him, and gave him a sign." The "sign" is not the miraculous cure, but the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz. (See verse 31.)

25. *His heart was lifted up.*] Compare ch. xxvi. 16. Hezekiah's pride was shown in his unnecessarily exhibiting his treasures to the ambassadors from Babylon. (See 2 K. xx. 13.)

there was wrath upon him.] Compare 2 K. xx. 17, 18.

26. *Hezekiah humbled himself.*] There seems to be an allusion here to something not related in Kings—perhaps to the self-humiliation of Hezekiah, whereof Jeremiah speaks as following on a certain prophecy uttered by Micah (Jer. xxvi. 19). The prophecy of Micah (iii. 12) is by some referred to the earlier part of the reign of Hezekiah; but there is nothing to show that it was not delivered about this time.

27. *Hezekiah had exceeding much riches.*] Compare 2 K. xx. 13.

made himself treasuries for silver, and for gold, and for precious stones, and for spices, and for shields, and for all
† Heb. *instruments of desire.* manner of †pleasant jewels;

28 Storehouses also for the increase of corn, and wine, and oil; and stalls for all manner of beasts, and cotes for flocks.

29 Moreover he provided him cities, and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance: for God had given him substance very much.

30 This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David. And Hezekiah prospered in all his works.

31 ¶ Howbeit in *the business of* the †ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who [b] sent unto him to enquire of the wonder that was *done* in the land, God left him, to try him, that he might know all *that was* in his heart.

† Heb. *interpreters.*
[b] 2 Kin. 20. 12. Isai. 39. 1.

32 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his †goodness, behold, they *are* written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, *and* in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

† Heb. *kindnesses.*

33 And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the ‖chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

‖ Or, *highest.*

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pleasant jewels.] Rather "**precious vessels**," as in ch. xx. 25. (See note ad loc.)

28. *And cotes for flocks.*] Translate—"and **cattle for the stalls.**"

30. *Stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon.*] Rather—"the upper **source**" or "issue of the waters of Gihon." This was probably a spring in the neighbourhood of the Damascus gate, which Hezekiah "stopped" at the time of Sennacherib's first invasion. (See above, verse 3.) Either at the same time, or afterwards, he conducted the water of this spring by an underground channel along the west side of the "city of David"—*i.e.* down the Tyropœon valley—to a pool, or reservoir, which he seems to have made between the west wall of the city of Daivd and the east wall of the old Jebusite city. (Is. xxii. 11.)

brought it straight down to the west side.] Rather "brought it straight **underground** on the west side."

31. *Howbeit.*] There was one exception to the general "prosperity" of Hezekiah. In the matter of the embassy from Babylon—not hitherto mentioned, but regarded as known from Kings, and assumed as known both here and in verse 25—God left him, to try him, and he grievously fell, and brought upon himself a sentence, which cast a dark shade over his otherwise prosperous reign. (See 2 K. xx. 17, 18.)

the princes of Babylon.] In speaking of foreign courts or governments, of which they have not an intimate knowledge, the sacred writers occasionally use the plural, as a vague form, without intending to imply that the country mentioned was under the government of more than one man. (See above, verse 4; and compare Jer. xlvi. 25, li. 11, 28, and perhaps 2 Chr. xxx. 6.) In the present case, it appears, both from Isaiah (xxxix. 1), and from Kings (2 K. xx. 12), that Babylon was ruled by a single prince or king, viz. Merodach-Baladan.

the wonder that was done in the land.] *I.e.* the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz. (See 2 K. xx. 11, and note ad loc.)

that he might know all that was in his heart.] Compare Deut. viii. 2.

32. *His goodness.*] Rather "**his good deeds**," as the word is translated in Neh. xiii. 14.

the vision of Isaiah.] This was the title given by Isaiah to his prophecy (Is. i. 1).

and in the book.] There is no "and" in the original; and its insertion destroys the sense. The meaning is, that the acts were recorded in the prophecy of Isaiah, which formed a part of the compilation known as "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." (See 'Introduction,' § 5.)

they buried him in the chiefest (marg. *highest*) *of the sepulchres of the sons of David.*] Most modern commentators render—"*on the ascent to* the sepulchres;" but some think that an excavation above all the other tombs,—in the same repository, but at a higher level—is intended. In either case, we have in the new phrase an indication that the catacomb of David was now full;—and, in accordance with this, we find that the later princes have sepulchres quite distinct from the old burial-place. (See ch. xxxiii. 20; 2 K. xxi. 18, 26; xxiii. 30.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 22. "And guided them on every side."

For the awkward expression, וינהלם מסביב, "and guided them on every side," it is proposed to read וינח להם מסביב, "and gave them rest on every side." Compare ch. xv. 15. וינח יהוה להם מסביב. And see also xiv. 6, and xx. 30.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *Manasseh's wicked reign.* 3 *He setteth up idolatry, and would not be admonished.* 11 *He is carried into Babylon.* 12 *Upon his prayer to God he is released, and putteth down idolatry.* 18 *His acts.* 20 *He dying, Amon succeedeth him.* 21 *Amon reigning wickedly is slain by his servants.* 25 *The murderers being slain, Josiah succeedeth him.*

[c] 2 Kin. 21. 1, &c. MANASSEH [c]*was* twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem:

2 But did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, like unto the [d] Deu. 18. 9. [d]abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD had cast out before the children of Israel.

[†] Heb. *he returned and built.* [c] 2 Kin. 18. 4. 3 ¶ For [†]he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had [c]broken down, and he reared up altars for Baalim, and made groves, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.

4 Also he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the LORD had said, [f] In Jerusalem shall my name be for ever. [f] Deu. 12. 11. 1 Kin. 8. 29. & 9. 3. ch. 6. 6. & 7. 16.

5 And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD.

6 And he caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom: also he observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.

7 And he set a carved image, the idol which he had made, in the house of God, of which God had said to David and to Solomon his son, In

CHAP. XXXIII. This chapter is parallel with 2 Kings xxi., the order of which, and the words of which in many places, it closely follows. It differs chiefly from Kings in omitting (1) the names of the two Queen-Mothers, (2) the shedding of innocent blood by Manasseh, (3) the words of warning addressed to him, and (4) the circumstances of the burial of Amon—and, more importantly, in adding (1) the account of Manasseh's captivity, (2) of his repentance and restoration to his kingdom, (3) of his buildings, (4) of his abolition of idolatry, and (5) of the ample records that existed of his reign. The central part of the chapter, from verse 11 to verse 19, is thus almost entirely new matter, while the earlier and the later portions correspond closely with Kings, and are, on the whole, less ample.

3. *Altars for Baalim.* The corresponding passage of Kings (2 K. xxi. 3) has "altars for Baal." The difference is unimportant, for the "Baalim" are either different idols, or different aspects, of the one god, Baal.

made groves.] In Kings we find "made a grove." The author of Chronicles found accounts of several "groves" in his authorities (see verse 19): the writer of Kings wished to call attention to one particular "grove"—that which was intruded into the temple. (Compare 2 K. xxi. 7, xxiii. 4, 6.)

4. *In Jerusalem shall my name be for ever.*] See above, ch. vii. 16.

6. *He made his children to pass through the fire.*] Here, as in his account of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 3), the author of Kings makes mention of one son only (ib. xxi. 6), while the writer of Chronicles speaks of "sons" in the plural. Possibly the plural form in Chronicles may be in both cases "vague" (see note on ch. xxxii. 31); or the writer of Kings may have found one son only mentioned in the records he consulted, while the author of Chronicles may have found several. The later writer had especially copious materials for the reign of Manasseh. (See below, verses 18 and 19.)

7. *He set a carved image, the idol which he had made.*] The parallel passage of Kings shows that the carving here spoken of was an *asherah* or "grove," like that which Ahab set up in Samaria. (2 K. xxi. 3, 7.) It receives here the somewhat unusual name of *semel*, which some regard as a proper name, and compare with the Greek Σεμέλη. (Compare Ezek. viii. 3, 5.)

g Ps 132. 14. *g* this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen before all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever:

h 2 Sam 7. 10. 8 *h* Neither will I any more remove the foot of Israel from out of the land which I have appointed for your fathers; so that they will take heed to do all that I have commanded them, according to the whole law and the statutes and the ordinances by the hand of Moses.

9 So Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err, *and* to do worse than the heathen, whom the LORD had destroyed before the children of Israel.

10 And the LORD spake to Manasseh, and to his people: but they would not hearken.

† Heb. *which were the king's.* 11 ¶ Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of the host †of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with ‖fetters, and carried him to Babylon. ‖ Or, *chains.*

12 And when he was in affliction, he besought the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers,

13 And prayed unto him: and he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the LORD he *was* God.

14 Now after this he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish gate, and compassed about ‖Ophel, and raised it up a very great height, and put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah. ‖ Or, *The tower.*

15 And he took away the strange

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10. *The Lord spake to Manasseh.*] For a full account of the warnings addressed to Manasseh by the prophets of the time, see 2 K. xxi. 10-15.

11. *Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria.*] The Assyrian monuments contain no record of this expedition; but there can be little doubt that it fell into the reign of Esarhaddon, who succeeded his father Sennacherib, B.C. 681, and reigned at least thirteen years. Esarhaddon mentions Manasseh among his tributaries; and he was the only king of Assyria who, from time to time, held his court *at Babylon.* (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 476.)

which took Manasseh among the thorns.] Maurer has well explained the difficult phrase here used by observing that the Hebrew word which is translated "thorns" means properly an iron ring, such as was put through the jaws of a fish, with a string passed through it and fastened to the shore, in order that the fish might be kept alive captive in the water. (Job xli. 2.) A similar instrument, he adds, was used by the ancients for taming their prisoners, as appears from Am. iv. 2. The Assyrian monuments show that this mode of treating captives was practised by them (see note on 2 K. xix. 28); and this is, therefore, evidently a most satisfactory explanation of the present passage. Translate—"which took Manasseh **captive with rings.**"

and bound him with fetters.] The Hebrew word translated "fetters" may mean either "fetters" or "manacles;" both of which were very commonly placed by the Assyrians on captives of importance. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 87; Layard, 'Nineveh,' vol. ii. p. 376.)

14. *After this he built a wall.*] We may gather from this that, late in his reign, Manasseh revolted from the Assyrians, and made preparations to resist them if they should attack him. Assyria began to decline in power about B.C. 647, and from that time her outlying provinces would naturally begin to fall off. Manasseh reigned till B.C. 642.

without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley.] Rather "he built **the outer wall of** the city of David **on the west of Gihon-in-the-valley.**" The wall intended seems to have been that towards the north-east, which ran from the vicinity of the modern Damascus gate across the valley of Gihon, to the "fish gate" at the north-east corner of the "city of David." The "captains," who took Manasseh prisoner (verse 11) had probably destroyed or greatly damaged this part of the fortifications.

and compassed about Ophel.] Ophel, the southern part of the temple hill, had been fortified by Jotham (ch. xxvii. 3); but the wall had, it would seem, fallen into decay.

15. *He took away the strange gods.*] The "Baalim" of verse 3.

gods, and the idol out of the house of the LORD, and all the altars that he had built in the mount of the house of the LORD, and in Jerusalem, and cast *them* out of the city.

16 And he repaired the altar of the LORD, and sacrificed thereon peace offerings and thank offerings, and commanded Judah to serve the LORD God of Israel.

17 Nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high places, *yet* unto the LORD their God only.

18 ¶ Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD God of Israel, behold, they *are written* in the book of the kings of Israel.

19 His prayer also, and *how God* was intreated of him, and all his sins, and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up groves and graven images, before he was humbled: behold, they *are* written among the sayings of [1]the seers. [1] Or, *Hosai.*

20 ¶ So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

21 ¶ [i]Amon *was* two and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned two years in Jerusalem. [i] 2 Kin. 21. 19, &c.

22 But he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh his father: for Amon sacrificed unto all the carved images which Manasseh his father had made, and served them;

23 And humbled not himself before the LORD, as Manasseh his father had humbled himself; but Amon [†]trespassed more and more. † Heb. *multiplied trespass*

24 And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house.

25 ¶ But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired

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and the idol.] The "carved image" of verse 7.

and all the altars.] See verse 4, and compare 2 K. xxi. 4.

cast them out of the city.] To free it from pollution. The materials were probably thrown into the Kidron. (See ch. xxix. 16, xxx. 14.)

16. *He repaired the altar of the Lord.*] The altar had been desecrated, and perhaps damaged, during the time of Manasseh's apostacy.

17. *Nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high places.*] Manasseh, in the earlier part of his reign, had restored the high-place worship, which his father Hezekiah ventured so boldly to put down (ch. xxxi. 1), and now, when he was anxious to undo his work in this respect, as in others, found himself unable. The worship was endeared to the people by old custom and by manifest convenience; and its suspension during the reign of Hezekiah caused them probably to cling to it more eagerly than ever.

18. *His prayer.*] The "prayer of Manasseh" preserved to us in some MSS. of the Septuagint, has no claim to be considered the genuine utterance of the Jewish king. It is the composition of a Hellenistic Jew, well acquainted with the Septuagint, writing at a time probably not much anterior to the Christian era.

the words of the seers that spake to him.] See 2 K. xxi. 11-15.

in the book of the kings of Israel.] The writer of Chronicles usually speaks of "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (or "Israel and Judah"). Here he designates the same compilation by a more compendious title, without (apparently) any special reason for the change. (Compare ch. xx. 34.)

19. *They are written among the sayings of the seers* (marg. *Hosai*).] Most moderns adopt the translation given in the margin of the Authorized version, making Hosai (or rather, Chozai) a proper name. But see 'Introduction,' § 5, note [7].

20. *They buried him in his own house.*] See 2 K. xxi. 18, which is fuller; and compare note on ch. xxxii. 33.

22. *Amon did that which was evil.*] Compare 2 K. xxi. 20-22. Amon fully re-established all the idolatries which Manasseh in his later years had put aside.

24, 25.] *His servants conspired against him, &c.*] See 2 K. xxi. 23, 24, with which passage these two verses are very nearly identical.

against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son king in his stead.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 Josiah's good reign. 3 He destroyeth idolatry. 8 He taketh order for the repair of the temple. 14 Hilkiah having found a book of the law, Josiah sendeth to Huldah to enquire of the Lord. 23 Huldah prophesieth the destruction of Jerusalem, but respite thereof in Josiah's time. 29 Josiah, causing it to be read in a solemn assembly, reneweth the covenant with God.

[a] 2 Kin. 22. 1, &c.

JOSIAH [a]*was* eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem one and thirty years.

2 And he did *that which was* right in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the ways of David his father, and declined *neither* to the right hand, nor to the left.

3 ¶ For in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek after the God of David his father: and in the twelfth year he began [b]to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images.

[b] 1 Kin. 13. 2.

4 [c]And they brake down the altars of Baalim in his presence; and the [‖]images, that *were* on high above them, he cut down; and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images, he brake in pieces, and made dust *of them*, and strowed *it* upon the [†]graves of them that had sacrificed unto them.

[c] Lev. 26. 30.

[‖] Or, *sun images.*

[†] Heb. *face of the graves.*

CHAP. XXXIV. This chapter and the next set forth the history of Josiah, and are consequently parallel with 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii. 1-30. The two historians relate, for the most part, the same events, and preserve generally the same order; but select different portions of the history to dwell upon and expand. The writer of Kings enlarges upon the moral and religious reformation which Josiah effected (see 2 K. xxiii. 4-20, and 24-27), touching lightly on the repair of the temple (xxii. 3-7), the celebration of the passover (xxiii. 21-23), and the circumstances of the war with Pharaoh-Necho (ib. 29, 30). The author of Chronicles is less full on the first of these points (ch. xxxiv. 3-7), while he adds several details relative to the second and fourth, and expounds the third, according to his manner, very fully indeed (ch. xxxv. 1-19). Both writers relate, at equal length, and nearly in the same words, the finding of the law, the consultation of Huldah, her answer, and the renewal of the covenant. (Compare 2 K. xxii. 8-20, and xxiii. 1-3 with 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14-32.) The only approach to a discrepancy between the two narratives is with respect to the time of the religious reformation, which the writer of Chronicles distinctly places before the repair of the temple (ch. xxxiv. 8), while the author of Kings *seems* to place it after the repair, the finding of the Law, and the renewal of the covenant. The best explanation here seems to be, that the author of Kings has departed from the chronological order, to which he makes no profession of adhering.

3. *In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young.*] *I.e.* when he was between fifteen and sixteen years of age. (See verse 1.) Josiah had been brought up, like Jeremiah (Jer. i. 16) amid established idolatry, but he had, no doubt, come in contact with some of the few who remained faithful to Jehovah amid the general apostacy. We cannot, however, attribute his early piety to the influence of any particular person or persons.

in the twelfth year.] Josiah was, perhaps, now, at the age of twenty, for the first time free to act. We have no exact age set down at which a Jewish king attained his majority and began to direct affairs. Perhaps there was no legal limit, and the character of the monarch determined, to some extent, the time of his advent to power. But the three cases of Asa, Joash, and Josiah, together give some grounds for concluding that, practically, regencies lasted till the monarch reached the age of twenty.

he began to purge Judah.] The call of Jeremiah so nearly coincides with the commencement of Josiah's reformation (Jer. i. 2), that we can scarcely regard the two facts as unconnected. As there are different ways of reckoning the years of a king (compare 2 K. xxiv. 12 with Jer. lii. 28, and Jer. lii. 12 with 29), the "thirteenth" year of Jer. i. 2 *may be* identical with the "twelfth" year of this verse. At any rate Jeremiah's first prophecies (Jer. ii. and iii.) appear to have been coincident with Josiah's earlier efforts to uproot idolatry, and must have greatly strengthened his hands.

4. *The images* (marg. *sun-images*) *that were on high above them.*] See above, ch. xiv. 5.

strewed it upon the graves.] Compare 2 K. xxiii. 6

5 And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, and cleansed Judah and Jerusalem.

6 And *so did he* in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, with their ‖mattocks round about.

‖ Or, *mauls.*

7 And when he had broken down the altars and the groves, and had beaten the graven images †into powder, and cut down all the idols throughout all the land of Israel, he returned to Jerusalem.

† Heb. *to make powder.*

8 ¶ Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had purged the land, and the house, he sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder, to repair the house of the LORD his God.

9 And when they came to Hilkiah the high priest, they delivered the money that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites that kept the doors had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin; and they returned to Jerusalem.

10 And they put *it* in the hand of the workmen that had the oversight of the house of the LORD, and

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5. *He burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars.*] This appears, by the present passage, to have been done in Judah and Jerusalem no less than in Israel. (Compare 2 K. xxiii. 20.) The priests whose bones were burnt had been probably first seized and put to death.

6. *In the cities of Manasseh, &c.*] The power of Assyria being now (B.C. 629-624) greatly weakened, if not completely broken, Josiah, it is evident, asserted and maintained a claim to authority over the whole "land of Israel." It was no longer—as in Hezekiah's time—a tumultuous crowd that, in a fit of enthusiasm, hastily overran a portion of the Israelite country, destroying idolatrous emblems (ch. xxxi. 1), but the monarch, who went in person through the length and breadth of the land, and purified the whole region. We must regard Josiah as aiming, not merely at a religious reformation, but at a restoration of the kingdom to its ancient limits.

with their mattocks.] Or "in their desolate places," as the same word is translated in Ps. cix. 10. (There is another reading, according to which the sense would be—"And in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, he *proved their houses* round about." See additional note A at the end of the chapter.) The cities of Israel might well be called "desolate places," being in ruins and only half inhabited.

8. *When he had purged the land and the house.*] The purging of the temple had probably been the first work that Josiah took in hand. (See note on 2 K. xxiii. 4; and compare ch. xxix. 3.) From purging he had proceeded to repairs; and these had evidently been carried on for some considerable time before the particular occasion, here brought before us, when Shaphan, Maaseiah, and Joah, were sent by the king to see the progress of the repairs, and to obtain money from the high priest to pay the workmen.

Shaphan.] Called "the scribe" in 2 K. xxii. 3.

Maaseiah, the governor of the city.] This Maaseiah seems not to be elsewhere mentioned; for he can hardly be the son of Shallum, who kept one of the temple doors (Jer. xxxv. 4).

Joah . . the recorder.] Another Joah was "recorder" under Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 18); but there is no evidence that the two were related.

to repair the house of the Lord.] Not to commence the repairs, but to carry them on.

9. *Hilkiah the high priest.*] See note on 2 K. xxiii. 4.

they delivered the money.] Shaphan and his companions had brought a message from Josiah to the high priest, requiring him to make over to them the money which had been collected for the repairs (2 K. xxii. 4). This Hilkiah's subordinates now did. The money had been collected not merely at the temple (ibid.), but also, and perhaps mainly, by collectors, who had visited all parts both of Judah and Israel, in order to obtain contributions.

and they returned to Jerusalem.] Rather, "and had returned to Jerusalem." The subject of the sentence is the Levites who collected the money.

10. *And they put it in the hand of the workmen, &c.*] *I.e.* "they (the presidents of the work, Shaphan, Maaseiah, and Joah) paid over the money to the overseers or superintendants of the workmen (compare 2 K. xxii. 5), and they (the superintendants) gave it to the artificers employed."

they gave it to the workmen that wrought in the house of the LORD, to repair and amend the house:

11 Even to the artificers and builders gave they *it*, to buy hewn stone, and timber for couplings, and ‖ to floor the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed.

‖ Or, *to rafter.*

12 And the men did the work faithfully: and the overseers of them *were* Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari; and Zechariah and Meshullam, of the sons of the Kohathites, to set *it* forward; and *other of* the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of musick.

13 Also *they were* over the bearers of burdens, and *were* overseers of all that wrought the work in any manner of service: and of the Levites *there were* scribes, and officers, and porters.

14 ¶ And when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the LORD, Hilkiah the priest [d] found a book of the law of the LORD *given* † by Moses.

[d] 2 Kin. 22. 8, &c.

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

15 And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan.

16 And Shaphan carried the book to the king, and brought the king word back again, saying, All that was committed † to thy servants, they do *it*.

† Heb. *to the hand of.*

17 And they have † gathered together the money that was found in the house of the LORD, and have delivered it into the hand of the overseers, and to the hand of the workmen.

† Heb. *poured out,* or, *melted.*

18 Then Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath given me a book. And Shaphan read † it before the king.

† Heb. *in it.*

19 And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the law, that he rent his clothes.

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11. *To floor* (marg. *rafter*) *the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed.*] The "houses" intended are either the "chambers" which surrounded the temple on three sides (1 K. vi. 5), or out-buildings attached to the courts. The "kings of Judah" intended are, no doubt, Manasseh and Amon.

13. *Of the Levites there were scribes.*] Hitherto the term "scribe" has never been used to designate a class. We have heard constantly of a single "scribe" or "secretary," a great officer of state, whose duties were connected with the muster of troops and the management of the finances. (See 2 S. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 K. xii. 10, xviii. 18; Is. xxxiii. 18; xxxvi. 22.) And in one place, during the glorious period of Solomon's extensive empire, we have found the office discharged at one and the same time by two persons (1 K. iv. 3). But here we have evidently come to a new state of things—an order of scribes, forming a distinct division of the Levitical body, has been instituted. It has been well observed that, though the class-term is first found in this passage, the class itself probably originated in the reign of Hezekiah. When that monarch employed men to "copy out" the uncollected proverbs of Solomon (Prov. xxv. 1), a class of scribes must have been instituted. It is probably to the rise of this class that we are indebted for the preservation of so many prophecies belonging to Hezekiah's time, while the works of almost all previous prophets—of Ahijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, the son of Hanani, and probably many others—have perished.

officers and porters.] These were old divisions of the Levitical body. (See 1 Chr. xxiii. 4, 5.)

14. *When they brought out the money .... Hilkiah the priest found.*] It is not meant that the book was found exactly at this time, but that Hilkiah at this time made known the finding to Shaphan. Translate—"Hilkiah the priest **had** found." On the nature of the discovery, see note on 2 K. xxii. 8.

16. *They do it.*] Rather, "they **have done** it."

17. *They have gathered together* (marg. *poured out*, or *melted*) *the money.*] Translate—"they have **emptied out** the money"—*i.e.* "thy servants (myself, Maaseiah, and Joah) have emptied out the money from the chest in which it was kept, and have paid it over to the superintendants and the workmen."

18. *Shaphan read it.*] Literally, "read *in* it"—*i.e.* "read some of it." In Kings the expression used is simply "read it" (2 K. xxii. 10).

20 And the king commanded Hilkiah, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and ‖Abdon the son of Micah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah a servant of the king's, saying,

‖ Or, *Achbor*, 2 Kin. 22. 12.

21 Go, enquire of the LORD for me, and for them that are left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the book that is found: for great *is* the wrath of the LORD that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the LORD, to do after all that is written in this book.

22 And Hilkiah, and *they* that the king *had appointed*, went to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvath, the son of ‖Hasrah, keeper of the †wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem ‖in the college:) and they spake to her to that *effect*.

‖ Or, *Harhas*, 2 Kin. 22. 14.
† Heb. *garments*.
‖ Or, *in the school*, or, *in the second part*.

23 ¶ And she answered them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Tell ye the man that sent you to me,

24 Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, *even* all the curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of Judah:

25 Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be poured out upon this place, and shall not be quenched.

26 And as for the king of Judah, who sent you to enquire of the LORD, so shall ye say unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel *concerning* the words which thou hast heard;

27 Because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when thou heardest his words against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, and humbledst thyself before me, and didst rend thy clothes, and weep before me; I have even heard *thee* also, saith the LORD.

28 Behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants of the same. So they brought the king word again.

29 ¶ Then the king sent and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem. ‖ 2 Kin. 23. 1.

30 And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the Levites, and all the people, †great and small: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant that was found in the house of the LORD.

† Heb. *from great even to small*.

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20. *Abdon the son of Micah.*] Or, according to Kings, "Achbor, the son of Michaiah" (2 K. xxii. 12).

21. *For them that are left in Israel and in Judah.*] The words of Kings are, "for the people and for all Judah" (2 K. xxii. 13). In both records the intention is to show that the king regarded the Ten Tribes as being under his care, no less than the Two. (See note on verse 6.)

22. *The son of Tikvath, the son of Hasrah.*] In Kings these two names are given as *Tikvah* and *Harhas*.

23. *And she answered them.*] Huldah's reply is either taken from Kings, or from a source to which both writers had access. It differs from the reply in Kings (2 K. xxii. 15-20) only in one or two phrases, and in the spelling of one or two words.

24. *Which they have read.*] The plural is used "vaguely" for the singular (see verse 18), as we use the passive—"which was read."

29-31. *Then the king sent.*] Compare 2 K. xxiii. 1-3, which agrees with this almost letter for letter. The only difference of any importance is that, in verse 30, the writer has characteristically substituted "Levites" for the "prophets" of 2 K. xxiii. 2. No doubt Josiah was accompanied by priests, prophets, and Levites, but the writer of Kings thought it enough to mention the two former, and merged the Levites in the mass of the people. The writer of Chronicles, on the other hand, thinks the presence of Levites too

31 And the king stood in his place, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant which are written in this book.

32 And he caused all that were † Heb. *found.* †present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand *to it*. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God of their fathers.

33 And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that *pertained* to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, *even* to serve the LORD their God. *And* all his days they departed not †from following the † Heb. *from after.* LORD, the God of their fathers.

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important to be omitted, and as the prophets could be but few in number, passes them over.

31. *In his place.*] Rather, "**upon his pillar**," nearly as in 2 K. xxiii. 3.

32. *And he caused all those that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it.*] It is scarcely possible that the text can here be sound. "Benjamin" is never put in contrast with "Jerusalem," but always with Judah (ch. xi. 3, 23, xiv. 8, xv. 2, 9, xvii. 14, 17, xxv. 5, xxxi. 1). And the verb of the sentence requires something to follow it which the text does not now contain. If we correct the reading from the parallel passage of Kings (2 K. xxiii. 3), we shall obtain as the true sense—"And he caused all those that were present in Jerusalem to stand **to the covenant.**" (See additional note B at the end of the chapter.)

33. *Out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel.*] This is, perhaps, only a repetition of the facts already recorded in verses 4-7. Or, possibly it may allude to a putting down of idolatry in the country districts of Israel, as contra-distinguished from the cities of verse 6.

all that were present in Israel.] Literally, "all that were *found* in Israel," *i.e.* "all who dwelt in the land of Israel."

all his days they departed not.] This must be understood rather in the letter than the spirit. There was no open idolatry in the reign of Josiah, no offering of human sacrifices to Moloch, no worship of the host of heaven, no grove-worship or Baal-worship, no high-place worship even; but the reformation was seeming rather than real, superficial rather than searching and complete. "It did not reach the deeply-seated, wide-spread corruption which tainted rich and poor alike" (Stanley). As Jeremiah says, "Judah did not turn to God with her whole heart, but feignedly" (iii. 10). The outward return to the true religion seemed enough—it might, they thought, stand in lieu of internal purity and goodness. It is the especial mission of Jeremiah, in the earlier portion of his ministry, to rebuke this error, and to warn the Jewish people that, unless they add to the outward and formal reformation, a real change of life and heart, the wrath of God will surely come upon them. (See especially, Jer. vii. 3, 4, 21-24.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 6 and 32.

NOTE A, on verse 6. "With their mattocks."

The translation of the A. V. follows the Keri, or marginal reading of the Hebrew Bible, where we have בחרבתיהם in one word. If this be preferred, we may translate, either "with their mattocks" (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 9), or "in their desolate places" (comp. Ps. cix. 10). The other reading is בחר בתיהם, which Gesenius prefers, and explains to mean, "he made inquisition in their houses," comparing Is. xlviii. 10, which he would translate, "I have *proved* thee in the furnace of affliction." Others think בחר may be translated "he burnt;" but this is very questionable.

NOTE B, on verse 32. "In Jerusalem and Benjamin."

ובניימן here has probably taken the place of בבריית, which is found in 2 K. xxiii. 3, and is required afrer יעמד.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *Josiah keepeth a most solemn passover.* 20 *He, provoking Pharaoh-necho, is slain at Megiddo.* 25 *Lamentations for Josiah.*

[a] 2 Kin. 23. 21, 22. MOREOVER [a] Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in Jerusalem: and they killed the pass-
[b] Ex. 12. 6. over on the [b] fourteenth *day* of the first month.

2 And he set the priests in their charges, and encouraged them to the service of the house of the LORD,

3 And said unto the Levites that taught all Israel, which were holy unto the LORD, Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build; *it shall* not *be a* burden upon *your* shoulders: serve now the LORD your God, and his people Israel,

4 And prepare *yourselves* by the [c] houses of your fathers, after your courses, according to the writing of David king of Israel, and according to the [d] writing of Solomon his son.

[c] 1 Chron. 9. 10. & 1 Chron. 23, & 24, & 25, & 26.
[d] ch. 8. 14.

5 And stand in the holy *place* according to the divisions of [†] the families of the fathers of your brethren [†] the people, and *after* the division of the families of the Levites.

† Heb. *the house of the fathers.*
† Heb. *the sons of the people.*

6 So kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare your brethren, that *they* may do according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

CHAP. XXXV. 1. *On the fourteenth day of the first month.*] Not at an irregular time, like Hezekiah (ch. xxx. 2), but on the day appointed by the Law. (Ex. xii. 6.)

2. *He set the priests in their charges.*] *I.e.* he re-established the courses, and fixed the time when each course should enter on the service of the sanctuary. (Compare the similar conduct of Hezekiah, ch. xxxi. 2.)

3. *The Levites that taught all Israel.*] Compare ch. xvii. 7-9.

Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon ... did build.] The fact that the ark of the covenant had been removed from the Holy of Holies had not been previously stated, and comes upon us as a surprise. It is impossible to say whether it had been cast out by Amon, to make room for the idolatrous emblems with which he seems to have defiled the temple (2 K. xxiii. 4-6), or had only been temporarily removed by Josiah while he effected necessary repairs. The latter supposition is, on the whole, the more probable, since if Amon had thrust out the ark, so grievous a sin would probably have been distinctly recorded.

it shall not be a burden upon your shoulders.] If Josiah had the ark removed, the Levites were no doubt employed to carry it out. They had now to replace it. "This," Josiah says, "shall not henceforth be your duty. The ark shall remain undisturbed in the Holy of Holies. You shall return to your old employments, the service of God and the instruction of the people." There is, perhaps, a conscious imitation of David's injunction to the Levites (1 Chr. xxiii. 26).

4. *Prepare yourselves ... according to the writing of David.*] The reference is probably to some fuller description of the "courses" than that which we have in 1 Chr. xxiii. 6-24 —some liturgical document which has perished.

according to the writing of Solomon.] Solomon's original arrangement of the courses is said in ch. viii. 14 to have been "according to the order of David his father;" but experience of the actual requirements of the temple service may have led him afterwards to make certain modifications.

5. *In the holy place.*] *I.e.* the inner court, not the temple building.

according to the divisions, &c.] Bertheau, by cancelling the *vau* conjunctive which unites this clause with the next, produces the following clear and satisfactory sense—"**take your stations in the sanctuary, for each division of a father's house, of your brethren, the sons of the people, a portion of a father's house of the Levites**"—*i.e.* "divide yourselves so that, for every distinct family among the people who come to the Passover, there shall be a portion of a Levitical family to minister."

6. *Kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves.*] An act of purification after each sacrifice—probably an ablution of the hands—seems to be indicated.

and prepare your brethren, that they may do according to the word of the Lord.] *I.e.* "as you minister to your brethren the people, by killing and flaying their offerings and handing the blood to the priests, instruct them how they are to eat the Passover acceptably." It is implied that many would be ignorant of the requirements of the Law.

† Heb. *offered.*

7 And Josiah †gave to the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all for the passover offerings, for all that were present, to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand bullocks: these *were* of the king's substance.

† Heb. *offered.*

8 And his princes †gave willingly unto the people, to the priests, and to the Levites: Hilkiah and Zechariah and Jehiel, rulers of the house of God, gave unto the priests for the passover offerings two thousand and six hundred *small cattle*, and three hundred oxen.

9 Conaniah also, and Shemaiah and Nethaneel, his brethren, and Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, chief of the Levites, †gave unto the Levites for passover offerings five thousand *small cattle*, and five hundred oxen.

† Heb. *offered.*

10 So the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their place, and the Levites in their courses, according to the king's commandment.

11 And they killed the passover, and the priests sprinkled *the blood* from their hands, and the Levites *flayed *them.*

* See ch. 29. 34.

12 And they removed the burnt offerings, that they might give according to the divisions of the families of the people, to offer unto the LORD, as *it is* written in the book of Moses. And so *did they* with the oxen.

13 And they *roasted the passover with fire according to the ordinance: but the *other* holy *offerings* sod they in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and †divided *them* speedily among all the people.

* Ex. 12. 8, 9.

† Heb. *made them run.*

14 And afterward they made ready for themselves, and for the priests: because the priests the sons of Aaron *were busied* in offering of burnt offer-

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7. *Josiah gave to the people.*] Compare the conduct of Hezekiah, ch. xxx. 24.

lambs and kids.] Both lambs and kids were admissible paschal offerings. (Ex. xii. 5, and note ad loc.) But the lamb was usually offered, unless the family was very poor.

and three thousand bullocks.] These were probably to be offered as thank offerings. They would increase and vary the sacrificial feasts. (See verse 13.)

8. *His princes.*] *I.e.* his *ecclesiastical* princes —the chief men of the priests and Levites— Hilkiah, the high priest, Zechariah, probably the "second priest" (see note on 2 K. xxv. 18), Jehiel, perhaps the head of the house of Ithamar, and the "chief of the" Levites mentioned in verse 9.

gave willingly unto the people.] As Josiah furnished the paschal lambs and goats for the entire number of the people (*i.e.* the laity) present (see verse 7), the "princes" can only have given them cattle for thank offerings.

unto the priests.] For the poor families of their own order the leading priests furnished both passover-cattle, and cattle for thank offerings. The chief Levites acted similarly towards the poor Levitical families. (See the next verse.)

10. *The priests stood in their place.*] See note on ch. xxx. 16.

11. *The priests sprinkled the blood.*] Compare ch. xxx. 16.

the Levites flayed them.] See ch. xxix. 34, and note ad loc.

12. *They removed the burnt offerings.*] They separated off from the rest of the paschal lambs those parts which were, in this as in every case of an offering, to be burnt on the altar, viz., the fat, the kidneys, and the excrescence of the liver. These parts they gave to the offerers, who took them up to the altar and handed them to the officiating priests.

that they might give according to the divisions of the families of the people, to offer unto the Lord.] Rather, "to give them to the people according to the divisions of the families, that they might offer them to the Lord."

as it is written.] See Lev. iii. 6-16.

13. *They roasted . . . according to the ordinance.*] See Ex. xii. 9; Deut. xvi. 7.

the other holy offerings sod they.] That the flesh of those offerings which the worshippers consumed was usually boiled, is implied in the command that the paschal lamb should not be "sodden" (Ex. l. s. c.). It is also clearly indicated by the statement of the "priest's custom" in 1 S. ii. 13-15.

14. *In offering of burnt offerings and the fat.*] This seems to be an instance of the figure *hendiadys*. The fat was a part of the burnt offering. (See note on verse 12.)

ings and the fat until night; therefore the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron.

15 And the singers the sons of Asaph *were* in their [†] place, according to the [ε] commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters [h] *waited* at every gate; they might not depart from their service; for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

16 So all the service of the LORD was prepared the same day, to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the altar of the LORD, according to the commandment of king Josiah.

17 And the children of Israel that were [†] present kept the passover at that time, and the feast of unleavened bread seven days.

18 And there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

19 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept.

20 ¶ [i] After all this, when Josiah had prepared the [†] temple, Necho king of Egypt came up to fight against Charchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him.

21 But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? *I come* not against thee this day, but against [†] the house wherewith I have war: for

† Heb. *station.*
ε 1 Chron. 25. 1, &c.
h 1 Chron. 9. 17. & 26. 14.
† Heb. *found.*
i 2 Kin. 23. 29.
† Heb. *house.*
† Heb. *the house of my war.*

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15. *The singers the sons of Asaph.*] Rather, "sons of Asaph." The singing Levites, like the other divisions of the body, were divided into "courses" (1 Chr. xxv. 8-31), each of which took the temple service in turn. Originally, the order was determined by lot, and the first lot fell to a course of the sons of Asaph. (1 Chr. xxv. 8, 9.) Probably this course retained its presidency over the rest, and now commenced in the temple the restored choral service.

according to the commandment, &c.] Connect this clause with the word "place." They stood, as David and his choir-masters had arranged for their standing.

Jeduthun the king's seer.] See note on ch. xxix. 30. Some critics propose to read "seers" for "seer;" but the change is not necessary.

the porters waited at every gate.] See 1 Chr. xxvi. 14-18.

they might not depart.] This clause refers to the singers and porters equally. Both remained at their posts, while other Levites sacrificed for them and brought them their shares of the lambs.

17. *The children of Israel.*] "Israel" is used here generally of the whole people, as in verse 3, and in the first clause of verse 18. The emphasis is on the latter part of the sentence, and especially on the last two words —"seven days." The last *great* passover had been kept for fourteen days. (See above, ch. xxx. 23.)

18. *There was no passover like to that.*] See note on 2 K. xxiii. 22.

Judah and Israel.] Here "Israel" designates the remnant of the Ten Tribes, a portion of which, it is evident, attended the passover.

20. *After all this.*] Thirteen years after, in B.C. 608. For this period Jewish history is an absolute blank, since we can gather nothing certain from Jeremiah. It is not improbable that into this space fell the great invasion of the Scythians, who overran all Western Asia between the years B.C. 633 and B.C. 605, and who certainly came into these parts. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, met them at Ascalon, on the extreme frontier of Philistia towards Egypt (Herod. ii. 105); and in the valley of the Jordan they occupied permanently the old Canaanitish city of Bethshan. Otherwise, their raid into Lower Syria seems to have been hasty, and, though it must have created great alarm, to have left no permanent impression. Allusions to it perhaps occur in Jer. vi. 1-5 and Zeph. ii. 6. Other effects of the same movement are noticed by Ezekiel (ch. xxxviii. and xxxix.)

Necho . . . came up to fight against Charchemish.] Rather, "at Charchemish." Necho's object was to engage the Assyrian (or rather the Babylonian) forces, which he expected to find in the vicinity of Charchemish—at this time the chief city of Northern Syria.

21. *The house wherewith I have war.*] Doubts have been cast on this rendering, but it is defended by Maurer and Keil; and

God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from *meddling with* God, who *is* with me, that he destroy thee not.

22 Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo.

23 And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore †wounded.

† Heb. *made sick.*

24 His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried ‖in *one of* the sepulchres of his fathers. And *k*all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.

‖ Or, *among the sepulchres.*

k Zech. 12. 11.

25 ¶ And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in

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certainly no better explanation of the existing text has been suggested. If we accept it we must suppose Necho to view Babylon as the successor and representative of Assyria —the hereditary enemy of Egypt—and to mean that he is merely continuing an old hostility with which Josiah has nothing to do. No doubt the Assyrian and Egyptian armies had often passed up and down Syria by the coast route, without approaching Jerusalem, or even touching the soil of Judæa.

God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from God.] These are remarkable words in the mouth of a heathen; but they are not without a parallel in the remains of ancient Egypt that have come down to us. Piankhi, for instance, king of Egypt, about B.C. 750, says in an inscription which has been translated by the Rev. Canon Cook,—"Didst thou not know that the Divine shade was over me? I have not acted without His knowledge; He commanded my acts." (ll. 67-69.) It would seem, therefore, that the Egyptian kings, in a certain sense, acknowledged a single supreme God, and considered their actions to be inspired by Him. Thus the explanations, that Necho referred to a prophecy of Jeremiah's, whereof he had heard (Apoc. Esd. i. 26), and used the word "Elohim" as the proper name of the God of the Jews; or that he alluded to some oracle which he had received—perhaps one from Branchidæ (see Herod. ii. 158)—are unnecessary. He merely expressed himself as Egyptian kings were in the habit of doing.

22. *Disguised himself.*] So Gesenius; and the word used may certainly have this meaning. (See 1 K. xxii. 34.) But most modern critics are dissatisfied with this sense in this place, and prefer to render "equipped himself," or else to alter the reading. (See additional note at the end of the chapter.)

the words of Necho from the mouth of God.] Perhaps this means no more than "the message which Necho *professed* to have received from God;" (compare ch. xviii. 23) or possibly the author may have regarded Necho's words as actually prophetic — a warning whereto Josiah ought to have listened—sent him by God to make him pause—though not spoken by divine inspiration, or in consequence of any supernatural revelation of the divine will to the Egyptian king. (Compare the "prophecy" of Caiaphas, John xi. 51.)

in the valley of Megiddo.] See note on 2 K. xxiii. 29.

23. *The archers shot.*] The light troops of the Egyptians were chiefly archers. Bodies of such troops are frequently represented on the monuments. (Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. i. pp. 291, 391, &c.)

24. *The second chariot.*] Probably a chariot reserved especially for flight, lighter perhaps than a war-chariot, and drawn by fleeter horses.

and he died.] Not at Jerusalem, but before he reached it. (See 2 K. xxiii. 30.)

in one of the sepulchres of his fathers.] See note on 2 K. l. s. c.

all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.] The fate of Josiah was unprecedented. No king of Judah had, up to this time, fallen in battle. None had left his land at the mercy of a foreign conqueror. Hence the extraordinary character of the mourning, of which we have a fuller account in Zechariah (xii. 11-14).

25. *Jeremiah lamented for Josiah.*] Some find Jeremiah's lament in the entire Book of Lamentations; others in a part of it (ch. iv.). But most critics are of opinion that the lament is lost. It is perhaps open to doubt whether a formal written composition is here intended.

all the singing men . . . . spake of Josiah in their lamentations.] Days of calamity were commemorated by lamentations on their anniversaries, and this among the number. The minstrels, male and female, sang dirges on

their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they *are* written in the lamentations.

26 Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his †goodness, according to *that which was* written in the law of the LORD,

27 And his deeds, first and last, behold, they *are* written in the book of the kings of Israel *and* Judah.

† Heb. *kindnesses.*

these occasions, some of which were thought worthy of insertion in the "Book of Dirges"—a collection of such poems which once existed but is now lost.

and made them an ordinance.] Rather, "and they made them an ordinance," those *i.e.* who had authority to do so, not the minstrels.

26. *His goodness.*] Rather, "his good deeds." (See ch. xxxii. 32.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 22. "Disguised himself."

Houbigant originally suggested, and Bertheau approves, the reading of התחזק for התחפש in this place. This would give the meaning, "he took courage to fight with him." (Compare the Septuagint, πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκρατιώθη). Prof. Lee considers that the proper meaning of התחפש is, "he equipped himself."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *Jehoahaz succeeding is deposed by Pharaoh, and carried into Egypt.* 5 *Jehoiakim reigning ill is carried bound into Babylon.* 9 *Jehoiachin succeeding reigneth ill, and is brought into Babylon.* 11 *Zedekiah succeeding reigneth ill, and despiseth the prophets, and rebelleth against Nebuchadnezzar.* 14 *Jerusalem, for the sins of the priests and people, is wholly destroyed.* 22 *The proclamation of Cyrus.*

[a] 2 Kin. 23. 30, &c.

THEN [a]the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in Jerusalem.

2 Jehoahaz *was* twenty and three years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.

3 And the king of Egypt †put him down at Jerusalem, and †condemned the land in an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.

† Heb. *removed him.*

† Heb. *mulcted.*

4 And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim. And Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.

CHAP. XXXVI. The author ends his work with the briefest possible sketch of the four reigns which followed on the reign of Josiah (verses 1-13); after which, he gives a summary of the moral causes which led to the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity (verses 14-16); describes shortly those two events (verses 17-21); and then turns suddenly to the proclamation of Cyrus, therewith somewhat abruptly concluding. The narrative runs parallel with 2 Kings as far as verse 13, being thus far little more than an epitome of the history contained in 2 K. xxiii. 30-37; xxiv. 1-20; and xxv. 1-3. From verse 13 the writer ceases to follow in the footsteps of the earlier historian, omitting wholly the events described in 2 K. xxv. 8-30, and substituting a sketch in which the moral and didactic element preponderates over the historical. The chapter scarcely adds anything to our knowledge of the later history of the Jewish kingdom; but it was requisite to complete the design of the work, which aimed at tracing the fortunes of the Jewish people from the death of Saul to the return under Zerubbabel.

1. *Jehoahaz.*] See notes on 2 K. xxiii. 32-34.

3. *The king of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem.*] "Necho," *i.e.* "put an end to Jehoahaz's reign at Jerusalem." It does not follow from this passage that Necho himself went there.

5 ¶ Jehoiakim *was* twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD his God.

6 Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in [1]fetters, to carry him to Babylon.

[1] Or, *chains.*

7 [b]Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.

[b] 2 Kin. 24. 13. Dan. 1. 1, 2.

8 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him, behold, they *are* written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah: and [1]Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

[1] Or, *Jeconiah*, 1 Chron. 3. 16. or, *Coniah*, Jer. 22. 24.

9 ¶ [c]Jehoiachin *was* eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem: and he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD.

[c] 2 Kin. 24. 8.

10 And [†]when the year was expired, king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought him to Babylon, with the [†]goodly vessels of the house of the LORD, and made [1]Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

[†] Heb. *at the return of the year.*

[†] Heb. *vessels of desire.*

[1] Or, *Mattaniah*, 2 Kin. 24. 17.

11 ¶ [d]Zedekiah *was* one and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned eleven years in Jerusalem.

[d] Jer. 52. 1, &c. 2 Kin. 24. 18

12 And he did *that which was* evil in the sight of the LORD his God, *and* humbled not himself before

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5. *Jehoiakim.*] See notes on 2 K. xxiii. 34-37, and xxiv. 1-6.

7. *Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon.*] This is not related in the corresponding portion of Kings; but it is confirmed by Dan. i. 2.

in his temple.] Compare the expressions in Daniel (l. s. c.)—"the house of *his god.*" Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions shew him to have been the especial votary of Merodach (or Bel-Merodach) the Babylonian Mars; and it is no doubt to the temple of this god at Babylon that the author of Chronicles here refers. This temple, which the Greeks called the temple of Belus, was one of the most magnificent buildings in Babylon. The descriptions of it given by Herodotus (i. 181-183) and Diodorus (ii. 9, § 4-8) are well known. Its ruins still remain in the vast mound, called by the natives *Babil*, which is the loftiest and most imposing of the "heaps" that mark the site of the ancient city. ('Ancient Monarchies,' iii. 352-354.)

8. *His abominations which he did.*] See Jer. vii. 9, 30, 31; xix. 3-13; xxv. 8; &c. Jehoiakim appears to have restored all the idolatries which Josiah his father had swept away.

that which was found in him.] Most Jewish, and some Christian, commentators explain this as meaning that Jehoiakim had marked his body with the names, figures, or symbols of the false gods which he worshipped. But there is no evidence of any such custom having existed at this period. Probably nothing more is meant by the phrase, than simply "the *evil* that was found in him"—in other words, "the evil deeds that he did."

9. *Jehoiachin was eight years old.*] This must be corrected from 2 K. xxiv. 8, where Jehoiachin's age at his accession is given as "eighteen." A boy of eight would not have been said to have "done evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done" (2 K. xxiv. 9). Besides, Jehoiachin had several wives (ib. verse 15), and (apparently) at least one child (Jer. xxii. 28), when, three months later, he was carried captive to Babylon.

three months and ten days.] Here our author is more exact than the writer of Kings, who says that Jehoiachin reigned "three months."

10. *When the year was expired.*] Literally, "at the return of the year"—*i. e.* "at the return of the season for military expeditions." The expedition against Jehoiakim took place probably late in the autumn of one year, that against Jehoiachin, early in the spring of the next.

king Nebuchadnezzar sent.] Compare 2 K. xxiv. 10. Shortly afterwards Nebuchadnezzar seems to have arrived in person.

with the goodly vessels.] "The vessels of gold." (2 K. xxiv. 13.)

Zedekiah his brother.] Strictly speaking, Zedekiah was uncle to Jehoiachin, being the youngest of the sons of Josiah (1 Chr. iii. 15; 2 K. xxiv. 17, 18). As, however, he was nearly of the same age with Jehoiachin, he is called here his "brother." (Compare Gen. xiv. 14.)

11. *Zedekiah.*] See notes on 2 K. xxiv. 17-20, xxv. 1-7.

12. *He . . . humbled not himself before Jere-*

Jeremiah the prophet *speaking* from the mouth of the LORD.

13 And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God: but he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto the LORD God of Israel.

14 ¶ Moreover all the chief of the priests, and the people, transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen; and polluted the house of the LORD which he had hallowed in Jerusalem.

15 And the LORD God of their fathers sent to them †by his messengers, rising up ‖betimes, and sending; because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place:

16 But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD arose against his people, till *there was* no †remedy.

17 Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age: he gave *them* all into his hand.

18 And all the vessels of the house

e Jer. 25. 3. & 35. 15.

† Heb. *by the hand of his messengers.*

‖ That is, *continually and carefully.*

† Heb. *healing.*

f 2 Kin. 25. 1, &c.

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miah.] See Jer. xxi. 1-7, xxiv. 1-10, xxvii. 12-22, xxxii. 3-5, xxxiv. 1-22, xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 5, 6, 14-28. Zedekiah's dealings with Jeremiah exhibit him as a weak, rather than a wicked man. He had a friendly feeling towards the prophet, a belief in his supernatural gifts, and a desire to shield him from the violence of the nobles, who sought his life. But he had not sufficient strength of character —perhaps not sufficient firmness of faith—to adopt the course which the prophet recommended, to impose his will upon the nobles, or even to protect Jeremiah from them boldly and openly. He was a man of half measures, timid, impressible, vacillating. He strove to reconcile an acknowledgement of Jehovah with disobedience to his expressed will, kindliness towards Jeremiah with complaisance towards his persecutors, renewal of the covenant with flagrant transgressions of its plain requirements (Jer. xxxiv. 8-21). Better disposed than any of the later monarchs except Josiah, he nevertheless brought his country to destruction. Having neither sufficient wisdom to perceive what the course of political affairs was likely to be, nor sufficient faith to accept the authoritative announcements made to him of what the course was to be, he undertook an impossible task, and ruined both himself and his country.

13. *He . . . rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God.*] Compare Ezek. xvii. 13, 18, 19. Some suppose that this oath of allegiance was taken by Zedekiah in his fourth year, when it is thought he went in person to Babylon (Jer. li. 59); but it is most probable and most consonant with Ezek. xvii. 12, 13, to regard the oath as taken when he was first installed in his kingdom. On Zedekiah's sin in breaking his oath, see Ezek. xvii. 18-20, xxi. 25.

14. *Moreover.*] Compare with this passage (verses 14-17) the similar, but much longer, justification of God's rejection of the Ten Tribes, contained in 2 K. xvii. 7-23.

the priests, and the people . . . polluted the house of the Lord.] It appears from Ezekiel that towards the close of Zedekiah's reign idolatrous rites of several different kinds were intruded into the sacred precincts of the temple. In the outer court, towards the north, Hebrew women wept and wailed for Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 14); in subterranean chambers beneath the court incense was offered by the elders to the forms of creeping things and abominable beasts, pourtrayed upon the wall round about (ib. 10, 11); while at the entrance to the temple-building itself, between the porch and the altar, there were those who bowed themselves down before the rising sun, turning their backs to the sanctuary, and worshipping with their faces towards the east (ib. 16).

15. *His messengers.*] *I.e.* the prophets. Compare 2 K. xvii. 13.

16. *They mocked the messengers of God.*] See 1 K. xxii. 24; 2 K. ii. 23, vii. 2; 2 Chr. xxv. 16; Jer. xvii. 15, xx. 8, &c.

and misused his prophets.] Rather, "and scoffed at his prophets." The allusion is to verbal mockery, not to persecution.

till there was no remedy.] Compare 2 K. xxiv. 4.

17. *In the house of their sanctuary.*] On the fearful slaughter which took place at the capture of the city, in the courts of the temple itself, see Ezek. ix. 6, 7; and compare Lam. ii. 7, 20.

18. *All the vessels of the house of God.*]

of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all *these* he brought to Babylon.

19 And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof.

† Heb. *the remainder from the sword.*

20 And †them that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia:

[e] Jer. 25. 9, 12. & 29. 10.
[h] Lev. 26. 34, 35, 43.

21 To fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of [e] Jeremiah, until the land [h] had enjoyed her sabbaths: *for* as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

[i] Ezra 1. 1

22 ¶ [i] Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD *spoken* by the mouth of [k] Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, saying,

[k] Jer. 25. 12, 13. & 29. 10.

23 Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD God of heaven given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah. Who *is there* among you of all his people? The LORD his God *be* with him, and let him go up.

Compare 2 K. xxv. 14, 15, where the vessels are enumerated.

20. *Them that escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon.*] See 2 K. xxv. 7, 11; and on the number carried away, see Jer. lii. 28-30.

where they were servants.] Or, "slaves." They were probably employed by Nebuchadnezzar in the forced labour which his great works necessitated.

to him and his sons.] Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach (2 K. xxv. 27), and, after an interval, by his grandson, Laborosoarchod or Labossoracus. The writer, however, intends probably to include under the word "sons," all Nebuchadnezzar's successors in the independent sovereignty of Babylon.

21. *To fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah.*] See Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10. The seventy years of desolation prophesied of by Jeremiah, commenced in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxv. 1 and 12; compare Dan. i. 1), or B.C. 605; and should therefore have terminated, if they were fully complete, in B.C. 536. As, however, the historical date of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus is B.C. 538, or two years earlier, it has been usual to suppose that the Jews reckoned "the reign of the kingdom of Persia" as commencing two years after the capture of Babylon, on the death or supersession of "Darius the Mede." (See Clinton's 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. ii., Appendix, ch. xviii. pp. 301-312.) But less violence is done to Jeremiah's words by regarding the term "seventy" as having the inexact sense usual in a *round* number, and the prophecy as sufficiently fulfilled by a desolation which lasted sixty-eight years.

until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths.] Compare Lev. xxvi. 34, 35. The idea that the duration of the desolation was determined in the Divine counsels by the number of the neglected sabbatical years, and that the enforced fallow was intended to compensate for previous unlawful cultivation, is not found in Jeremiah, and indeed appears only in Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, and in this place. Calculations have been made, based upon the numerical data furnished by this passage, as to the time when the neglect commenced; but it is impossible that any conclusion on this point should be arrived at, since there is no reason to suppose that the neglect was continuous. All that we can legitimately conclude is, that between the time of Moses and the commencement of the captivity, there had been (about) 70 occasions on which the law of the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 4-7) had been violated.

22. *Now in the first year.*] This and the next verse are repeated *verbatim* at the commencement of the book of Ezra (verses 1-3), which was, it is probable, originally a continuation of Chronicles, Chronicles and Ezra together forming one work. As the passage is more closely connected with what follows than with what precedes, its illustration will be reserved for the notes to Ezra.

EZRA.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF EZRA.

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THOUGH the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah were undoubtedly regarded as one Book in two parts, both by the Jewish Church and by the early Christian Fathers,[1] yet the judgment of modern criticism, that they were originally two distinct works,[2] seems to be, on the whole, deserving of our acceptance. The general style of the two Books is indeed similar; but still there are sufficient differences in the composition to mark distinct authorship.[3] Nehemiah, moreover, opens in a way which indicates that it is not a continuation of any previous narrative,[4] but a separate and substantive work, standing on its own basis. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah require, therefore, to be considered separately as much as if they had never been joined in one, and designated by a single appellation.

1. Scope of the Work.

The object of the writer of Ezra is to give an account of the Return from the Captivity, and of the subsequent fortunes of the Palestinian Jews until the eighth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 457. His work is a plain and simple history, and is devoid of all stirring incidents, the Jews under the early Persian monarchs being members of a great settled empire, and living peaceably in the enjoyment of equal rights with other Persian subjects. The matters to which he directs attention are three and three only:—1. The number, family, and (to some extent) the names of those who returned from Babylonia with Ezra and with Zerubbabel; 2. The rebuilding of the temple and the circumstances connected therewith; and 3. The misconduct of the returned Jews in respect of mixed marriages, and the steps taken by Ezra in consequence. The first of these subjects is treated in ch. ii. and in ch. viii. 1-20; the second in chs. i., iii.-v., and vii.; and the third in chs. ix. and x.

2. Division of the Work into Two Portions.

The Book of Ezra is made up of two completely distinct sections. In the first, which extends from ch. i. to the

[1] See 'Baba bathra,' fol. 14, c. 2; Joseph. 'c. Apion.,' i. 8; Hieron. 'Prolog. galeat.,' § 27; Melit. ap. Euseb. 'Hist. Eccl.' iv. 26. Origen is the first writer who notes a division of the Book into two parts, corresponding to our "Ezra" and "Nehemiah" (ap. Euseb. 'H. E.' vi., § 25.)

[2] De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 195.

[3] Nehemiah (as De Wette observes, § 197 a) has a manner quite peculiar to himself ("schreibt in seiner ganz eigenthümlichen Weise"): and uses many words and phrases which are not found in Ezra. For instance, speaking in his own person, he terms the Almighty "the God *of Heaven*" (Neh. i. 4, 5; ii. 4, 20), a phrase which in Ezra occurs only in the mouths of heathen; and his manner of interspersing short prayers in his narrative (ch. iv. 4, 5; v. 19; vi. 9, 14; xiii. 14, 22, 31) is quite unique.

[4] "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah" (Neh. i. 1).

end of ch. vi., the writer treats of the Return from the Captivity and of the events following thereupon, and included within the space marked out by the dates B.C. 538-516. This narrative thus covers a period of twenty-three years. It belongs to the time when Zerubbabel was governor of Judæa, Jeshua high-priest, and Zechariah and Haggai prophets. The second portion commences with ch. vii. and continues to the end of the Book. It relates the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus in the seventh year of his reign (B.C. 458), the journey of Ezra to Jerusalem, and his proceedings there in reference to the mixed marriages during the year of his arrival and the early part of the next. The entire narrative of this portion is comprised within the space of twelve months, commencing April, B.C. 458 and terminating April, B.C. 457. There is thus a gap of fifty-seven years between the first section of the Book and the second; from which it appears that the writer of the second portion cannot well have been a witness of the events recorded in the first, since he lives in the second generation after them.

3. Author.

Jewish tradition ascribes the Book of Ezra to Ezra.[1] Modern critics generally admit that a portion of the work is from his hand, but ascribe the compilation of the whole to some unknown author, whom they mostly allow to have been a contemporary.[2] The ground of this belief is the varying use of the first and the third person in the second section of the work, from ch. vii. 1 to the end.[3] It is thought that Ezra himself, had he written the Book, would have kept uniformly to one person or the other. But exactly parallel changes of person occur in the Book of Daniel,[4] which there is good reason to regard as the work of Daniel himself and not of a compiler; changes, too, not very dissimilar, occur in the nearly contemporary Greek writer, Thucydides.[5] The uniformity of style between the section where the first and those where the third person is used[6] is in favour of their having proceeded from the same writer; and, on the whole, the conclusion that Ezra was the original and sole author of the entire second section (chs. vii.-x.) seems to be the most probable hypothesis.

With respect to the first section, the authorship of Ezra, if it be maintained, must stand on a different footing. The history of events removed from his time by the space of from fifty to eighty years, cannot have been written by Ezra at first hand, but must have been obtained by him from inquiries or from documents. The first section of the Book is thus a compilation; the second is an original work. If we go further and inquire what the materials probably were of which Ezra made use in compiling his narrative of the events between B.C. 538 and B.C. 516, the answer would seem to be that a record of the chief points of the history was kept by some of those who accompanied Zerubbabel to Jerusalem, after

[1] 'Baba bathra,' l. s. c.

[2] Keil maintains the absolute authorship of Ezra. Bertheau and De Wette regard Ezra as the author of the section from ch. vii. 12 to ch. ix. 15. The Bp. of Bath and Wells ascribes to Ezra the last four chapters.

[3] The third person is used from ch. vii. 1 to 11; the first from ch. vii. 27 to ch. ix. 15; the third again throughout ch. x.

[4] Daniel uses the third person from ch. i. to ch. vii. 2; the first from ch. vii. 2 to ch. ix. 27; the third in ch. x. 1, and the first from ch. x. 2 to the end.

[5] Thucydides begins his history in the third person (i. 1), but changes to the first after a few chapters (i. 20-22). Further on, in book iv., he resumes the third (chs. 104-106). In book v. ch. 26, he begins in the third, but runs on into the first, which he again uses in book viii., ch. 97.

[6] The peculiar expression, "according to the hand of the Lord his God upon him," is found twice in the opening passage of ch. vii. (verses 6-8), where the third person is used, and three times in the subsequent passage (ch. vii. 28; viii. 22 and 31), where the narrative runs in the first person. The careful mention of both the day and month, which characterises the former, distinguishes no less the latter passage. (Compare vii. 9 with viii. 31, and both with x. 9, 16, and 17.) The mention of the people, the priests, and the Levites, *in that order*, is found in vii. 7, in viii. 15, and in ix. 1. The temple is spoken of as "the House of God," and not as "the temple" at all, alike in the passage where the first person is used (vii. 16, 17, 19, 20, 27; viii. 17, 25, 29, 30, 33, 36), and in the later of the two passages which run in the third person (x. 1, 6, 9).

the model of the records kept during the Captivity by Daniel, and before it by the various prophets who composed the annals of the several kings. The edict of Cyrus (Ezr. i. 2-4) was no doubt brought by the Jews from Babylon, and carefully preserved by them as the charter of their liberties. Lists of the vessels restored to the temple service (ib. 9-11) from the Babylonian treasury, of the numbers and families of those who returned (ch. ii. 2-64), of their servants, (ib. 65), their cattle (ib. 66, 67), and their offerings (ib. 69), were probably made out by Zechariah or Haggai. The letters of Rehum (ch. iv. 9-16), of the Pseudo-Smerdis (Artaxerxes, ib. 17-22), of Tatnai, (ch. v. 3-17), and of Darius in reply (ch. vi. 3-12), were state documents, which would, as a matter of course, have been preserved in the Jewish, and also in the Persian, archives. These constitute the great bulk of Ezra's first section, occupying 112 verses out of 157, or considerably more than two-thirds of the whole. These documents may possibly have been accompanied by a memoir from the pen of Haggai or Zechariah; but the unity of style[1] in Ezra is against his having inserted any such memoir bodily into his work. If, as many think, he obtained the facts of the history in this way, it would seem that he re-wrote the whole in his own words.

4. Date.

It is probable that the Book of Ezra was composed soon after the arrangements with respect to the mixed marriages had been completed; *i.e.* in B.C. 457 or 456. At any rate, it must almost certainly have been written before Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem from Susa in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 445; since otherwise it is scarcely possible that so important an event as his coming should not have been mentioned in it.

[1] Not only does a uniformity of style pervade the second section (chs. vii.-x.), as shown in the preceding note, but the style of the first section (chs. i.-vi.) has likewise many points of resemblance with that of the second. For instance, in both we have the same exactness with respect to dates (compare iii. 6; vi. 15; and vi. 19 with vii. 9; viii. 31; x. 9, 16, and 17); the same careful insertion of catalogues or lists (compare i. 9-11, and ii. 2-67, with viii. 2-14; viii. 26, 27; and x. 18-43); the same alternate use of Hebrew and Chaldee; the same preference of the expression "house of God" or "house of the Lord" over "temple" (compare i. *passim*; ii. 68; iii. 8, 9, 11, 12; iv. 3; v. 2; vi. 16, 17, 22, with the passages quoted towards the close of the preceding note); the same designation of the Israelites who returned from Babylon as "children of the captivity" (compare iv. 1; vi. 16, 19, 20; with viii. 35, x. 7 and x. 16), or as men of "Judah and Benjamin" (compare i. 5 and iv. 1 with x. 9); the same pointed and frequent mention of Levites (compare ii. 70; iii. 8, 9, 10; vi. 16, 18, 20, with viii. 15-19, 29, 30, 33; ix. 1; x. 5, 15); the same habit of referring to the law as "the law of Moses" or "the book of Moses" (compare iii. 2, and vi. 18, with viii. 6); the same pleonastic addition of the royal title ("the king") to the names of Persian monarchs (compare i. 7; iv. 23; v. 13, 14, 17; vi. 3 with vii. 7; vii. 11; and viii. 1); the same fondness for the phrase "chief of the fathers" (compare i. 5; ii. 68; iv. 2, 3, with viii. 1; viii. 19, and x. 16); the same enumeration of the Israelites under six classes, the people, the priests, the Levites, the singers, the porters, and the Nethinim (compare ii. 70 with vii. 7); the same designation of the heathen brought into contact with the returned Israelites as "the people of the land" or "of the lands" (compare iii. 3 and iv. 4 with ix. 1; ix. 2; and x. 2;) and the same habit of designating the Almighty as "the God of Israel" (compare iii. 2; vi. 14; and iv. 22 with viii. 35, and ix. 15), or "the Lord God of Israel" (compare iv. 1, 3; vi. 21 with vii. 6). Note that this mode of designating the Almighty, though common in Chronicles, is not found in Daniel or Haggai, or Zechariah, or Nehemiah, or Malachi. Further, a considerable number of the words used only by Ezra occur both in the first and in the second section of the book, *e.g.*, כפור, "a bason" (i. 10 and viii. 27); בלו, מנדה, and חלך, "toll, tribute and custom" (iv. 13, 20, and vii. 24); נשתון, "a letter" (iv. 7 and vii. 11); מלח, "salt" (iv. 14, and vii. 22); בית גנזיא, "a treasure-house" (v. 17, and vii. 20); כענת, "and so forth" (iv. 10, 11, and vii. 12), &c. There is also a marked correspondence between portions of the first part and of the second, which seems indicative of one hand, as between the decree in ch. i. 2-4, and the letter in ch. vii. 11-26; between the enumeration of vessels in ch. i. 9-11, and the similar enumeration in ch. viii. 26, 27; between the catalogue of persons in ch. ii. 2-64, and the similar catalogue in ch viii. 2-20; between the headings of the catalogues (ch. ii. 1 and ch. viii. 1); and between the account of the offerings in ch. vi. 17, and the similar account in ch. viii. 35. So far as the subject allows, the same points are brought forward in the first part and in the second, and nearly in the same order. And the treatment of the points is for the most part similar.

Most probably Ezra, who seems to have had only a temporary commission (ch. vii. 14), returned to the Persian Court when he had carried through the matter of the marriages, and either a little before or a little after his return wrote the Book which has come down to us. Thus only can we account for the somewhat abrupt conclusion, which would be natural if the affair of the marriages had very recently occupied him, but not otherwise. We may name, therefore, with some confidence, as the date of the work, the year B.C. 457, or at the latest, the year following.

5. Characteristics.

Like the Books which precede and follow it, both in the Alexandrian and in the Hebrew Canon,[1] the Book of Ezra is historical. It is pervaded in the main by the same spirit as the Books of Chronicles.[2] Like Chronicles, it lays a great stress on the externals of religion—on the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the temple service; on the re-establishment of the courses (ch. vi. 18), the observance of the feasts (ch. iii. 4; vi. 19, 22), the restoration of the holy vessels (i. 7-11; vii. 19; viii. 24-30, 33, 34), and the like. Again, like Chronicles, it gives special prominence to the Levites, who, though few in number (ii. 40; viii. 15-19), have important functions assigned them (iii. 8; vi. 20), and are constantly mentioned in conjunction with the priests and people (i. 5; ii. 70; iii. 8, 10, 12; vi. 16, 18, 20; viii. 29, 30, 33; ix. 1; x. 5; &c.). It likewise exhibits a genealogical bias, and an inclination to put on record the names of persons engaged in any of the events narrated, even when the persons play no further part in the history.[3] If it does not insist with as much simplicity and directness as Chronicles on the regulation of the entire course of mundane affairs by the Divine agency, it nevertheless lays down very distinctly the general principle of a special Providence (viii. 22);[4] and it applies this principle to particular points of the history not unfrequently.[5] Ezra is not perhaps pervaded altogether by so cheerful a tone as Chronicles. The shortcomings of his people seem to present themselves more vividly to the writer's thoughts, while at the same time he more distinctly recognises the weak and low estate of the restored community, compared with that of the nation before it was led away captive. Joy and grief struggle together in his soul, as they did in the assembly which witnessed the foundation of the second temple (iii. 11-13), and it is not easy to tell which preponderates. On the whole, however, he leaves us with the impression that things will go well with his nation; since the special sin which had caused him well nigh to despair of their future was repented of and put away from among them. Thus even here he reproduces the tone of Chronicles, though more faintly, and with something of hesitancy.

In style Ezra more resembles Daniel than any other Book of Scripture, always excepting Chronicles. The mixture of Chaldee with Hebrew it has in common with both Daniel and Jeremiah; but its language and phrases are unlike Jeremiah's, while they are often very near to Daniel's.[6] This may be accounted for by these two writers being both Babylonian Jews, while Jeremiah was perhaps never at Babylon, and at any rate formed his style and wrote most of his prophecies in Palestine. Ezra's tone is dignified and nearly uniform, the only passage which rises into eloquence being his prayer (ch. ix. 6-15) which is not unlike Daniel's (ch. ix. 4-19). His work contains a considerable number of words which are

[1] In the Hebrew Ezra is preceded by Esther and Daniel, followed by Nehemiah and Chronicles. In the Septuagint version it has the place between Chronicles and Nehemiah, which it occupies in our own.

[2] See 'Introduction to Chronicles,' § 9.

[3] See ch. i. 8; ii. 2-61; iii. 9; iv. 7, 8; v. 3; vii. 1-5; viii. 2-14, 16, 18, 19, 33; x. 2, 15, 18-43.

[4] "The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him."

[5] See v. 5; vii. 9, 28; viii. 23, 31; ix. 7, 9, 14; x. 14.

[6] Compare Ezr. i. 7 with Dan. i. 2; Ezr. i. 2; v. 11, &c. with Dan. ii. 18, 19, &c.; Ezr. iii. 2 with Dan. ix. 11; Ezr. vi. 10 with Dan. ii. 46; Ezr. vi. 11 with Dan. ii. 5 and iii. 29; Ezr. ix. 7 with Dan. ix. 7, 8, &c.

either known or suspected to be Persian,[7] and which are either peculiar to him, or common to him with writers of the post-captivity period only. Altogether, the language is such as might have been looked for under the circumstances of the time, when the contact into which the Jews had been brought with the Babylonians and the Persians had naturally introduced among them a good many foreign words and modes of speech.

6. Condition of the Text.

The text of Ezra is not in a good condition. Corruptions are frequent in it, more especially in names and numerals. The number of variant readings is considerable; and some places, where there is no variant reading, seem to require emendation. The general bearing of the narrative is, however, untouched by these slight blemishes, which affect chiefly such minute points as the names and numbers of those who returned from the Captivity, the weight and number of the sacrificial vessels, and the like.

7. Authenticity of the History.

The authenticity of the history of Ezra is scarcely denied. As the narrative contains nothing miraculous, nothing even out of the common course, except the restoration of the Jews to their country, which is too certain a fact to be called in question, rationalistic critics have been under no temptation to throw doubt on this portion of the sacred writings. If the author be Ezra, it is manifest that the latter section (chs. vii.-end), considered as a mere human work, possesses the highest degree of historical credibility, being written by the chief actor in the scenes recorded in it. And even for the former section (chs. i.-vi.), a person circumstanced as Ezra was, would be in a position to write an authentic narrative, since he would have access to whatever documents existed either in the archives of the Jews, or in those of the Persians, and might further obtain from old men oral testimony with respect to most of the events commemorated. Internally, too, the narrative is highly probable, the actions and characters assigned to the several Persian kings being in accord with what we learn of them from profane writers, and the conduct of the Samaritans (chs. iv. and v.), and of the Jews themselves (chs. ix. and x.), being natural under the circumstances.

[7] See Appendix, note A, "On the Persian Words in Ezra."

EZRA.

CHAPTER I.

1 The proclamation of Cyrus for the building of the temple. 5 The people provide for the return. 7 Cyrus restoreth the vessels of the temple to Sheshbazzar.

NOW in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD [a] by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he [†] made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, saying,

[a] 2 Chron. 36. 22. Jer. 25. 12. & 29. 10.

[†] Heb. *caused a voice to pass.*

2 Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The LORD God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath [b] charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah.

[b] Isa. 44. 28. & 45. 1, 13.

3 Who *is there* among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah, and build the house of the LORD God of Israel, (he *is* the God,) which *is* in Jerusalem.

4 And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place [†] help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that *is* in Jerusalem.

[†] Heb. *lift him up.*

CHAP. I. **1.** *In the first year of Cyrus.*] By the first year of Cyrus is to be understood his first year *at Babylon*, which was the first year of his sovereignty over the Jews. This was B.C. 538.

that the word of the Lord . . . might be fulfilled.] See note on 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21.

2. *The Lord God of Heaven.*] Or, "Jehovah, the God of heaven." In the original Persian, the document probably ran—"Ormazd, the God of heaven." But the Persian original would naturally be accompanied by a Hebrew transcript; and in this transcript "Jehovah" would seem to have been taken as the equivalent of "Ormazd." The Persian notion of a single Supreme Being—Ahura Mazda, "the much-knowing, or much-bestowing Spirit"—did, in fact, approach nearly to the Jewish conception of Jehovah. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iii. p. 97.)

hath given me all the kingdoms, &c.] Compare with the opening sentence of this edict of Cyrus such a formula as the following, which commences an inscription of Darius:—"The Great God, Ormazd, who is the chief of the gods, he established Darius as king; he granted him the empire; by the grace of Ormazd is Darius king." There is a similar formula at the commencement of the great majority of Persian inscriptions.

he hath charged me to build him a house.] It is a reasonable conjecture that, on the capture of Babylon, Cyrus was brought into personal contact with Daniel, and that his attention was drawn by that prophet to the prophecy of Isaiah (xliv. 28)—"That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid." Cyrus probably accepted this prophecy as a "charge" to rebuild the Temple.

3. *He is the God.*] Compare the confession of Darius the Mede, "He is the living God" (Dan. vi. 26); and see above, note 1 on verse 2.

4. *Whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth.*] Rather, "**Whoever** (of the captive people) **is still left, in any place where he has his** (temporary) **abode.**"

let the men of his place help him.] "Let the people among whom he dwells—the heathen population—help him."

besides the free-will offering.] The "offering" here intended is probably that made by Cyrus himself. (See verses 7-11.) Cyrus required his subjects generally to follow his example, and to "help" the Jews out of their stores. (Compare verse 6.)

5 ¶ Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, with all *them* whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the LORD which *is* in Jerusalem.

6 And all they that *were* about them ‖ strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, beside all *that* was willingly offered.

‖ That is, *helped them.*

7 ¶ Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the LORD, [a] which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods;

[a] 2 Kin. 24. 13. 2 Chron. 36. 7.

8 Even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto [b] Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.

[b] See ch. 5. 14.

9 And this *is* the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine and twenty knives,

10 Thirty basons of gold, silver basons of a second *sort* four hundred and ten, *and* other vessels a thousand.

11 All the vessels of gold and of silver *were* five thousand and four hundred. All *these* did Sheshbazzar bring up with *them of* the captivity † that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

† Heb. *the transportation.*

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5. *Then rose up . . . &c.*] The permission of return was granted by Cyrus to all the Israelites (verse 3); but only a portion of them took advantage of it. "Many remained in Babylon," says Josephus, "since they were disinclined to relinquish their property" ('Ant. Jud.' xi. 1). Those who returned were persons whom God had especially stirred up to make sacrifices for his glory.

of Judah and Benjamin.] Compare 1 Chr. ix. 3, where, however, we find that some of those who returned at this time belonged to Manasseh and Ephraim.

with all them.] There is no "with" in the original. The clause is not additional to what goes before, but limitative of it. Only those "fathers, priests, and Levites," went up, whose spirit God had raised.

6. *They that were about them strengthened their hands.*] The decree of Cyrus (verse 4) was obeyed. Their neighbours helped them.

7. *The vessels.*] Compare 2 K. xxv. 14, 15; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7; Jer. xxvii. 21, 22; Dan. v. 2.

Nebuchadnezzar . . . had put them in the house of his gods.] Rather "of his god," as the same expression is translated in Dan. i. 2. Nebuchadnezzar was a special devotee of Merodach, whom he constantly styles "his lord."

8. *Mithredath.*] Or "Mithridates." The occurrence of this name, which means "given by Mithra," or "dedicated to Mithra," is an indication that the Sun-worship of the Persians was at least as old as the time of Cyrus. (Compare Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 3, § 24.)

Sheshbazzar.] It appears from the subsequent narrative, and especially from v. 14, that Sheshbazzar was a name borne by Zerubbabel. (Compare the similar cases of Daniel and the "Three Children.")

the prince of Judah.] On Zerubbabel's royal descent see note on 1 Chr. iii. 19.

9. *Chargers.*] The word used—*agarteley*—occurs only in this passage. Its meaning is doubtful. Some derive it from the Heb. root, *gârat*, "to hollow out," and translate "cup" or "vessel." Others connect it with the Greek *κάρταλλος*, which was a basket pointed at bottom. The LXX. translate *ψυκτῆρες*, "wine-coolers," while Esdras substitutes *σπονδεῖα*, "vessels for holding drink-offerings."

knives.] This is another doubtful word, only used here. Esdras has *θυΐσκαι*, "censers." And the etymology points to some employment of basket-work.

10. *Basons.*] Compare 1 Chr. xxviii. 17.

11. *All the vessels . . . were five thousand and four hundred.*] The sum of the numbers as they stand in the present Hebrew text is 2499, instead of 5400. In Esdras the sum given is 5469, and with this sum the items in that place exactly agree (1 Esd. ii. 13, 14). Most commentators propose to correct Ezra by the passage of Esdras; but the items of Esdras are improbable. The gold "chargers" are made exactly as numerous as the silver ones, which is an unlikely equality, and the silver basons are 2410 against 30 gold ones, which is an improbable difference. Probably the sum total in the present passage has suffered corruption.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The number that return, of the people,* 36 *of the priests,* 40 *of the Levites,* 43 *of the Nethinims,* 55 *of Solomon's servants,* 62 *of the priests which could not shew their pedigree.* 64 *The whole number of them, with their substance.* 68 *Their oblations.*

[c] Neh. 7. 6, &c. NOW [c] these *are* the children of the province that went up out of the captivity, of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city;

2 Which came with Zerubbabel: Jeshua, Nehemiah, [‖] Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mizpar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah. The number of the men of the people of Israel:

[‖] Or, *Azariah,* Neh. 7. 7.

3 The children of Parosh, two thousand an hundred seventy and two.

4 The children of Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.

5 The children of Arah, seven hundred seventy and five.

6 The children of [d] Pahath-moab, of the children of Jeshua *and* Joab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve.

[d] Neh. 7. 11.

7 The children of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

8 The children of Zattu, nine hundred forty and five.

9 The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and threescore.

10 The children of [‖] Bani, six hundred forty and two.

[‖] Or, *Binnui,* Neh. 7. 15.

11 The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three.

12 The children of Azgad, a thousand two hundred twenty and two.

13 The children of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and six.

14 The children of Bigvai, two thousand fifty and six.

15 The children of Adin, four hundred fifty and four.

16 The children of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight.

17 The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and three.

CHAP. II. 1. *The children of the province.*] Judæa was no longer a kingdom, but a mere "province" of Persia. "The children of the province" are the Israelites who returned to Palestine, as distinct from those who remained in Babylonia and Persia. (See below, v. 8, and Neh. i. 3.)

every one unto his city.] That is, to the city whereto his forefathers had belonged. Of course, in the few cases where this was not known (verses 59-62), the plan could not be carried out.

2. *Which came with Zerubbabel.*] Two other copies of this list have come down to us, one in Neh. vii. 7-69, the other in 1 Esd. v. 8-43. All seem to have been taken from the same original document, and to have suffered more or less from corruption. Where two out of the three agree, the reading should prevail over that of the third.

Jeshua, &c.] Jeshua is of course the High Priest. (See note on ch. iii. 2.) In Nehemiah and Esdras the list opens with an enumeration of *twelve* persons, probably chiefs representing the twelve tribes. One of these (Nahamani), the sixth, has dropped out of the catalogue of Ezra. Three others, Seraiah, Reelaiah, and Mizpar, have names slightly different in the other lists.

5. *The children of Arah.*] Instead of 775 Nehemiah (vii. 10) has 652, Esdras 756.

6. *Twelve.*] Nehemiah has "eighteen" here; but Esdras confirms the "twelve" of Ezra.

8. *The children of Zattu.*] Nehemiah reckons these at 845, instead of 945; but again Esdras confirms Ezra.

10. *The children of Bani.*] Or, "Binnui" (Neh. vii. 15). Nehemiah and Esdras reckon them at 648 instead of 642.

11. *The children of Bebai.*] Nehemiah has 628 here; Ezra and 1 Esdras 623.

12. *The children of Azgad.*] Nehemiah raises the number here from 1222 to 2322, and 1 Esdras to 3222.

13. *The children of Adonikam.*] Nehemiah and 1 Esdras have 667 instead of 666.

14. *The children of Bigvai.*] These are reckoned by 1 Esdras at 2066, by Nehemiah at 2067.

15. *The children of Adin.*] Ezra's number here is confirmed by 1 Esdras. Nehemiah has 655.

17. *The children of Bezai.*] Nehemiah reckons these at 324; but, again, 1 Esdras confirms Ezra.

18 The children of ‖Jorah, an hundred and twelve.
19 The children of Hashum, two hundred twenty and three.
20 The children of ‖Gibbar, ninety and five.
21 The children of Beth-lehem, an hundred twenty and three.
22 The men of Netophah, fifty and six.
23 The men of Anathoth, an hundred twenty and eight.
24 The children of ‖Azmaveth, forty and two.
25 The children of Kirjath-arim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred and forty and three.
26 The children of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and one.
27 The men of Michmas, an hundred twenty and two.
28 The men of Beth-el and Ai, two hundred twenty and three.
29 The children of Nebo, fifty and two.
30 The children of Magbish, an hundred fifty and six.
31 The children of the other [e]Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.
32 The children of Harim, three hundred and twenty.
33 The children of Lod, ‖Hadid, and Ono, seven hundred twenty and five.
34 The children of Jericho, three hundred forty and five.
35 The children of Senaah, three thousand and six hundred and thirty.
36 ¶ The priests: the children of [f]Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred seventy and three.
37 The children of [g]Immer, a thousand fifty and two.
38 The children of [h]Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven.
39 The children of [i]Harim, a thousand and seventeen.
40 ¶ The Levites: the children of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of the children of ‖Hodaviah, seventy and four.
41 ¶ The singers: the children of Asaph, an hundred twenty and eight.

‖ Or, *Hariph*, Neh. 7. 24.
‖ Or, *Gibeon*, Neh. 7. 25.
‖ Or, *Beth-azmaveth*, Neh. 7. 28.
[e] See ver. 7.
‖ Or, *Harid*, as it is in some copies.
[f] 1 Chron. 24. 7.
[g] 1 Chron. 24. 14.
[h] 1 Chron. 9. 12.
[i] 1 Chron. 24. 8.
‖ Or, *Judah*, ch. 3. 9. called also *Hodevah*, Neh. 7. 43.

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18. *The children of Jorah.*] For "Jorah" Nehemiah (vii. 24) has "Hariph."

19. *The children of Hashum.*] Reckoned by Nehemiah at 328 instead of 223.

20. *Gibbar.*] For "Gibbar" Nehemiah has "Gibeon."

22. *The men of Netophah.*] Nehemiah joins these with the Bethlehemites, and makes the number of both together 188, instead of 179. 1 Esdras nearly agrees with Ezra.

24. *Azmaveth.*] Called in Nehemiah "Beth-Azmaveth" (vii. 28), and in 1 Esdr. (v. 18) "Beth-samos" (or "Beth-shemesh").

28. *The men of Beth-el and Ai.*] Nehemiah reckons them at 123 instead of 223.

30. *The children of Magbish.*] Omitted from the catalogue of Nehemiah, but represented by the "children of Nephis" in 1 Esdras (v. 21).

31. *The other Elam.*] One Elam had been already mentioned (verse 7). It is curious that the number assigned to each Elam is identical (1254).

33. *The children of Lod, &c.*] Nehemiah gives the number as 721 instead of 725; but 1 Esdras confirms Ezra.

35. *The children of Senaah.*] Nehemiah has 3930 instead of 3630; 1 Esdras has 3330.

36. *Jedaiah.*] See 1 Chr. xxiv. 7, where a "Jedaiah" appears as the head of the second priestly course.

of the house of Jeshua.] It is difficult to explain this phrase. The reference should be to a Jeshua earlier than the time of David, from whom the Jedaiah of 1 Chr. xxiv. 7 was descended. But we know of no such person.

37. *Immer.*] Immer is mentioned as the head of the sixteenth course (1 Chr. xxiv. 14).

38. *Pashur.*] Pashur was not the head of any of David's courses. He appears to be mentioned in 1 Chr. ix. 12 and Neh. xi. 12.

39. *Harim.*] Harim was the head of David's third course (1 Chr. xxiv. 8). The numbers of the four priestly houses are identical in Ezra and Nehemiah. 1 Esdras differs slightly.

40. *Hodaviah.*] Or, "Hodevah" (Neh. vii. 43). Probably the same as the "Judah" of Ezr. iii. 9.

41. *The children of Asaph.*] Nehemiah reckons them at 148 instead of 128; but 1 Esdras once more confirms Ezra.

42 ¶ The children of the porters: the children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai, *in* all an hundred thirty and nine.

43 ¶ The Nethinims: the children of Ziha, the children of Hasupha, the children of Tabbaoth,

44 The children of Keros, the children of Siaha, the children of Padon,

45 The children of Lebanah, the children of Hagabah, the children of Akkub,

46 The children of Hagab, the children of ‖Shalmai, the children of Hanan,

‖ Or, *Shamlai.*

47 The children of Giddel, the children of Gahar, the children of Reaiah,

48 The children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda, the children of Gazzam,

49 The children of Uzza, the children of Paseah, the children of Besai,

50 The children of Asnah, the children of Mehunim, the children of Nephusim,

51 The children of Bakbuk, the children of Hakupha, the children of Harhur,

‖ Or, *Bazlith,* Neh. 7. 54.

52 The children of ‖Bazluth, the children of Mehida, the children of Harsha,

53 The children of Barkos, the children of Sisera, the children of Thamah,

54 The children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.

55 ¶ The children of Solomon's servants: the children of Sotai, the children of Sophereth, the children of ‖Peruda,

‖ Or, *Perida,* Neh. 7. 57.

56 The children of Jaalah, the children of Darkon, the children of Giddel,

57 The children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the children of ‖Ami.

‖ Or, *Amon,* Neh. 7. 59.

58 All the [k]Nethinims, and the children of [a]Solomon's servants, *were* three hundred ninety and two.

[k] Josh. 9. 21, 27. 1 Chr. 9. 2
[a] 1 Kin. 9. 21,

59 And these *were* they which went up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, Cherub, Addan, *and* Immer: but they could not shew their father's house, and their ‖seed, whether they *were* of Israel:

‖ Or, *pedigree.*

60 The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six hundred fifty and two.

61 ¶ And of the children of the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of [b]Barzillai; which took a wife of the

[b] 2 Sam. 17. 27.

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42. *The children of the porters.*] Nehemiah has 138 for 139.

43. *The Nethinims.*] The *hieroduli*, or sacred slaves, "given" to the Levites to assist them in their work. (See note on 1 Chr. ix. 2.) Of the 35 names which follow, 32 occur in exactly the same order in Nehemiah (vii. 46-56). The other three names—those of Akkub (verse 45), Hagab (verse 46), and Asnah (verse 50), seem to have accidentally dropt out. The variations which occur in the spelling of some of the names (*e.g.* Sia for Siaha, Shamlai for Shalmai, Nephishesim for Nephusim, Bazlith for Bazluth) are unimportant.

55. *The children of Solomon's servants.*] These were probably the descendants of the Canaanitish races, whom Solomon compelled to forced labour (1 K. ix. 20-22).

Sophereth.] In the original it is "Hassophereth." "Sophereth" is the form used in Nehemiah (vii. 57).

57. *Ami.*] Or, "Amon" (Neh. vii. 59), which is a more probable form.

59. *Tel-melah, &c.*] Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, Cherub, Addan, and Immer, were probably cities, or villages, of Babylonia, at which the Jews here spoken of had been settled. The first and third have been reasonably identified with the Thelmé and Chiripha of Ptolemy. Of Tel-Harsa, Addan (Addon, Nehem.) and Immer, nothing is known at present.

and their seed.] *I.e.* their *race.*

60. *Six hundred fifty and two.*] Nehemiah has 642; but Ezra's number is confirmed by Esdras.

61. *Barzillai the Gileadite.*] See 2 S. xvii. 27; xix. 31-39.

daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite, and was called after their name:

62 These sought their register *among* those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore †were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood.

63 And the ‖Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with ᶜUrim and with Thummim.

64 ¶ The whole congregation together *was* forty and two thousand three hundred *and* threescore,

65 Beside their servants and their maids, of whom *there were* seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and *there were* among them two hundred singing men and singing women.

66 Their horses *were* seven hundred thirty and six; their mules, two hundred forty and five;

67 Their camels, four hundred thirty and five; *their* asses, six thousand seven hundred and twenty.

68 ¶ And *some* of the chief of the fathers, when they came to the house of the LORD which *is* at Jerusalem, offered freely for the house of God to set it up in his place:

69 They gave after their ability unto the ᵈtreasure of the work threescore and one thousand drams of gold, and five thousand pound of silver, and one hundred priests' garments.

70 So the priests, and the Levites, and *some* of the people, and the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinims, dwelt in their cities, and all Israel in their cities.

† Heb. *they were polluted from the priesthood.*

‖ Or, *governor.*

ᶜ Ex. 28. 30.

ᵈ 1 Chron. 26. 20.

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63. *The Tirshatha.*] *I.e.* Zerubbabel, who is called "governor" (*pechah*) in ch. v. 14, and "governor of Judah" frequently by Haggai (i. 1, 14; ii. 2, &c.). The word "Tirshatha" is probably old Persian, though it does not occur in the cuneiform inscriptions. Some derive it from *tars*, "to fear."

eat of the most holy things.] *I. e.* have their share of the offerings, on which the priests subsisted. (See Lev. ii. 2, 10; xxii. 4, 10; &c.)

till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim.] On the nature of the "Urim and Thummim" see note on Ex. xxviii. 30. According to the Rabbinical writers, the second temple permanently lacked this glory of the first. Zerubbabel, it would seem by the present passage (compare Neh. vii. 65) expected that the loss would be only temporary.

64. *The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand, &c.*] The sum total of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel is given without any variation by Ezra in this passage, by Nehemiah (vii. 66), and by the Apoc. Esdras (1 Esd. v. 41). The last-named authority adds, that in this reckoning only those above twelve years of age were counted.

It is curious that the total of 42,360 is so greatly in excess as it is, of the items, even according to the highest statement of them. If we add Ezra's items together we obtain the number 29,818; Nehemiah's produce 31,089; those of the Apoc. Esdras, 33,950. Even this last amount falls short of 42,360 by above 8400. Probably the original document, which the writers followed, was in places illegible, and they were forced to make omissions.

65. *Two hundred singing men.*] Nehemiah says 245 (vii. 67), and so the Apoc. Esdras. Ezra's other numbers in this part of the list agree with Nehemiah's.

69. *They gave ... threescore and one thousand drams of gold.*] Nehemiah says that the "chief of the fathers" gave 20,000 drams, the rest of the people 20,000, and the Tirshatha 1000 (vii. 70-72)—which makes a total of 41,000, instead of 61,000. Probably the number in Ezra is corrupt.

drams.] See note on 1 Chr. xxix. 7.

five thousand pound of silver.] According to Nehemiah (vii. 71, 72), the "chief of the fathers" gave 2200 pounds of silver, and the rest of the people 2000—total 4200 pounds. Ezra's "5000 pounds" may include both gifts, and express them by a round number.

one hundred priests' garments.] Nehemiah mentions no gift of priests' garments from the "chief of the fathers," but states that the Tirshatha gave 530, and the "rest of the people" 67 (vii. 70, 72). With Ezra, however, agrees the Apoc. Esdras (v. 45). Bertheau suggests an emendation of the text of Nehemiah, which would bring him into close accordance with Ezra. (See note on Neh. vii. 70.)

70. *All Israel.*] That Israelites of the

CHAPTER III.

1 The altar is set up. 4 Offerings frequented. 7 Workmen prepared. 8 The foundations of the temple are laid in great joy and mourning.

AND when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel *were* in the cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem.

2 Then stood up [1]Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren the priests, and [2]Zerubbabel the son of [e]Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as *it is* [f]written in the law of Moses the man of God.

3 And they set the altar upon his bases; for fear *was* upon them because of the people of those countries: and they offered burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD, *even* burnt offerings morning and evening.

4 They kept also the feast of tabernacles, [g]as *it is* written, and [h]*offered* the daily burnt offerings by number, according to the custom, †as the duty of every day required;

5 And afterward *offered* the continual burnt offering, both of the new moons, and of all the set feasts of the LORD that were consecrated, and of every one that willingly offered a freewill offering unto the LORD.

6 From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt offerings unto the LORD. But †the foundation of the temple of the LORD was not *yet* laid.

7 They gave money also unto the

[1] Or, *Joshua*, Hag. 1. 1.
[2] Called *Zorobabel*, Mat. 1. 12. & Luke 3. 27.
[e] Matt. 1. 12. & Luke 3. 27, called *Salathiel*.
[f] Deut. 12. 5.
[g] Num. 29. 12.
[h] Ex. 23. 16.
† Heb. *the matter of the day in his day.*
† Heb. *the temple of the LORD was not yet founded.*

Ten Tribes returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel is apparent, 1. from the statement in 1 Chr. ix. 3; 2. from the enumeration of *twelve* chiefs (Neh. vii. 7; 1 Esd. v. 8); and 3. from various expressions in Ezra (see ii. 2, 59; iii. 1; &c.).

CHAP. III. 1. *When the seventh month was come.*] The month Tisri, corresponding nearly to our September, the most sacred month in the Jewish year. (See Ex. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 24-41.)

the people gathered themselves.] According to the requirements of the Law (Deut. xvi. 16).

2. *Jeshua the son of Jozadak.*] Jeshua was now high-priest (Hag. i. 1; Zech. iii. 1). He was the son of Jehozadak, Jozadak, or Josedech, who was carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chr. vi. 15).

Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel.] Zerubbabel was really the son of Pedaiah, Shealtiel's (or Salathiel's) younger brother. But Shealtiel having no sons, and the royal line being continued in the person of his nephew, Zerubbabel, the latter was accounted Shealtiel's son. (See note on 1 Chr. iii. 19.)

builded the altar.] Restored, *i.e. the old* altar of burnt offerings which stood directly in front of the temple-porch.

Moses the man of God.] On this phrase, which is characteristic of Ezra, see note on 1 Chr. xxiii. 14.

3. *Upon his bases.*] Upon the old foundation, which we must suppose to have become apparent on the clearing away of the ruins, and a careful examination of the site.

for fear was upon them.] Some translate "*though* fear was upon them," which is a possible meaning of the word used. But perhaps the true sense is that their fear of interruption from the surrounding nations caused them to set up the altar *at once*. On the fear and the grounds of it, see ch. iv. 1, 4, &c.

4. *As it is written.*] According to the forms prescribed in the Law. (See Deut. xvi. 13-15; Lev. xxiii. 34-42.)

by number, according to the custom.] See the exact directions for the number of the victims on each day of the Feast of Tabernacles given in Num. xxix. 13, 17, 20, 23, &c.

5. *The continual burnt offering.*] *I.e.* the daily morning and evening sacrifice.

both of the new moons.] Rather, "and that of the new moons." (See Num. xxviii. 11-15.)

6. *From the first day.*] The altar was built and the daily sacrifice restored on the *first* day of the seventh month. The Feast of Tabernacles was not kept till the *fifteenth* day. (Lev. xxiii. 34.)

7. *They gave money.*] It was necessary to prepare materials for the construction of the temple first of all. Masons, therefore, were at once set to work to cut stone, and carpenters to hew timber. Arrangements were

masons, and to the [l]carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of [i]Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia.

8 ¶ Now in the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and the remnant of their brethren the priests and the Levites, and all they that were come out of the captivity unto Jerusalem; and appointed the Levites, from twenty years old and upward, to set forward the work of the house of the LORD.

9 Then stood Jeshua *with* his sons and his brethren, Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of [l]Judah, [t]together, to set forward the workmen in the house of God: the sons of Henadad, *with* their sons and their brethren the Levites.

10 And when the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the LORD, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the LORD, after the [k]ordinance of David king of Israel.

11 And they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the LORD; because *he is* good, for his mercy *endureth* for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted

[l] Or, *workmen.*

[i] Acts 9. 36.

[l] Or, *Hodaviah,* ch. 2. 40.

[t] Heb. *as one.*

[k] 1 Chr. 6. 31. & 16. 7. & 25. 1.

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entered into with the Tyrians and Sidonians, by which, in return for supplies of food, they were to furnish cedar-wood from Lebanon to their neighbours. (Compare the arrangements made by Solomon with Hiram, 1 K. v. 6-11; 2 Chr. ii. 8-16; and see also Acts xii. 20.)

to the sea of Joppa.] Compare 2 Chr. ii. 16. The timber was brought by sea, in large rafts or floats, from the Phœnician coast below Lebanon to the Jewish sea-port, Joppa.

according to the grant.] Or, "according to the *permission.*" Some understand a permission obtained from Cyrus to cut timber in Lebanon. But it would seem from Herodotus (iii. 34) that Cyrus was at no time master of Phœnicia. Perhaps nothing more is meant than that they took these steps in accordance with the permission granted them by Cyrus to rebuild their temple. (See ch. i. 1-4.)

8. *Unto the house of God.*] *I. e.* to the place where the house of God had been, and where God was believed still to have his special dwelling.

and appointed the Levites.] This is the emphatic clause of the present verse. Though so small a number of Levites had returned from Babylon (see ch. ii. 40), yet they were especially singled out to be entrusted with the task of superintending and advancing the building of the temple.

from twenty years old and upward.] See note on 1 Chr. xxiii. 24.

9. *Jeshua.*] Not the high-priest, but the head of one of the two Levitical houses which had returned, mentioned above, ch. ii. 40.

Kadmiel.] The head of the other house. (Compare ch. ii. 40.)

the sons of Judah.] Or, "Hodaviah" (ch. ii. 40. Compare Neh. vii. 43).

together.] The Hebrew phrase is very emphatic—"they stood up as one man to set forward (or hasten) the workmen in the house of God."

the sons of Henadad.] The conjunction *vau*, "and," appears to have dropped out here. A third Levitical family seems to be intended, which, equally with the families of Jeshua and Kadmiel, hastened forward the building. Bertheau suggests that the entire clause is a gloss, which has crept in from the margin.

10. *The builders.*] *I. e.* Jeshua and Zerubbabel, who were at the head of affairs. (See verse 2.)

they set the priests.] A reading preferred by some gives the meaning—"The priests stood." (See note at the end of the chapter.)

in their apparel.] Compare Ex. xxxi. 10; xxxix. 27, &c.

with trumpets.] See 1 Chr. xv. 24; 2 Chr. v. 12.

the Levites the sons of Asaph.] *I. e.* "such of the Levites as were descendants of Asaph." It would seem as if no descendants of Heman or Jeduthun had returned.

with cymbals.] Compare 1 Chr. xv. 19; xvi. 5; xxv. 6; 2 Chr. v. 12, &c.

after the ordinance of David.] See 1 Chr. vi. 31; xvi. 4, 5, 7; xxv. 1-31.

11. *Because he is good.*] See note on 2 Chr. v. 13.

with a great shout, when they praised the LORD, because the foundation of the house of the LORD was laid.

12 But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, *who were* ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy:

13 So that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.

12. *Many of the priests . . . wept with a loud voice.*] Compare Hag. ii. 3, and Zech. iv. 10. It is implied that the dimensions of the second temple were smaller than those of the first.

many shouted for joy.] Those who had not seen the former temple, and so could not contrast the two, naturally rejoiced to see the sanctuary of their religion begin to rise from its ruins.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 10. "And . . . they set the priests."

For ויעמידו, "and they set," Houbigant and Dathe propose to read ויעמדו, "and they stood." The proposed reading is found in as many as thirteen manuscripts.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The adversaries, being not accepted in the building of the temple with the Jews, endeavour to hinder it.* 7 *Their letter to Artaxerxes.* 17 *The decree of Artaxerxes.* 23 *The building is hindered.*

NOW when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that †the children of the captivity builded the temple unto the LORD God of Israel;

† Heb. *the sons of the transportation.*

2 Then they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chief of the fathers, and said unto them, Let us build with you: for we seek your God, as ye *do;* and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither.

CHAP. IV. 1. *The adversaries of Judah and Benjamin.*] These appear, by what follows, to have been the Samaritans, a mixed race, partly Israelite but chiefly foreign, which had replaced to some extent the ancient inhabitants after they were carried into captivity by Sargon. (See 2 K. xvii. 6, and note ad loc.) It is not clear that they were animated by any hostile feeling towards the returned Jews until the overtures, which they are here related to have made, were rejected. They may be called "adversaries" by a *prolepsis*, because they became such. (See verses 4-11.)

2. *We seek your God.*] Compare 2 K. xvii. 24-28, where the circumstances are narrated under which the Samaritans became in a certain sense worshippers of Jehovah.

we do sacrifice to him.] There is a second reading here, which gives the exactly opposite sense, "we do *not* sacrifice to him." All the versions, however, and almost all critics, prefer the reading followed by our translators.

since the days.] Esar-haddon mounted the Assyrian throne in the year B.C. 681, and reigned till B.C. 668. Thus the Samaritans speak of what had taken place at least a hundred and thirty years previously.

Esar-haddon . . . . which brought us up.] There appear to have been at least three colonisations of Samaria by the Assyrian kings. Sargon, soon after his conquest, replaced the captives whom he had carried off by colonists from Babylonia and from Hamath (2 K. xvii. 24). Later in his reign he added to these first settlers an Arabian element. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 415.) Some thirty or forty years afterwards, Esarhaddon, his grandson, largely augmented the population by colonists drawn from various parts of the Empire, but especially from the south-

3 But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the LORD God of Israel, as king Cyrus the king of Persia hath commanded us.

4 Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building,

5 And hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.

6 And in the reign of †Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they *unto him* an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem.

† Heb. *Ahashverosh.*

7 ¶ And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote ‖Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their †companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the writing of the letter *was* written in the Syrian tongue, and interpreted in the Syrian tongue.

‖ Or, *in peace.*

† Heb. *societies.*

8 Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the ‖scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this sort:

‖ Or, *secretary.*

9 Then *wrote* Rehum the chan-

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east, Susiana, Elymais, and Persia. (See below, verse 9.) Thus the later Samaritans were an exceedingly mixed race.

3. *Ye have nothing to do with us.*] At first sight this rejection seems harsh. But the Samaritans had united idolatrous rites with the worship of Jehovah (2 K. xvii. 29-41); and to have allowed them a share in restoring the temple would have been destructive of all purity of religion.

we ourselves together.] *I.e.* "all of us and none besides us."

as king Cyrus . . . commanded us.] Zerubbabel is able to excuse his refusal by reference to the exact words of the edict of Cyrus, which gave the right of building exclusively to those who should "go up" from Babylonia to Judæa. (See ch. i. 3.)

5. *Hired counsellors.*] *I.e.* bribed officials at the Persian court to interpose delays and create difficulties, in order to hinder the work.

until the reign of Darius.] See below, verse 24. It has been argued that the Darius intended is Darius Nothus, who ascended the Persian throne in B.C. 424, more than a century later than the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (B.C. 538). The order of the names in verses 5-7 and 24 is in favour of this view; but the fact that Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who came up from Babylon in the first year of Cyrus, are still living and vigorous in the second (ch. v. 2) and even in the sixth year of Darius (Zech. iv. 9) makes it impossible that the king intended can be Darius the Second, since their age would be in his sixth year at least 150. This argument has induced all recent commentators to acquiesce in the hypothesis that the Darius of Ezra is Darius the son of Hystaspes.

6. *In the reign of Ahasuerus.*] If the Darius of verses 5 and 24 is Darius Hystaspis, the Ahasuerus of the present verse must be Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus. That Persian kings had often two names is a well-known fact of history.

7. *In the days of Artaxerxes.*] By "Artaxerxes" in this place, Gomates, the Pseudo-Smerdis, seems to be intended. He succeeded Cambyses in B.C. 521, and reigned seven months, when he was deposed and executed by Darius Hystaspis.

Bishlam.] The LXX., with the Arabic and Syriac versions, translate "in peace;" but most modern commentators regard the word as a proper name.

of their companions.] Literally, "of *his* (Tabeel's) companions."

written in the Syrian tongue, and interpreted in the Syrian tongue.] Rather, "**written in Syriac characters and translated into Syriac.**" On the use of this tongue as a medium of communication between the Jews and their eastern neighbours, see 2 K. xviii. 26.

8. *The chancellor.*] Literally, "lord of judgment;" the title, apparently, of the Persian governor of the Samaritan province.

the scribe.] According to Herodotus (iii. 128) every Persian governor was accompanied to his province by a "royal scribe" or "secretary" (γραμματεύς), who had a separate and independent authority.

9. *Then wrote.*] This entire verse, together with that which follows, seems to be the superscription or address of the letter sent to Artaxerxes.

cellor, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their †companions; the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, *and* the Elamites,

† Chald. *societies.*

10 And the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over, and set in the cities of Samaria, and the rest *that are* on this side the river, and †at such a time.

† Chald. *Cheeneth.*

11 ¶ This *is* the copy of the letter that they sent unto him; *even* unto Artaxerxes the king; Thy servants the men on this side the river, and at such a time.

12 Be it known unto the king, that the Jews which came up from thee to us are come unto Jerusalem, building the rebellious and the bad city, and have ‖set up the walls *thereof*, and †joined the foundations.

‖ Or, *finished.* † Chald. *sewed together.*

13 Be it known now unto the king, that, if this city be builded, and the walls set up *again*, *then* will they not †pay toll, tribute, and custom, and *so* thou shalt endamage the ‖revenue of the kings.

† Chald. *give.* ‖ Or, *strength.*

14 Now because †we have maintenance from *the king's* palace, and it was not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king;

† Chald. *we are salted with the salt of the palace.*

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the Dinaites.] These were probably colonists from *Dayan*, a country often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as bordering on Cilicia and Cappadocia.

the Apharsathchites.] No satisfactory explanation can be given of this name. It looks almost like an accidental repetition of Apharsites. (Compare ch. v. 6.)

the Tarpelites.] Colonists from the nation which the Assyrians called *Tuplai*, the Greeks "Tibareni," and the Hebrews generally "Tubal." It is characteristic of the later Hebrew language to insert the letter *r* before labials (as *Darmesek* for *Dammesek*, *sharbith* for *shebeth*, &c.).

the Apharsites.] Probably "the Persians." The root letters of the word correspond exactly to those of *Paras*, the ordinary Hebrew term for "Persia."

the Archevites.] Natives of Erech (Gen. x. 10), or Orchoë.

the Susanchites.] Colonists from Shushan (Dan. viii. 2; Esth. i. 2), or Susa.

the Dehavites.] Colonists drawn from the Persian tribe of the Daï. (See Herod. i. 125.)

the Elamites.] Colonists from Elam or Elymaïs, the country of which Susa was the capital.

10. *The great and noble Asnapper.*] Nothing definite is known of this personage. He was probably the official employed by Esar-haddon (verse 2) to settle the colonists in their new country.

on this side the river.] Rather, "**on the other side the river.**" (See Introduction to Kings, § 4, note [9].)

and at such a time.] Rather, "**and so forth.**" The phrase is vague, nearly equivalent to the modern use of *et cætera*. It recurs at the end of verses 11 and 17, and also in ch. vii. 12.

11. *This is the copy, &c.*] Having given the address of the letter in verses 9 and 10, the author now proceeds to give the letter itself.

12. *From thee to us.*] *I.e.* "from the part of the empire where thou dwellest to that where we dwell."

have set up (marg. *finished*) *the walls thereof, and joined the foundations.*] Rather, "they **make ready** the walls thereof, and **lay** the foundations."

13. *Toll, tribute, and custom.*] Rather, "**tribute, provision, or toll.**" The "tribute" is the money-tax imposed on each province, and apportioned out to the inhabitants by the local authorities (Greek, φόρος); the "provision" is the payment in kind, which was an integral part of the Persian system (Herod. i. 192; iii. 91); the "toll" is probably a payment required from those who used the Persian highways.

thou shalt endamage the revenue of the kings.] The word translated "revenue" here is not found elsewhere, and can only be conjecturally interpreted. Most modern commentators regard it as an adverb, meaning "at last," or "in the end." The entire clause may be best translated, "**And so at last shall damage be done to the kings.**"

14. *We have maintenance from the king's palace.*] Literally, "we eat the salt of the palace." The phrase "to eat a man's salt" is common in the East to this day; and is applied not only to those who receive salaries, but to all who obtain their subsistence by means of another. The Persian satraps had no salaries, but taxed their provinces for the support of themselves and their courts.

15 That search may be made in the book of the records of thy fathers: so shalt thou find in the book of the records, and know that this city *is* a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they have † Chald. *made.* †moved sedition †within the same of † Chald. *in the midst thereof.* old time: for which cause was this city destroyed.

16 We certify the king that, if this city be builded *again*, and the walls thereof set up, by this means thou shalt have no portion on this side the river.

17 ¶ *Then* sent the king an answer unto Rehum the chancellor, and *to* Shimshai the scribe, and *to* the rest † Chald. *societies.* of their †companions that dwell in Samaria, and *unto* the rest beyond the river, Peace, and at such a time.

18 The letter which ye sent unto us hath been plainly read before me.

† Chald. *by me a decree is set.* 19 And †I commanded, and search hath been made, and it is found that † Chald. *lifted up itself.* this city of old time hath †made insurrection against kings, and *that* rebellion and sedition have been made therein.

20 There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem, which have ruled over all *countries* beyond the river; and toll, tribute, and custom, was paid unto them.

21 †Give ye now commandment † Chald. *Make a decree.* to cause these men to cease, and that this city be not builded, until *another* commandment shall be given from me.

22 Take heed now that ye fail not to do this: why should damage grow to the hurt of the kings?

23 ¶ Now when the copy of king Artaxerxes' letter *was* read before Rehum, and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went up in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease †by force and † Chald. *by arm and power.* power.

24 Then ceased the work of the house of God which *is* at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.

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the king's dishonour.] Rather, "the king's hurt."

15. *The book of the records.*] Compare Esth. ii. 23; vi. 1; x. 2. The existence of such a "book of the records" at the Persian court is attested also by Ctesias ('ap. Diod. Sic.' ii. 32).

of thy fathers.] "Of thy predecessors upon the throne," Cambyses, Cyrus, and perhaps the ancestors of Cyrus, by whom the practice of keeping such a record may have been commenced. If the Artaxerxes, to whom this letter was written, was the Pseudo-Smerdis (see note on verse 7), it is true that these persons were not really his "fathers" or ancestors; but the writers of the letter could not venture to call the king an impostor, even if they knew him to be one, which is not probable.

17. *That dwell in Samaria.*] Rather, "that dwelt."

Peace, and at such a time.] "Peace, and so forth." (See the last note on verse 10.)

18. *Hath been . . . read.*] It is doubtful if the Persian monarchs could ordinarily read. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 185.) At any rate it was not their habit to read, but to have documents read to them. (Compare Esth. vi. 1.) This is still the ordinary practice at Eastern courts.

19. *This city of old time hath made insurrection.*] The Persian officials probably consulted the archives of the Babylonian kingdom, and found accounts of the insurrections raised, or threatened, by Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiv. 1), Jehoiachin (ibid. verse 10), and Zedekiah (ibid. verse 20). It does not appear that there had ever been any rebellion against Persia.

20. *Mighty kings . . . which have ruled over all countries beyond the river.*] The reference can scarcely have been to David or Solomon, of whom neither the Babylonian nor the Assyrian archives would be likely to have had any account. It was more probably to Menahem (2 K. xv. 16) and Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6, 7; xxxv. 18).

toll, tribute, and custom.] See note on verse 13.

24. *It ceased.*] The stoppage of the building by the Pseudo-Smerdis is in complete harmony with his character. He was a Magus, devoted to the Magian elemental worship, and opposed to belief in a personal god. His religion did not approve of temples (Herod. i. 130); and as he persecuted the Zoroastrian

CHAPTER V.

1 *Zerubbabel and Jeshua, incited by Haggai and Zechariah, set forward the building of the temple.* 3 *Tatnai and Shethar-boznai could not hinder the Jews.* 6 *Their letter to Darius against the Jews.*

[a] Hag. 1. 1.
[b] Zech. 1. 1.

THEN the prophets, [a]Haggai the prophet, and [b]Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied unto the Jews that *were* in Judah and Jerusalem in the name of the God of Israel, *even* unto them.

2 Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and began to build the house of God which *is* at Jerusalem: and with them *were* the prophets of God helping them.

3 ¶ At the same time came to them Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shethar-boznai, and their companions, and said thus unto them, Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?

4 Then said we unto them after this manner, What are the names of the men [†]that make this building?

† Chald. *that build this building?*

5 But the eye of their God was upon the elders of the Jews, that they could not cause them to cease, till the matter came to Darius: and then they returned answer by letter concerning this *matter*.

('Behist. Inscr.' col. i. par. 14), so would he naturally be inimical to the Jewish faith. (Compare 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. pp. 397, 398.)

unto the second year . . . of Darius.] The second year of Darius was B.C. 520. If the building ceased in the reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and was resumed in the second year of Darius, it was only interrupted for about two years; since the Pseudo-Smerdis reigned less than a year.

CHAP. V. 1. *The prophets . . . prophesied.*] *I.e.* "preached." Haggai and Zechariah were raised up to warn the people against neglecting the building of the Temple, in order to give themselves to the beautifying of their own houses. (See Hag. i. 4, 9.)

Zechariah the son of Iddo.] By Zechariah's own account of himself in the first verse of his prophecy, it appears that he was the son of Berechiah, and grandson of Iddo. (See also Mat. xxiii. 35.) So Jehu is called "the son of Nimshi" (1 K. xix. 16; 2 K. ix. 20; &c.), though he was really his grandson (ibid. verses 2 and 14).

in the name of the God of Israel, even unto them.] Rather, "in the name of the God of Israel, **which was upon them**." The two prophets addressed the Jews, in respect of their being God's people, or, in Hebrew phrase (see Jer. xv. 16), "having God's name called upon them."

2. *Then rose up Zerubbabel, &c.*] Zerubbabel and Jeshua seem themselves to have grown lukewarm, and to have required to be "stirred up" by the preaching of the prophets (Hag." i. 14), before they would set themselves heartily to the work.

began to build.] *I.e.* "made a second beginning"—recommenced the uncompleted work.

helping them.] By infusing zeal into the people. (See Hag. i. 12.)

3. *Governor on this side the river.*] Rather, "**on the other side**" (compare note on ch. iv. 10). Tatnai was apparently satrap of Syria, which (according to Herodotus, iii. 91) included the whole tract west of the Euphrates from Cilicia to the borders of Egypt. Zerubbabel must have been, to some extent, under his authority.

Who hath commanded you to build?] There was no doubt a formal illegality in the conduct of Zerubbabel and Jeshua; since all edicts of Persian kings continued in force unless revoked by their successors. But they felt justified in disobeying the decree of the Pseudo-Smerdis, because the opposition between his religious views and those of his successor was matter of notoriety. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 405.)

4. *Then said we unto them.*] The Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic versions have "Then said *they*" for "then said we;" which brings this verse into exact accordance with verse 10. The emendation of the Chaldee text, which this rendering suggests, is slight. (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

5. *The elders.*] *I.e.* "the chiefs," or "the leaders"—Zerubbabel and Jeshua especially. (Compare verse 9.)

and then they returned answer.] These words depend on the conjunction "till." The enemies of the Jews could not stop the work till the matter had been referred to Darius, and an answer had come back from him.

6 ¶ The copy of the letter that Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shethar-boznai, and his companions the Apharsachites, which *were* on this side the river, sent unto Darius the king:

7 They sent a letter unto him, † wherein was written thus; Unto Darius the king, all peace.

† Chald. *in the midst thereof.*

8 Be it known unto the king, that we went into the province of Judea, to the house of the great God, which is builded with † great stones, and timber is laid in the walls, and this work goeth fast on, and prospereth in their hands.

† Chald. *stones of rolling.*

9 Then asked we those elders, *and* said unto them thus, Who commanded you to build this house, and to make up these walls?

10 We asked their names also, to certify thee, that we might write the names of the men that *were* the chief of them.

11 And thus they returned us answer, saying, We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago, which a great king of Israel builded [c] and set up.

[c] 1 Kin. 6. 1.

12 But after that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of [d] Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house, and carried the people away into Babylon.

[d] 2 Kin. 24. 2. & 25. 8.

13 But in the first year of [e] Cyrus the king of Babylon *the same* king Cyrus made a decree to build this house of God.

[e] ch. 1. 1.

14 And [f] the vessels also of gold and silver of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple that *was* in Jerusalem, and brought them into the temple of Babylon, those did Cyrus the king take out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered unto *one*, whose name *was* Sheshbazzar, whom he had made ‖ governor;

[f] ch. 1. 8. & 6. 5.

‖ Or, *deputy*.

15 And said unto him, Take these vessels, go, carry them into the temple that *is* in Jerusalem, and let the house of God be builded in his place.

16 Then came the same Sheshbazzar, *and* laid the foundation of the house of God which *is* in Jerusalem: and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and *yet* it is not finished.

17 Now therefore, if *it seem* good to the king, let there be search made in the king's treasure house, which *is*

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6. *His companions, the Apharsachites.*] This seems like a third form of the word, which is elsewhere given both as Apharsites and as Apharsathchites (ch. iv. 9). All three forms probably represent the word "Persians," which is applied here generally to the foreign settlers in Samaria.

8. *Great stones.*] Literally, "stones of rolling" (marg.); *i. e.* stones so large that they must be rolled along, not carried. Bochart and others translate, "polished stones."

timber is laid in the walls.] The "party-walls," not the main walls of the building, are here spoken of. (Compare 1 K. vi. 7.) The word is not the same that is used in verses 3 and 9.

9. *Then asked we.*] See verses 3 and 4.

11. *Set up.*] Literally, "**finished**."

12. *After that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxxvi. 16, 17, and Dan. ix. 5-12

14. *The temple of Babylon.*] Rather, "a **temple at** Babylon." Babylon possessed numerous temples.

Sheshbazzar.] Compare ch. i. 8 and 11.

governor (or *deputy*, marg.).] The word used is *pechah*, the same which is translated "governor" in verse 3, and which is also applied to Zerubbabel in Hag. i. 1.

16. *The same Sheshbazzar . . . laid the foundation of the house of God.*] These words remove all doubt as to the identity of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel. (Compare ch. iii. 8; Zech. iv. 9.)

since that time even until now.] Sixteen years—from B.C. 536 to B.C. 520. The adversaries of the Jews here overstep the truth; since, in point of fact, the work had been suspended for a while (ch. iv. 21).

17. *Let there be search made in the king's treasure house, which is there at Babylon.*] The adversaries could scarcely have doubted the fact of Cyrus having made a decree in the Jews' favour; but they may have doubted whether proof of the fact remained

there at Babylon, whether it be *so*, that a decree was made of Cyrus the king to build this house of God at Jerusalem, and let the king send his pleasure to us concerning this matter.

in the archives. The Pseudo-Smerdis had had the records in his power for seven months; and, when he reversed the policy of his predecessors, might have been expected to destroy their edicts. It is noticeable that the decree was not found at Babylon, the most natural place for it, but in the provincial capital of Ecbatana, which Tatnai and his friends had not asked Darius to have searched. (See ch. vi. 2.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 4.

Instead of אמרנא, which is the present text, the LXX. must have read אמרן or אמרין.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Darius, finding the decree of Cyrus, maketh a new decree for the advancement of the building.* 13 *By the help of the enemies, and the directions of the prophets, the temple is finished.* 16 *The feast of the dedication is kept,* 19 *and the passover.*

† Chald. *books.*
† Chald. *made to descend.*
‡ Or, *Ecbatana, or, in a coffer.*

THEN Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in the house of the †rolls, where the treasures were †laid up in Babylon.

2 And there was found at ‡Achmetha, in the palace that *is* in the province of the Medes, a roll, and therein *was* a record thus written:

3 In the first year of Cyrus the king *the same* Cyrus the king made a decree *concerning* the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, *and* the breadth thereof threescore cubits;

CHAP. VI. 1. *The house of the rolls.*] A "house of the rolls" (literally, "writings," or "books") was discovered at Koyunjik, the ancient Nineveh, by Mr. Layard in the year 1850—a set of chambers, *i.e.* in the palace devoted exclusively to the storing of public documents. These were in baked clay, and covered the floor to the depth of more than a foot. (See 'Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 345.) Such a "house" was probably that at Babylon, which Darius caused to be searched first of all, in accordance with the suggestion of Tatnai (ch. v. 17), for the edict of Cyrus.

2. *And there was found at Achmetha.*] "Achmetha" is, without doubt, the "Ecbatana," or "Agbatana," of the Greeks, the Persian name for which, as we find in the Behistun Inscription (col. ii. par. 13), was HAGMATANA. The Hebrew spelling represents the Old Persian, letter for letter, with the slight exceptions that it softens the initial aspirate and drops the final *n*. The same letter is dropped in "Hara" (1 Chr. v. 26), which stands for "Haran," the modern *Harrán*.

We must suppose that, when Babylon had been searched in vain, the other cities which possessed record offices were visited, and the decree looked for in them. Its discovery at Ecbatana harmonizes with incidental notices in Herodotus and Ctesias, which show that that city was the capital of Cyrus.

a roll.] The ancient Persians used parchment for their records, as appears from Ctesias ('ap. Diod. Sic.' ii. 32).

3. *The place where they offered sacrifices.*] Rather, "**as a place where they may offer.**"

be strongly laid.] "**Be strong.**" Literally, "be carrying"—*i.e.* "such as would carry a good weight."

the height thereof threescore cubits; the breadth thereof threescore cubits.] It is difficult to reconcile these dimensions with expressions in Zechariah, Haggai, and even Ezra (iii. 12), which imply that the second temple was smaller than the first. (See Zech. iv. 10: "the day of *small* things"; Hag. ii. 3.) Solomon's temple was but 30 cubits high (1 K. vi. 2); and, even including the side chambers, not more than 40 cubits wide.

4 *With* three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber: and let the expences be given out of the king's house:

5 And also let the golden and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the temple which *is* at Jerusalem, and brought unto Babylon, be restored, and †brought again unto the temple which *is* at Jerusalem, *every one* to his place, and place *them* in the house of God.

† Chald. *go.*

6 Now *therefore*, Tatnai, governor beyond the river, Shethar-boznai, and †your companions the Apharsachites, which *are* beyond the river, be ye far from thence:

† Chald. *their societies.*

7 Let the work of this house of God alone; let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews build this house of God in his place.

8 Moreover †I make a decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house of God: that of the king's goods, *even* of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expences be given unto these men, that they be not †hindered.

† Chald. *by me a decree is made.*

† Chald. *made to cease.*

9 And that which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the appointment of the priests which *are* at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day without fail:

10 That they may offer sacrifices †of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons.

† Chald. *of rest.*

Perhaps we are to take the dimensions here set down simply as those which Cyrus required the Jews *not to exceed*, and to understand that, in fact, the building raised fell far short of them.

4. *With three rows of great stones, &c.*] The word translated "row" occurs only in this passage. The meaning is uncertain. Fritzsche regards it as a "course," and supposes that, in the building of the walls, after every three courses of stone there followed a course of timber. Mr. Fergusson accepts the Septuagint rendering (δόμος) as giving the true sense, and understands three "storeys" of stone, with a fourth "storey" of woodwork on the summit. He compares the three storeys of chambers in the temple of Solomon (1 K. vi. 5, 6). To the writer of this note it seems most probable that Cyrus intended to limit the *thickness* of the walls, which were not to exceed a breadth of three rows of stone, with an inner wooden wainscotting.

let the expences be given out of the king's house.] *I.e.* "let the cost come out of the Persian revenue." Bertheau notes with reason the probability that that portion of the decree was not observed during the later years of Cyrus and during the reign of Cambyses, and that hence the burthen fell upon the Jews themselves. (See above, ch. ii. 68, 69.)

5. *Let the golden and silver vessels . . . be restored.*] On this restoration, see ch. i. 7-11.

6. *Now therefore.*] The decree of Cyrus having been given (verses 3-5), the author passes, without notice, to the words of the decree of Darius, which was grounded upon it, and which probably recited it. The transition is abrupt, but causes little difficulty to the intelligent reader.

9. *Wheat, salt, wine, and oil.*] On these necessary adjuncts of every burnt-offering, see Ex. xxix. 40, and Lev. ii. 13.

according to the appointment of the priests.] Literally, "according to the *word* of the priests"—*i.e.* according to what they shall say is necessary.

10. *Offer sacrifices of sweet savours.*] Literally, "that they may offer sweet savours." It has been generally supposed that victims are intended, which in the earlier Scriptures (Ex. xxix. 18, 25; Lev. i. 9, 13; &c.) are said to be "for a sweet savour," or "a sweet savour unto the Lord." But perhaps it is better to take the phrase "offering sweet savours," which occurs only here and in Dan. ii. 46, as meaning the offering of incense.

and pray for the life of the king.] The Jews were commanded to "pray for the peace" of any state or kingdom to which they were subject (Jer. xxix. 7); and it is plain from this passage that they did so, and that the Persians were aware of it. Other proofs of their constant practice in this respect will be found in 1 Mac. vii. 33; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 2, § 5; 'Contr. Ap.' ii. 5; and Philo, ii. p. 569. Under such a government as that of Persia, prayer for the peace of the state

11 Also I have made a decree, that whosoever shall alter this word, let timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up, †let him be hanged thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this.

† Chald. *let him be destroyed.*

12 And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there destroy all kings and people, that shall put to their hand to alter *and* to destroy this house of God which *is* at Jerusalem. I Darius have made a decree; let it be done with speed.

13 ¶ Then Tatnai, governor on this side the river, Shethar-boznai, and their companions, according to that which Darius the king had sent, so they did speedily.

14 And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded, and finished *it*, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the †commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia.

† Chald. *decree.*

15 And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.

16 ¶ And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of †the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy,

† Chald. *the sons of the transportation.*

17 And offered at the dedication of this house of God an hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin offering for all Israel, twelve he goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel.

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naturally took the form of supplication "for the life of the king and of his sons."

11. *This word.*] "**This decision.**" The word used, *pithgama*, is always applied to some formal edict or decision. (Compare Dan. iv. 17; Ezr. iv. 17; v. 7, 11.)

being set up, let him be hanged thereon.] Rather, "**let him be lifted up and crucified upon it.**" (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.) Crucifixion was the most common form of capital punishment among the Persians. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 208; and compare Herod. iii. 159; iv. 53; 'Beh. Ins.' col. ii. par. 14; &c.)

let his house be made a dunghill.] Houbigant and Dathe prefer the Vulgate rendering, *domus ejus publicetur*, "let his house be confiscated." But the balance of authority is in favour of the translation given in the A. V. (Compare 2 K. x. 27; Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29.)

12. *The God that hath caused his name to dwell there.*] Compare Deut. xii. 11; 1 K. viii. 29; &c.

destroy all.] A similar malediction is found at the end of the great inscription of this same king Darius at Behistun. If any injure the tablet which he has set up, he prays that Ormazd will be their enemy, and that they may have no offspring, and that, whatever they do, Ormazd may curse it for them. (Col. iv. par 17.)

to alter and *to destroy this house.*] *I. e.* to alter the decree, and then proceed to destroy the house.

14. *The elders.*] See note on ch. v. 5.

they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai . . . and Zechariah.] See Hag. i. ii. and Zech. i.-viii.

according to the commandment (marg. *decree*) *of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia.*] There is some difficulty in the conjunction of Artaxerxes with Cyrus and Darius here. It is impossible that the Artaxerxes of ch. iv. 7 can be intended, since he opposed the building. The Artaxerxes of ch. vii. seems to be meant (*i. e.* Longimanus); but as the Temple was "finished" in the sixth year of Darius (verse 15), his grandfather, it is scarcely accurate to say that it was "*built* and finished" by Artaxerxes' commandment. Still, as Artaxerxes contributed to the *beautifying* of the Temple (ch. vii. 20), and promoted the same by his edict (ib. 13-20), he might be thought to deserve mention, together with Cyrus and Darius, as one of those who helped forward the *completion* of the work.

15. *The month Adar.*] "Adar" was the twelfth or last month of the Jewish year, corresponding nearly with our March. The sixth year of Darius was B.C. 516-515.

17. *Offered.*] Compare with this modest sacrifice, which suits well "the day of small things" (Zech. iv. 10), the lavish offering of Solomon (1 K. viii. 63).

all Israel.] See note on ch. ii. 70.

18 And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which *is* at Jerusalem; †[a]as it is written in the book of Moses.

† Chald. *according to the writing.*

[a] Num. 3. 6. & 8. 9.

19 And the children of the captivity kept the passover upon the fourteenth *day* of the first month.

20 For the priests and the Levites were purified together, all of them *were* pure, and killed the passover for all the children of the captivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves.

21 And the children of Israel, which were come again out of captivity, and all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the LORD God of Israel, did eat,

22 And kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy: for the LORD had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel.

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18. *They set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses.*] They re-established, *i.e.* the arrangements of David. (See 1 Chr. xxiii. 6-24; xxiv. 1-19.)

as it is written in the book of Moses.] The allusion is to such passages as Num. iii. 6; viii. 9; &c., where the Levites are set apart for the service of the tabernacle.

19. *The fourteenth day of the first month.*] See Ex. xii. 6. With this verse the writer assumes the use of the Hebrew language, which he had discarded for the Chaldee from ch. iv. 8. With the exception of the letter of Artaxerxes (ch. vii. 12-26), all the remainder of the book is in Hebrew.

20. *For the priests and the Levites were purified together, &c.*] Rather, "**And the priests were purified, and the Levites, as one man, were all of them pure.**" A contrast is drawn between the universal purity of the Levites and the merely general purity of the priests, which made it fitting that the former should undertake the slaughter of *all* the paschal lambs, even of those which the priests were to consume. A similar zeal on the part of the Levites to purify themselves is noted in 2 Chr. xxix. 34; xxx. 3.

killed the passover for all.] The practice of the Levites killing for the congregation seems to have commenced at the great passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 17). At the great passover of Josiah, they undertook the further duty of killing for the priests (ib. xxxv. 11, 14). It appears, however, from Jewish authorities ('Mishna,' Pesachim, v. 6-8), that the ordinary practice in later times was for each head of a family to slay for himself.

21. *All such as had separated themselves unto them.*] These must either have been Israelites who had remained in Palestine through the period of the Captivity, or proselytes from the heathen, who were now received into the Jewish state.

22. *Kept the feast . . . seven days.*] Compare Ex. xii. 15.

the heart of the king of Assyria.] It is evident that "the king of Assyria" means Darius in this place. Assyria had so long been the great monarchy of Western Asia that the sacred writers continue the title to those who had inherited the old Assyrian power, as first to the Babylonians (2 K. xxiii. 29), and secondly to the Persians. With similar inexactness we find Herodotus calling Cyrus "king of the *Medes*" (i. 206).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 11.

The participle זקיף, "set up," does not refer to the "timber," but to the man. In Chaldee and Syriac the verb זקף (ܙܩܦ) is used in an especial way of crucifixion.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Ezra goeth up to Jerusalem. 11 The gracious commission of Artaxerxes to Ezra. 27 Ezra blesseth God for his favour.

NOW after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, Ezra the son of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah,

2 The son of Shallum, the son of Zadok, the son of Ahitub,

3 The son of Amariah, the son of Azariah, the son of Meraioth,

4 The son of Zerahiah, the son of Uzzi, the son of Bukki,

5 The son of Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the chief priest:

6 This Ezra went up from Babylon; and he *was* a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the LORD God of Israel had given: and the king granted him all his request, according to the hand of the LORD his God upon him.

CHAP. VII. 1. *After these things.*] These words mark naturally some considerable interval. If, with most commentators, we take the "Artaxerxes" of the present verse for Longimanus, the interval, from the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis to the seventh of Longimanus (verse 7), will be one of fifty-seven years. The occurrence of this interval makes a remarkable break in the Book of Ezra, and justifies commentators in regarding it as composed of two distinct "parts." (See Introduction, § 2.)

Artaxerxes.] In the original, "Artakhshasta." There can be no doubt that the Hebrew word expresses the name which the Greeks rendered by "Artaxerxes," and which in the original Persian was *Artakhshatra.* Three monarchs thus named ruled over Persia, Longimanus, Mnemon, and Ochus. That Ochus cannot be intended is evident from the statement of Nehemiah, that the same (or a later) Artaxerxes reigned at least thirty-two years (Neh. xiii. 6), since the reign of Ochus (after whom there was no other Artaxerxes) lasted no more than twenty-one years. It is perhaps to some extent doubtful whether Ezra's Artaxerxes is Longimanus or Mnemon; but the fact that Eliashib, the grandson of Jeshua, was still high-priest in Nehemiah's time, makes it most highly probable that Longimanus, the grandson of Darius Hystaspis, Jeshua's contemporary, and not Mnemon his great-great-grandson, is the person here intended.

Ezra the son of Seraiah, &c.] It is impossible that this genealogy can be complete. The time between the Exodus and Ezra must have exceeded a thousand years, and cannot have been covered by sixteen generations, since in that case the average of a generation would be sixty years instead of thirty or forty, which is the extreme average among the Jews. One gap in the chain may be filled up from 1 Chr. vi. 7-10, which supplies six names (Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok, Ahimaaz, Azariah, and Johanan) between the Meraioth and the Azariah of verse 3. Another gap probably occurs between the Seraiah, who might seem, from verse 1, to be Ezra's father, and Ezra himself; since the Seraiah mentioned appears to be the high-priest of Zedekiah's time (2 K. xxv. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 14), who lived at least 130 years before Ezra. Three or four names are probably wanting in this place. Another name (Meraioth) may be supplied from 1 Chr. ix. 11, between the "Zadok" and the "Ahitub" of verse 2. These additions would produce twenty-seven generations—a number nearly sufficient—instead of sixteen.

6. *A ready scribe.*] The same expression occurs in Ps. xlv. 1, where our translation has "a ready writer." The professional scribe was well known in Egypt from an early date (see note on Gen. xxxix. 4). Such a class perhaps existed among the Jews in the days of the Judges (Judg. v. 14). Some, however, explain this passage differently. Under David and his successors we hear of "scribes," who seem to be attached to the court and act as the king's secretaries. (2 S. viii. 17; xx. 25; 2 K. xii. 10; &c.) It was scarcely, however, till the time of the Captivity that the class to which Ezra belonged arose. The "scribes" of this time, and of later Jewish history, were students, interpreters, and copiers of the Law. They said, "We are wise, and the Law of the LORD is with us" (Jer. viii. 8). They retained the knowledge of the old dialect, which was being rapidly superseded by a new one. They minutely examined the Law, searched out its meaning, and taught and expounded it to the people. (See below, verse 10.) The emphatic application of the title "the scribe" to Ezra marks the high honour in which the office was now held. Its glories threw into the shade those of the priesthood.

according to the hand of the Lord . . . upon him.] Compare 1 K. xviii. 46. The use of this phrase in a good sense is rare elsewhere, but is a favourite one with both Ezra and Nehemiah. (See Ezr. vii. 9, 28; viii. 18, 22, 31; Neh. ii. 8, 18.) It signifies the guiding and sustaining help of God, whereby things

7 And there went up *some* of the children of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinims, unto Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king.

8 And he came to Jerusalem in the fifth month, which *was* in the seventh year of the king.

9 For upon the first *day* of the first month † began he to go up from Babylon, and on the first *day* of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem, according to the good hand of his God upon him.

† Heb. was *the foundation of the going up.*

10 For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the LORD, and to do *it*, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.

11 ¶ Now this *is* the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe, *even* a scribe of the words of the commandments of the LORD, and of his statutes to Israel.

12 Artaxerxes, king of kings, ‖ unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect *peace*, and at such a time.

‖ Or, *to Ezra the priest, a perfect scribe of the law of the God of heaven,* peace, &c.

13 I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and *of* his priests and Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own free-will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.

14 Forasmuch as thou are sent † of the king, and of his [a] seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which *is* in thine hand;

† Chald. *from before the king.*

[a] Esth. i. 14.

go well with those that love and serve Him. (See especially ch. viii. 22.)

7. *Priests . . . Levites, &c.*] Compare the similar list in ch. ii. 70.

9. *On the first day of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem.*] The direct distance of Babylon from Jerusalem is no more than about 520 miles; and it may therefore seem surprising that the journey should have occupied four months. But no doubt the route followed was that circuitous one by Carchemish and the Orontes valley, which was ordinarily taken by armies or large bodies of men, and which increases the distance to about 900 miles. Still the time occupied is long, and must be accounted for by the dangers alluded to in ch. viii. 22 and 31, which may have necessitated delays and *détours* to avoid conflicts.

10. *To teach in Israel statutes and judgments.*] Literally, "to teach in Israel **law and right**"—to exercise what was understood to be the highest part of the scribe's office. (See note on verse 6.)

11. *Now this is the copy, &c.*] A more detailed account of the proceedings, briefly related in verses 1-10, now commences, and extends from the present verse to ch. viii. 32. Critics who regard the Book of Ezra as the work of an unknown compiler still see in this section of the book the hand of Ezra himself.

12. *Artaxerxes, king of kings.*] The title, "king of kings," is assumed by almost all the Persian monarchs in their inscriptions.

perfect peace.] The word *g'mir* occurs only in this place. Some take it for an adjective in apposition with Ezra, and translate, "most learned" (Vulg.), or "perfect in learning." Others suggest that it is the opening word of the first merely formal paragraph of the letter, and means "completion," or "it is completed." (Compare the LXX. τετέλεσται λόγος.) The only authority for rendering it by "perfect peace" seems to be the Apoc. Esdras, which has χαίρειν.

and at such a time.] Rather, "**and so forth.**" See note on ch. iv. 10.

13. *Of his priests.*] Or, "of *their* priests." The pronominal suffix refers to the people of Israel.

14. *Seven counsellors.*] We hear in Esther (i. 14) of "the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom," who are probably the same as these "counsellors." Herodotus relates that there were seven families pre-eminent in Persia, those of the seven conspirators against the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 84); and it is reasonable to suppose that the heads of these families formed the special council of the king, the "Achæmenidæ," or royal family, being represented by the head of the branch next in succession to that of the reigning monarch. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. pp. 403, 404.)

to enquire.] The purport of the enquiry is uncertain. Some have supposed that it was to see if the laws of Moses were properly kept; but this is certainly not implied in the words of the present verse. Probably the commission was general, to enquire into the state of the province. According to Xenophon ('Cyrop.' viii. 6, § 16), it was a part of the Persian system for the king to send an officer once

15 And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation *is* in Jerusalem,

16 [b] And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which *is* in Jerusalem:

17 That thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat offerings and their drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which *is* in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever shall seem good to thee, and to thy brethren, to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God.

19 The vessels also that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, *those* deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem.

20 And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow *it* out of the king's treasure house.

21 And I, *even* I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which *are* beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily,

22 Unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred [†] measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing *how much*.

23 [†] Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven: for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?

24 Also we certify you, that touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not

[b] ch. 8. 25.

[†] Chald. *cors.*

[†] Heb. *Whatsoever* is *of the decree*

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a year into each province to inspect it and report upon it.

according to the law of thy God.] *I.e.* "righteously and justly, according to the principles of thy religion."

15. *The silver and the gold, which the king and his counsellors have . . . offered.*] On the amount of this offering, see ch. viii. 25-27.

16. *The silver and gold that thou canst find.*] All, *i.e.* that thou canst obtain from the free-will offerings of my subjects.

with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests.] Those of the Jewish people and their priests.

17. *With their meat offerings, &c.*] *I.e.* with the meat-offerings and drink-offerings appropriate to each victim. (See Num. xv. 1-16.)

19. *The vessels also that are given thee.*] A portion of the offering made by Artaxerxes and his counsellors consisted of vessels in gold, silver, and bronze. (Compare ch. viii. 25-28.)

20. *Whatsoever more shall be needful . . . . bestow it out of the king's treasure house.*] The provisoes in verse 22 limit this permission, which might otherwise have caused too great a drain upon the treasury.

21. *All the treasurers which are beyond the river.*] The Persian system of taxing the provinces through the satraps involved the establishment in each province of at least one local treasury. Such treasuries are mentioned occasionally in Greek history. (See Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' i. 17; iii. 18, 19; &c.)

22. *Wheat . . . wine . . . oil . . . salt.*] On the need of these things in the Jewish system of sacrifices, see note on ch. vi. 9. As the Persian tribute was paid partly in money and partly in kind (see note on ch. iv. 13), the treasuries would be able to supply them as readily as they could furnish money.

23. *Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven.*] Literally, as in the margin, "Whatsoever is of the decree," &c.; *i.e.* Whatsoever is commanded in the Law with respect to the Temple service.

why should there be wrath?] Compare note on ch. vi. 10.

24. *Also we certify you.*] Here the decree of Artaxerxes was more favourable to the Jews than those of all previous Persian monarchs. We hear of a similar exemption of ecclesiastics from tribute, only to a less extent, under the Seleucidæ (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 3, § 3).

be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom, upon them.

25 And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that *is* in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that *are* beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know *them* not.

26 And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether *it be* unto death, or † to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

† Chald. *to rooting out.*

27 ¶ Blessed *be* the LORD God of our fathers, which hath put *such a thing* as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the LORD which *is* in Jerusalem:

28 And hath extended mercy unto me before the king, and his counsellors, and before all the king's mighty princes. And I was strengthened as the hand of the LORD my God *was* upon me, and I gathered together out of Israel chief men to go up with me.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The companions of Ezra, who returned from Babylon.* 15 *He sendeth to Iddo for ministers for the temple.* 21 *He keepeth a fast.* 24 *He committeth the treasures to the custody of the priests.* 31 *From Ahava they come to Jerusalem.* 33 *The treasure is weighed in the temple.* 36 *The commission is delivered.*

THESE *are* now the chief of their fathers, and *this is* the genealogy of them that went up with me from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes the king.

2 Of the sons of Phinehas; Gershom: of the sons of Ithamar; Daniel: of the sons of David; Hattush.

3 Of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Pharosh; Zechariah: and with him were reckoned by genealogy of the males an hundred and fifty.

4 Of the sons of Pahath-moab; Elihoenai the son of Zerahiah, and with him two hundred males.

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ministers.] The rare word here used, which in Daniel has the sense of "worshippers," appears to designate in this place the lowest class of persons employed in the service of the Temple. (Compare ch. ii. 55-58.)

25. *That is in thine hand.*] *I.e.* "that is thine"—"that thou possessest."

set magistrates and judges.] Ezra's commission appears by this verse to have been something more than a mere commission to enquire. (See note on verse 14.) His authority was, apparently, to supersede that of the regular governor of the province, at least so far as the Jews were concerned. He was to appoint the native officers who were to have the direct superintendence of the Jewish people, and even to exercise the power of life and death over them. (See the next verse.)

all the people.] This expression is limited by the next clause to the Jewish people. The province contained many other races.

teach ye them that know them not.] A general licence to proselytize is perhaps scarcely contained in these words, which were probably understood to apply to those only who were of Israelite extraction.

26. *Banishment.*] Literally, "rooting out." Separation from the congregation is probably intended. (Compare ch. x. 8.)

27. *Blessed be the Lord God.*] This abrupt transition from the words of Artaxerxes to those of Ezra may be compared with the almost equally abrupt change in ch. vi. 6. The language alters at the same time from Chaldee to Hebrew, continuing henceforth to be Hebrew till the close of the book.

CHAP. VIII. 1. *The chief of their fathers.*] *I.e.* "the heads of families." (Compare 1 Chr. vii. 40; ix. 9; &c.)

this is the genealogy.] Rather, "**the descent.**"

2. *Hattush.*] Compare 1 Chr. iii. 22

3. *Of the sons of Shechaniah.*] It has been supposed by many that a name has fallen out here. But the text is really correct, with the exception of the punctuation. We should arrange the verses thus:—

2. Of the sons of Phineas, Gershom; of the sons of Ithamar, Daniel; of the sons of David, Hattush of the sons of Shechaniah.

3. Of the sons of Pharosh, Zechariah, &c.

It appears from 1 Chr. iii. 22 that Hattush, the descendant of David, was the grandson of Shechaniah.

Pharosh.] This and most of the other names which follow occur also as those of heads of families in the list of the Jews who returned with Zerubbabel (ch. ii. 3-15). The only new names are Shechaniah (verse 5),

5 Of the sons of Shechaniah; the son of Jahaziel, and with him three hundred males.

6 Of the sons also of Adin; Ebed the son of Jonathan, and with him fifty males.

7 And of the sons of Elam; Jeshaiah the son of Athaliah, and with him seventy males.

8 And of the sons of Shephatiah; Zebadiah the son of Michael, and with him fourscore males.

9 Of the sons of Joab; Obadiah the son of Jehiel, and with him two hundred and eighteen males.

10 And of the sons of Shelomith; the son of Josiphiah, and with him an hundred and threescore males.

11 And of the sons of Bebai; Zechariah the son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight males.

12 And of the sons of Azgad; Johanan ‖the son of Hakkatan, and with him an hundred and ten males.

‖ Or, *the youngest son.*

13 And of the last sons of Adonikam, whose names *are* these, Eliphelet, Jeiel, and Shemaiah, and with them threescore males.

14 Of the sons also of Bigvai; Uthai, and ‖Zabbud, and with them seventy males.

‖ Or, *Zaccur*, as some read.

15 ¶ And I gathered them together to the river that runneth to Ahava; and there ‖abode we in tents three days: and I viewed the people, and the priests, and found there none of the sons of Levi.

‖ Or, *pitched.*

16 Then sent I for Eliezer, for Ariel, for Shemaiah, and for Elnathan, and for Jarib, and for Elnathan, and for Nathan, and for Zechariah, and for Meshullam, chief men; also for Joiarib, and for Elnathan, men of understanding.

17 And I sent them with commandment unto Iddo the chief at the place Casiphia, and †I told them what they should say unto Iddo, *and* to his brethren the Nethinims, at the place Casiphia, that they should bring unto us ministers for the house of our God.

† Heb. *I put words in their mouth.*

18 And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi, the son of Israel;

Joab (verse 9), and Shelomith (verse 10); and the first and last of these are doubtful.

5. *Of the sons of Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel.*] The LXX. and the Syriac version read: "Of the sons of Zattu, Shechaniah," &c., which is better. Zattu appears as the head of a family in ch. ii. 8.

10. *Of the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josiphiah.*] The true text is probably represented by the LXX., who give, "Of the sons of Bani, Selimuth, the son of Josephia." So too the Syriac. "Bani" (see ch. ii. 10) fell out from its near resemblance to *bĕney*, "sons."

12. *Johanan the son of Hakkatan.*] The marginal translation, "youngest son," is certainly wrong here. Hakkatan must be a proper name.

13. *And of the last sons of Adonikam.*] The younger branches of Adonikam's family seem to be intended. The elder branches may have gone up with Zerubbabel. (See ch. ii. 13.)

15. *The river that runneth to Ahava.*] It appears from verses 21 and 31, when compared with this, that Ahava was both a town and a river. It must be looked for on the route between Babylon and Judæa, and at a moderate distance from Babylon, since Ezra had reached it in nine days (vii. 9; viii. 15, 31). In the right direction, and at about the right distance, are found a river and a town bearing the same name, called by the early Greeks *Is* (Herod. i. 179), by the later *Aei* (Isid. Char. p. 5), by the Babylonians themselves *Ibi*, and here apparently *Ahava*. The modern name of the place is *Hit*. It is famous for its bitumen springs, and is situated on the Euphrates, at a distance of about 80 miles from Babylon, towards the north-west.

I . . . found there none of the sons of Levi.] On the disinclination of the Levites to return to Jerusalem, see above, ch. ii. 40, and compare note on ch. iii. 8.

17. *The place Casiphia.*] This was probably a Babylonian town or village. Its situation is wholly unknown; but it cannot have been far from Ahava, as Ezra's messengers went and returned within three days. (See verse 15.)

18. *By the good hand of our God.*] Compare ch. vii. 6 and 9.

Mahli, the son of Levi.] *I. e.* the grandson (Ex. vi. 16–19; 1 Chr. vi. 4).

and Sherebiah.] Either a name has fallen out before the words "a man of understand-

and Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eighteen;

19 And Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiah of the sons of Merari, his brethren and their sons, twenty;

* See ch. 2. 43. 20 [a]Also of the Nethinims, whom David and the princes had appointed for the service of the Levites, two hundred and twenty Nethinims: all of them were expressed by name.

21 ¶ Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.

22 For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God *is* upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath *is* against all them that forsake him.

23 So we fasted and besought our God for this: and he was intreated of us.

24 ¶ Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests, Sherebiah, Hashabiah, and ten of their brethren with them,

25 And weighed unto them the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, *even* the offering of the house of our God, which the king, and his counsellors, and his lords, and all Israel *there* present, had offered:

26 I even weighed unto their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels an hundred talents, *and* of gold an hundred talents;

27 Also twenty basons of gold, of a thousand drams; and two vessels of † fine copper, † precious as gold.

† Heb. *yellow, or shining brass.*

28 And I said unto them, Ye *are* holy unto the LORD; the vessels *are* holy also; and the silver and the gold *are* a freewill offering unto the LORD God of your fathers.

† Heb. *desirable.*

29 Watch ye, and keep *them*, until ye weigh *them* before the chief of the priests and the Levites, and chief of the fathers of Israel, at Jerusalem, in

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ing," or the "and" here has crept into the text by accident. Sherebiah appears among the most earnest of the Levites under Nehemiah. (Neh. viii. 7; ix. 4; x. 12; xii. 24.)

19. *Hashabiah.*] Compare verse 24; and see also Neh. x. 11; xii. 24.

20. *All of them were expressed by name.*] The writer seems to mean that he had before him a list of the 220, though he did not think it necessary that he should insert it. (Compare 1 Chr. xii. 31.)

21. *I proclaimed a fast.*] Compare 2 Chr. xx. 3; Joel i. 14; ii. 15; Jer. xxxvi. 9.

a right way.] Or, "a straight road." The object sought was a speedy and successful journey to Jerusalem.

22. *The enemy in the way.*] What enemy menaced Ezra, and on what account, is wholly uncertain. It is scarcely probable that the Samaritans would have ventured to oppose an envoy of the Persian king. Perhaps robber-tribes, Arab or Syrian, were his opponents. That the enemy was real, not imaginary, appears from verse 31.

The hand of our God.] Compare Ps. xxxiv. 15-22, which expresses the same sentiment at greater length.

24. *Sherebiah.*] Rather, "to Sherebiah." Ezra seems to mean that he appointed twelve priests and twelve Levites—Sherebiah and Hashabiah (verses 18 and 19) being the chief among the Levites—to take the charge of the offerings. (Compare verse 30.)

25. *The silver, and the gold.*] Compare ch. vii. 15, 16.

26. *Silver vessels an hundred talents.*] A number seems to have fallen out after "talents." (See Houbigant, ad loc.) The silver vessels were 100, and were worth so many talents. Compare what is said of the gold in verse 27.

27. *Twenty basons of gold, of a thousand drams.*] Not of a thousand drams (*i.e.* darics) each, but worth altogether a thousand darics. As the value of the daric was about 22 shillings of our money, each bason, or saucer, would have been worth (apart from the fashioning) 55*l.*

of fine copper.] The word translated "fine," which occurs here only, is thought to mean either "yellow" or "glittering." Probably the vessels were of *orichalcum*, an amalgam which was either brass or something nearly approaching to brass, but which was very rarely produced in the ancient world, and, when produced, was regarded as highly valuable.

the chambers of the house of the LORD.

30 So took the priests and the Levites the weight of the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, to bring *them* to Jerusalem unto the house of our God.

31 ¶ Then we departed from the river of Ahava on the twelfth *day* of the first month, to go unto Jerusalem: and the hand of our God was upon us, and he delivered us from the hand of the enemy, and of such as lay in wait by the way.

32 And we came to Jerusalem, and abode there three days.

33 ¶ Now on the fourth day was the silver and the gold and the vessels weighed in the house of our God by the hand of Meremoth the son of Uriah the priest; and with him *was* Eleazar the son of Phinehas; and with them *was* Jozabad the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Binnui, Levites;

34 By number *and* by weight of every one: and all the weight was written at that time.

35 *Also* the children of those that had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity, offered burnt offerings unto the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety and six rams, seventy and seven lambs, twelve he goats *for* a sin offering: all *this was* a burnt offering unto the LORD.

36 ¶ And they delivered the king's commissions unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors on this side the river: and they furthered the people, and the house of God.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Ezra mourneth for the affinity of the people with strangers.* 5 *He prayeth unto God with confession of sins.*

NOW when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, *doing* according to their

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29. *The chambers of the house of the Lord.*] See 1 K. vi. 5.

31. *On the twelfth day of the first month.*] The Jews with Ezra left Babylon on the first day of the first month (ch. vii. 9). They reached Ahava in nine days, and, having remained there three (ch. viii. 15), quitted it, and resumed their journey on the twelfth.

such as lay in wait.] See note on verse 22.

32. *We came to Jerusalem.*] On the first day of the fifth month (ch. vii. 9), four months after the departure from Babylon.

33. *Meremoth the son of Uriah.*] Compare Neh. iii. 4, 21, and x. 5.

Jozabad the son of Jeshua.] Jeshua is often mentioned as one of the chief Levites of the time. (See ch. ii. 40; Neh. viii. 7; x. 9; xii. 8; &c.) Jozabad is perhaps mentioned in ch. x. 23, and Neh. viii. 7.

Noadiah the son of Binnui.] Noadiah is not elsewhere mentioned; but Binnui, his father, is mentioned in Neh. x. 9 and xii. 8.

34. *All the weight was written.*] An inventory of the vessels was made, and the weight of each stated.

35. *Offered.*] Compare ch. vi. 17, where the first body of those who returned is stated similarly to have offered numerous burnt-offerings, and "twelve he-goats for a sin-offering for all Israel." The idea of offerings for all Israel pervades in this case the entire sacrifice, with the exception of the lambs, whose number (77) is peculiar, and has not been accounted for.

36. *The king's commissions.*] *I.e.* the orders issued to all governors of provinces near Judæa by Artaxerxes, as given in ch. vii. 21-24.

the king's lieutenants.] Literally, "**the king's satraps.**" The word is used in its strict sense, referring to the chief rulers of Persian provinces, from which the "governors" (*pachavoth*), rulers of smaller districts, are distinguished

CHAP. IX. 1. *The princes.*] The principal authorities of the city prior to Ezra's arrival. It would seem that on the death of Zerubbabel no special governor of the Jews had been appointed, and power had consequently fallen into the hands of a certain number of chiefs or "princes." Some of these persons now made complaint to Ezra.

doing according to their abominations.] This translation is somewhat too strong. The words of the original are — "The people of

abominations, *even* of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites.

2 For they have taken of their daughters for themselves, and for their sons: so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of *those* lands: yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass.

3 And when I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonied.

4 Then were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the transgression of those that had been carried away; and I sat astonied until the evening sacrifice.

5 ¶ And at the evening sacrifice I arose up from my [1]heaviness; and having rent my garment and my mantle, I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the LORD my God,

6 And said, O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over *our* head, and our [1]trespass is grown up unto the heavens.

7 Since the days of our fathers *have* we *been* in a great trespass unto this day; and for our iniquities have we, our kings, *and* our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity, and to a spoil, and to confusion of face, as *it is* this day.

8 And now for a [2]little space grace hath been *shewed* from the LORD our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us [3]a nail in his holy

[1] Or, *affliction.*

[1] Or, *guiltiness.*

[2] Heb. *moment.*

[3] Or, *a pin*: that is, *a constant and sure abode.*

Israel . . . have not separated themselves from the people of the lands in respect of their abominations." The mixed marriages had prevented that complete separation of the people of God from the idolatrous rites, or "abominations," which the Law required, and which was necessary for purity of religion.

the Ammonites, &c.] According to the letter of the Law, marriage with the Canaanitish nations was alone forbidden; but it came to be generally felt that the principle of the prohibition extended to all neighbouring idolaters. (See note on 1 K. xi. 2.)

2. *Of those lands.*] Literally, "of the lands." The expression is repeated from the preceding verse.

3. *I rent my garment.*] Compare Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; Job i. 20; Josh. vii. 6; &c.

and plucked off the hair of my head, &c.] Shaving the head was an ordinary sign of grief among the Asiatics. (See Job i. 20; Jer. vii. 29; xvi. 6; and compare Herod. ix. 24; Q. Curt. x. 9, § 17; &c.) But plucking out the hair with the hands, so common among the classical nations, is, comparatively speaking, rarely mentioned as practised by them. (See, however, Æschyl. 'Pers.' l. 1057.)

4. *The words of the God of Israel.*] *I.e.* the threatenings contained in the Law, in respect of such marriages as had been contracted. (Deut. vii. 4. Compare Josh. xxiii. 12, 13.)

until the evening sacrifice.] See note on 1 K. xviii. 25.

5. *From my heaviness.*] *I.e.* "from my attitude of woe." (See the preceding verse.)

having rent my garment and my mantle.] A second time, as a renewed indication of grief and horror. It appears from ch. x. 1 that this took place in front of the Temple, in the sight of all the people, whom he was anxious to impress strongly with a sense of the heinousness of their sin.

6. *Our iniquities are increased over our head.*] Compare Ps. xxxviii. 4—"Mine iniquities are gone over mine head."

our trespass is grown up unto the heavens.] *I.e.* "is become very great, and has provoked God." (Compare 2 Chr. xxviii. 9.)

7. *Since the days of our fathers, &c.*] Very similar in tone to this are the confessions of Nehemiah (Neh. ix. 29-35) and of Daniel (Dan. ix. 5-11). The Captivity had done its work by deeply convincing of sin the nation that had been proud and self-righteous previously.

8. *For a little space.*] The "little space" was above sixty years, counting from the second of Darius (ch. iv. 24), or about eighty, counting from the first of Cyrus (ch. i. 1). But this does not seem to Ezra much in the life of a nation.

a remnant to escape.] Rather, "a remnant that has escaped." The "remnant" is the new community that has returned from the Captivity.

a nail.] Compare Is. xxii. 23, 25. The

place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage.

9 For we *were* bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and †to repair the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem.

† Heb. *to set up.*

10 And now, O our God, what shall we say after this? for we have forsaken thy commandments,

11 Which thou hast commanded †by thy servants the prophets, saying, *a* The land, unto which ye go to possess it, is an unclean land with the filthiness of the people of the lands, with their abominations, which have filled it †from one end to another with their uncleanness.

† Heb. *by the hand of thy servants.*

a Ex. 23. 32. Deut. 7. 3.

† Heb. *from mouth to mouth.*

12 Now therefore give not your daughters unto their sons, neither take their daughters unto your sons, nor seek their peace or their wealth for ever: that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave *it* for an inheritance to your children for ever.

13 And after all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God †hast punished us less than our iniquities *deserve*, and hast given us *such* deliverance as this;

† Heb. *hast withheld beneath our iniquities.*

14 Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? wouldest not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed *us*, so that *there should be* no remnant nor escaping?

15 O LORD God of Israel, thou *art* righteous: for we remain yet escaped, as *it is* this day: behold, we *are* before thee in our trespasses: for we cannot stand before thee because of this.

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metaphor is probably drawn from a tent-pin, which is driven into the earth to make the tent firm and secure.

in his holy place.] *I.e.* "his holy *land*"—the land of Israel. (Compare Zech. ii. 12.)

9. *We were bondmen.*] Rather, "we are bondmen." (Compare Neh. ix. 36, 37.) The Israelites, though returned from the Captivity, were still "bondmen." The Persian monarch was their absolute lord and master.

to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem.] The word translated "wall" means rather "hedge" or "fence." It is used here metaphorically for a safe abode. The "wall" of Jerusalem was not yet built.

11. *Saying.*] The words which follow in this verse are not quoted from any previous book of Scripture, but merely give the general sense of numerous passages.

12. *Give not your daughters, &c.*] Here there is distinct reference to Deut. vii. 3, and perhaps to Josh. xxiii. 12.

nor seek their peace nor their wealth for ever.] This command was given in Deut. xxiii. 6, but was there expressly applied to the Moabites and Ammonites only. Ezra, apparently, conceives that *à fortiori* it must apply to nations whose idolatries were even of a grosser character.

that ye may be strong, &c.] Here again there is no exact quotation of the promises made to those who kept the particular command to avoid mixed marriages (Deut. vii. 12-15); but a collection of various promises, made generally to obedience, which Ezra specially attaches to obedience in this particular matter. The words, "that ye may be strong," seem to be taken from Deut. xi. 8; the clause, "and eat the good of the land," from Is. i. 19; while the clause, "and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever," blends Prov. xiii. 22 with Ezek. xxxvii. 25.

13. *Such deliverance as this.*] Or, "such a remnant as this." The word is the same as that translated "a remnant to escape" in verse 8.

15. *Thou art righteous: for we remain yet escaped.*] Some take "righteous" to mean here "kind" or "merciful," which is a meaning the Hebrew *tzaddik* often has. Others give it the more usual sense of "just," and understand the full meaning of the passage to be, "thou art righteous, and hast punished us, so that we are a mere remnant of what was once a great people."

we cannot stand before thee.] *I.e.* "we cannot stand up boldly before thee as innocent."

because of this.] Because of our sin, the contraction of forbidden marriages.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Shechaniah encourageth Ezra to reform the strange marriages.* 6 *Ezra mourning assembleth the people.* 9 *The people, at the exhortation of Ezra, repent, and promise amendment.* 15 *The care to perform it.* 18 *The names of them which had married strange wives.*

NOW when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed, weeping and casting himself down before the house of God, there assembled unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men and women and children: for the people †wept very sore.

2 And Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, *one* of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have taken strange wives of the people of the land: yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing.

3 Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God †to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the law.

† Heb. *to bring forth.*

4 Arise; for *this* matter *belongeth* unto thee: we also *will be* with thee: be of good courage, and do *it*.

5 Then arose Ezra, and made the chief priests, the Levites, and all Israel, to swear that they should do according to this word. And they sware.

6 ¶ Then Ezra rose up from before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib: and *when* he came thither, he

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CHAP. X. 1. *Now when Ezra had prayed.*] The transition to the third person is thought by many writers to mark that the author, who is still supposed to be following a memoir left by Ezra, ceases at this point to quote the exact words of the memoir, and proceeds to give its substance in his own language. (But see 'Introduction,' § 3.)

casting himself down.] No longer merely kneeling, as at first (ch. ix. 5), but prostrating himself.

before the house of God.] *I.e.* in front of the Temple, praying towards it (1 K. viii. 30, 35; Dan. vi. 10), and thus in the sight of all the people who happened at the time to be in the great court.

2. *Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, one of the sons of Elam.*] This Shechaniah is not elsewhere mentioned. His father, Jehiel, appears to have been one of those who had taken an idolatrous wife (verse 26); and he had therefore had the evil brought home to him.

there is hope in Israel.] *I.e.* the case is not hopeless. The people are penitent, as appears by their sore weeping (verse 1). They will be willing to put away their foreign wives, if thou dost but take the matter in hand at once.

3. *Let us make a covenant.*] Voluntary covenants, explicit renewals of the standing covenant between God and His people, are frequent in the history of the Jews. (See 2 Chr. xv. 12; xxix. 10; xxxiv. 31, 32; Neh. x. 29.) Men stirred themselves up by these means to a greater zeal and strictness than they would have been equal to otherwise.

to put away all the wives.] The facility of divorce among the Jews is well known. According to many of the Rabbis, a bill of divorcement might be given by the husband for the most trivial cause. Thus no legal difficulty stood in the way of Shechaniah's proposition; and Ezra regarded it as necessary for the moral and religious welfare of the people.

according to the counsel of my lord.] The expression "my lord" shows the high position which Ezra occupied as the commissioner of the Persian king. His "counsel" does not appear to have been expressly given, but might be gathered from the general tone of his prayer.

those that tremble, &c.] Compare ch. ix. 4.

let it be done according to the law.] *I.e.* let a formal "bill of divorcement" be given to each foreign wife, whereby she will be restored to the condition of an unmarried woman, and be free to wed another husband. (See Deut. xxiv. 1, 2.)

4. *Be of good courage, and do it.*] The same words occur at the end of David's address to Solomon (2 Chr. xxviii. 10).

6. *Ezra . . . went into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib.*] The "chamber of Johanan" was probably one of those attached externally to the Temple. (See 1 K.

did eat no bread, nor drink water: for he mourned because of the transgression of them that had been carried away.

7 And they made proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem;

8 And that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be †forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away.

9 ¶ Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin gathered themselves together unto Jerusalem within three days. It *was* the ninth month, on the twentieth *day* of the month; and all the people sat in the street of the house of God, trembling because of *this* matter, and for †the great rain.

10 And Ezra the priest stood up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed, and †have taken strange wives, to increase the trespass of Israel.

11 Now therefore make confession unto the LORD God of your fathers, and do his pleasure: and separate yourselves from the people of the land, and from the strange wives.

12 Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, As thou hast said, so must we do.

13 But the people *are* many, and *it is* a time of much rain, and we are not able to stand without, neither *is this* a work of one day or two: for ‖we are many that have transgressed in this thing.

14 Let now our rulers of all the congregation stand, and let all them which have taken strange wives in our cities come at appointed times, and with them the elders of every city, and the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God ‖for this matter be turned from us.

† Heb. *devoted.*

† Heb. *the showers.*

† Heb. *have caused to dwell*, or, *have brought back.*

‖ Or, *we have greatly offended in this thing.*

‖ Or, *till this matter* be dispatched

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vi. 5, 6.) Eliashib was the grandson of Jeshua (ch. iii. 2), and was high-priest under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 1). It is uncertain whether he was really Johanan's father or his grandfather. (Compare Neh. xii. 10-13 with xii. 22, 23.) As high-priest he could assign chambers in the Temple to whomsoever he pleased. (See Neh. xiii. 4, 5.)

8. *Within three days.*] The brevity of this term indicates the narrowness of the area over which the returned Israelites were spread.

all his substance should be forfeited.] The Persians allowed generally to the conquered nations that they should be governed by their own laws. In the present case Ezra had had special permission to appoint magistrates and judges who should judge the people according to the law of his God (ch. vii. 25), and could enforce his views of the law not only by confiscation of goods, but even by death (ib. verse 26).

separated from the congregation.] *I.e.* "excommunicated." (Compare Ex. xii. 19; Num. xix. 20; &c.)

9. *All the men of Judah and Benjamin.*] It is probably not intended to exclude the men of other tribes. By *synecdoché* the principal part is put for the whole.

It was the ninth month.] Four months, therefore, after Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem. (Compare ch. vii. 9.)

the street of the house of God.] Rather, "the court." The word used (*r'hob*) comes from a root (*rahab*) signifying "broad," "spacious." (Compare note on 2 Chr. xxix. 4.)

for the great rain.] The ninth month, corresponding to our December, is still a time when rain falls heavily in Palestine. ('Biblical Dictionary,' vol. ii. p. 994.)

13. *To stand without.*] *I.e.* "to remain out of doors."

we are many that have transgressed.] Literally, "we have multiplied in transgressing," which is equivalent to "we have greatly transgressed."

14. *Let now our rulers . . . stand.*] *I.e.* "Let them remain at Jerusalem and form a standing body, or council, to carry through the matter."

for this matter.] The text, as it stands, scarcely gives this (or indeed any distinct) meaning; but a slight emendation, which has the authority of two MSS., produces the required sense. (See Additional Note A at end of chapter.) The marginal rendering is inadmissible.

15 ¶ Only Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah † were employed about this *matter:* and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite helped them.

† Heb. *stood.*

16 And the children of the captivity did so. And Ezra the priest, *with* certain chief of the fathers, after the house of their fathers, and all of them by *their* names, were separated, and sat down in the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter.

17 And they made an end with all the men that had taken strange wives by the first day of the first month.

18 ¶ And among the sons of the priests there were found that had taken strange wives: *namely,* of the sons of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren; Maaseiah, and Eliezer, and Jarib, and Gedaliah.

19 And they gave their hands that they would put away their wives; and *being* guilty, *they offered* a ram of the flock for their trespass.

20 And of the sons of Immer; Hanani, and Zebadiah.

21 And of the sons of Harim; Maaseiah, and Elijah, and Shemaiah, and Jehiel, and Uzziah.

22 And of the sons of Pashur; Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Nethaneel, Jozabad, and Elasah.

23 Also of the Levites; Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah, (the same *is* Kelita,) Pethahiah, Judah, and Eliezer.

24 Of the singers also; Eliashib: and of the porters; Shallum, and Telem, and Uri.

25 Moreover of Israel: of the sons of Parosh; Ramiah, and Jeziah, and Malchiah, and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah, and Benaiah.

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15. *Only Jonathan . . . and Jahaziah . . . were employed about this matter.*] Rather translate, "**Nevertheless** Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah **opposed this.**" (Compare 1 Chr. xxi. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 23; Dan. viii. 25; &c.) It appears by verse 16 that the proposition of the congregation was adopted.

16. *Did so.*] *I.e.* did as they had proposed in verse 14, despite the opposition of Jonathan and the others.

Ezra the priest, with certain chief of the fathers.] There is no "with" in the original, which shows signs of corruption. Either the *vau* conjunctive has fallen out before "certain chiefs," or the main verb of the sentence has been altered. A slight change in the verb would produce the sense, "And Ezra the priest separated off (or selected) certain chiefs of the fathers." (See Additional Note B at the end of the chapter.)

17. *They made an end . . . by the first day of the first month.*] The business occupied the commission two full months. In some cases, it may be presumed, they had to summon persons before them who did not wish to part with their foreign wives; in all they had to assure themselves that the wives were foreign; finally they had in every case where they decreed a divorce to make out the "writing of divorcement" to which the woman put away was entitled as evidence of her having been a wife and having become free.

18. *Jeshua the son of Jozadak.*] The high-priest in Zerubbabel's time. (See ch. iii. 2.)

19. *They gave their hands.*] *I.e.* "solemnly pledged themselves." (Compare Ezek. xvii. 18; 2 Chr. xxx. 8; Lam. v. 6; &c.)

20. *Of the sons of Immer.*] The "sons of Immer," of "Harim," and of "Pashur," are mentioned as priestly families in the list which is given of those who returned with Zerubbabel in ch. ii. (See verses 37-39.) Hence their place here. The other family names here mentioned occur also without exception in the same list. The two "Harims" of the present place (verses 21 and 31) correspond with the two persons of the same name in ch. ii. (verses 32 and 39). The only difficulty which meets us here is the mention of two "Banis" (verses 29 and 34). It is suspected that in one or other of these places the original text gave a different name (perhaps "Bigvai," ii. 14).

23. *The Levites, Jozabad, &c.*] "Jozabad" and "Kelaiah," or "Kelita," appear among the Levites in attendance on Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 7; x. 10); perhaps also "Judah," who may be the "Hodijah" of Nehemiah (l. s. c.).

24. *Singers . . porters.*] On the return of "singers" and "porters" with Zerubbabel, see ch. ii. 41, 42. "Shallum" is mentioned as the head of one of the families of porters (ii. 42).

25. *Moreover of Israel.*] *I.e.* "of the

26 And of the sons of Elam; Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and Jeremoth, and Eliah.

27 And of the sons of Zattu; Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and Jeremoth, and Zabad, and Aziza.

28 Of the sons also of Bebai; Jehohanan, Hananiah, Zabbai, *and* Athlai.

29 And of the sons of Bani; Meshullam, Malluch, and Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal, and Ramoth.

30 And of the sons of Pahath-moab; Adna, and Chelal, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezaleel, and Binnui, and Manasseh.

31 And *of* the sons of Harim; Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon,

32 Benjamin, Malluch, *and* Shemariah.

33 Of the sons of Hashum; Mattenai, Mattathah, Zabad, Eliphelet, Jeremai, Manasseh, *and* Shimei.

34 Of the sons of Bani; Maadai, Amram, and Uel,

35 Benaiah, Bedeiah, Chelluh,

36 Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib,

37 Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasau,

38 And Bani, and Binnui, Shimei,

39 And Shelemiah, and Nathan, and Adaiah,

40 ‖Machnadebai, Shashai, Sharai,

41 Azareel, and Shelemiah, Shemariah,

42 Shallum, Amariah, *and* Joseph.

43 Of the sons of Nebo; Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadau, and Joel, Benaiah.

44 All these had taken strange wives: and *some* of them had wives by whom they had children.

‖ Or, *Mabnadebai*, according to some copies.

laity"—in contrast with the priests, Levites, singers, and porters previously enumerated.

44. *All these.*] The guilty persons were, it would seem, 113 in number. They comprised four members of the high-priest's family, thirteen other priests, ten Levites, and eighty-six lay Israelites belonging to at least ten distinct families.

and some of them had wives by whom they had children.] Rather, "**and some of the wives had given birth to children.**" The fact is noted as having increased the difficulty of Ezra's task.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 14 and 16.

NOTE A, on verse 14.

For עד לדבר הזה two MSS. have על הדבר הזה; and this reading is approved by Dathe and Maurer. Bertheau, however, maintains that עד לדבר הזה may have the meaning of "in reference to this matter."

NOTE B, on verse 16.

It seems necessary to read either ויברלו עזרא הכהן ואנשים ראשי, or ויברל עזרא הכהן אנשים ראשי—*i.e.* either, "And Ezra the priest, and certain of the chiefs of the fathers were separated off"; or, "And Ezra separated off certain of the chiefs of the fathers." The present reading, ויברלו עזרא הכהן אנשים ראשי, gives no sense.

APPENDIX TO EZRA.

ON THE PERSIAN WORDS IN EZRA.

THE Persian words in Ezra may be classified under the two heads of Proper Names, and other words. The Proper Names are some twelve in number, two being names of places, and the remainder names of persons. The names of persons include four well-known royal appellations, and one other very common name, while both the words designating places are unmistakable. Some of the other terms are also tolerably certain. Hence we are able to form a nearly complete idea of the system on which the Hebrews transcribed Persian words into their own language, when they adopted them. The following table will show, generally, the plan pursued:—

Persian.	Hebrew.	Nearest Modern Equivalent.
𐎠	אַ or אָ	*a* (in *father*)
𐎡	ב	*b*
𐎢	ג	*g* (hard, as in *gig*)
𐎣	ד	*d*
𐎤	ו	*v*
𐎥	ז	*z*
𐎦	ח	*kh* (strong guttural)
𐎧	ט or ת	*t*
𐎨	י	*y*
𐎩 or 𐎪	כ	*k*
𐎫 or 𐎬	מ	*m*
𐎭	נ	*n*
𐎮	ס	*s*
𐎯	פ	*p*
𐎰 or 𐎱	ר	*r*
𐎲	שׁ	*sh*
𐎳	ת	*th*
𐎴	וּ	*u* (as in *rude*)

N.B.—The Persians had no *l*, and no letters equivalent to the Hebrew *ain*, ע; *tsade*, צ; or *koph*, ק. On the other hand, they had a *j*, a *ch*, a *tr*, an *f*, and several other letters not known to the Hebrews. It is uncertain how these would have been transliterated by them. The Persians had also an *h* (𐎱), corresponding to the Hebrew *he* (ה), and an *i* (𐎲), corresponding to the Hebrew י; but no instances occur in Ezra of a Hebrew representation of these letters.

Some further peculiarities of transcription may likewise be noticed. 1. When a Persian word began with the combination *khsh*, which was not unusual, the Hebrews added a prosthetic אֲ, in order to enable themselves to sound both consonants. 2. They rendered the Persian *tr* by דר (*dr*). 3. They represented occasionally *y* by ו (*v*). 4. They were somewhat indifferent to the Persian vowel sounds, representing them at any rate far less exactly than the consonants.

The following are the proper names, certainly Persian, which occur in Ezra: Cyrus, Darius, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, Mithredath (Mithridates), Persia, and Achmetha (Ecbatana). To these may be added, as probably Persian, Rehum, Shimshai, Tatnai, Shetharboznai, and Tabeel.

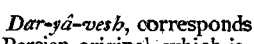
כּוֹרֶשׁ

The vocalisation makes it appear that the Hebrews sounded this name as *Koresh*. The Persian form is 𐎢 𐎢 𐎥 𐎢 𐎢, i.e. *Kurush*. Thus the consonants are exactly rendered, while both the vowels are changed. It may be suspected that the Masoretic כּוֹרֶשׁ (afterwards written כֹּרֶשׁ) is an error for כּוּרֶשׁ, which may be the true pointing. All other representations of the name (Bab. *Kuras*, Gk. Κῦρος, Lat. *Cyrus*, Zend. *Huçrava*, Mod. Pers. *Khusru*) preserve, or very slightly modify, the first *u*. The name has been thought by some to signify "the sun."[1] But doubts have recently been thrown on

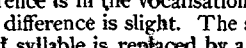
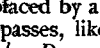
[1] See 'Dict. of the Bible,' ad voc. CYRUS, and compare Fürst's 'Concordance,' and Gesenius' 'Thesaurus,' sub voc. כורש. The view descends to us from the Greeks. (Ctes. ap. Phot. 'Bibliothec,' cxxv. Plut. 'Vit. Artax.' § 1.)

this etymology; and the word is now generally connected with the *Kuru* race of ancient India.

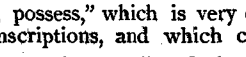
דָּרְיָוֶשׁ

This name, *Dar-yâ-vesh*, corresponds very closely to the Persian original, which is *Dâr-yă-vush*,  . The only difference is in the vocalisation, and even there the difference is slight. The short *ă* of the second syllable is replaced by a long *â* or *kamets*, and the final *u* passes, like the final *u* in Cyrus, into a *seghol*. *Daryavush*, translated by Herodotus ἐρξείης or "strenuous," is derived from the Old Persian root *dar*, "to hold, possess," which is very common in the inscriptions, and which corresponds to the Sanskrit धृ, *dhrĭ*, and the Zend *dere*.

אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ

Akhashvêrôsh (the Ahasuerus of our version) is more remote from the native name than either of the foregoing. There can be no doubt, however, that it represents the Persian  , *Khshăyârshâ*, which the Greeks and Romans abbreviated into Xerxes. The initial *alef* is prosthetic, and merely intended to help the pronunciation of the following letters; the *heth* and *shin* exactly represent the Persian and ; the Persian *y* ( ), which should have been supplied by a *yod*, is exchanged for the cognate *vau;* while the final רוֹשׁ fairly renders the *rsha*,  , of the original. The derivation of the name is uncertain; but perhaps it may mean "Ruling Eye"—from *khshaya*, abbreviated form of *khshayathiya*, "king," and *arsha*, "eye," a cognate form with the Sanskrit *akhsha* and the Zend *arsna*.

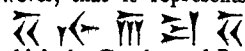
אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא or אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתְּא

Artakhshashtâ or *Artakhshastâ* undoubtedly represents the Persian  , *Artăkhshătrâ*, which the Greeks and Romans expressed by Artaxerxes. The transliteration is exact, excepting that the *tr* of the last syllable is rendered by *st* or *sht*. It is difficult to assign a reason for this change; but indications of a similar phonetic corruption occur in the Egyptian and Babylonian forms of the name, and also in the later Persian. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's 'Persian Vocabulary,' pp. 35, 36.) The word is composed of two elements, *arta*, an intensitive particle, corresponding to the Zend *ereta* or *areta*, and *khshatra*, "crown, kingdom."

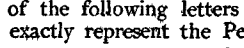
מִתְרְדָת

Mithrĕdâth would undoubtedly have been expressed in Persian by , or *Mithrădâtă*. The Hebrew rendering is therefore very close, and could only be improved by writing the final *tau* as ת, *t*, instead of ת, *th*. The word is formed of the two elements, *Mithra*, "the Sun-God," and *dâtă*, the past participle of *dâ*, "to give."

פָּרָס

The country of Persia is designated in Ezra, as in the rest of the Old Testament, by the word פָּרָס, *Paras*. In the original the literation is  , or *Pârsă*. Thus the Hebrew term merely differs from the Persian by a metathesis of the last vowel and consonant.

אַחְמְתָא

Here the difference between the Persian and the Hebrew forms is more considerable. The Persians called the capital city of Media *Hagmătân* or *Hagmătână*,  ; the Hebrews called it Achmetha. The latter, *i.e.* rendered imperfectly the initial aspirate by *alef*, instead of *he*, and then substituted the guttural aspirate *beth* (*kh*) for the simple guttural *g*, thus turning *Hag* into *'Akh*. They further softened the hard *t* into *th*, and omitted altogether the final *n*. Compare the same omission in Hara (1 Chr. v. 26)—Greek Κάρρα, Lat. *Carrhæ*, for Haran.

רְחוּם

The name "Rehum" is very unlike any known Persian name, and it is conceivable that the individual so designated may not have been a Persian, but an Israelite of Samaria. (See Neh. iii. 17). Possibly, however, Rehum may be a Persian word *abbreviated*, for we hear of a "*Rheom*-ithres" in Arrian with a portion of whose name "Rehum" might well compare.

שִׁמְשַׁי

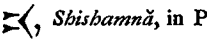
It may be suspected that *Shimshai* is the Semitic equivalent of a name which has come

down to us through the classical writers, as Sisamnes or Sisenes. A metathesis of the *m* and second *s* has taken place, for the sake of euphony. Sisamnes would mean "resplendent," and would be written , *Shishamnă*, in Persian.

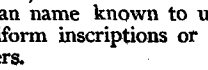
תַּתְּנַי

In *Tatnai* we seem to have the common termination *-ina* (*-ινης*) preceded by a root which is perhaps *thad*, "to think." Tatnai, however, cannot be identified with any Persian name known to us either from the cuneiform inscriptions or from the classical writers.

שְׁתַר־בּוֹזְנַי

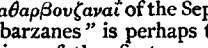
Shĕthar-bôznai may perhaps be the same name which is presented to us by the classical writers under the form of Satibarzanes. The Persian literation of the name was probably  , *Chitrăbarshănă*, a name which the Greeks would have most properly rendered by Σιτραβαρζάνης (compare the Σαθαρβουζαναῖ of the Septuagint). Arrian's "Satibarzanes" is perhaps this name, with the omission of the first *r*, and a modification of the vocalisation. *Chitrabarshana* would be formed from *chitra*, "race," "family," and *barshana*, a cognate form with the Zend *berez*, "splendid."

טַבְאֵל

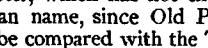
Tâbeel, which has not the form of a true Persian name, since Old Persian had no *l*, may be compared with the Tabalus of Herodotus (i. 153), who is said to have been a Persian. The *l* here probably represents an *r*, the original name being  , *Tâbâră*, which perhaps meant "strong" (literally, "strong-bearer").

The Persian words, not belonging to the class of Proper Names, which may be recognised in Ezra are the following: *ganza* or *gaza*, "treasury" (v. 17; vi. 1; vii. 20); *ganzabara* or *gazabara*, "treasurer" (i. 8); *khshatrapâ*, "satrap" (viii. 36); *angara*, "a letter" (iv. 8); *nipishta*, the same (iv. 7); *patigama*, "an edict" (iv. 17); *apatama* (?), "at last" (iv. 13); *tarsata*, name of an office, literally, "the feared" (ii. 63); *usfrana*, "speedily, diligently, abundantly" (v. 8; vi. 8; &c.); and *darkon*, or perhaps *darkemon*, a gold coin, a "daric" (viii. 27). These will now be considered alphabetically.

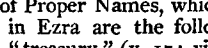
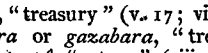
אִגְּרָא

The Hebrew *iggĕră* (*iggereth* of Nehemiah and Esther) probably represents the same Persian word which the Greeks rendered by *ἄγγαρος*. We may conjecture its Persian literation to have been  , *agără*, and its pronunciation *angără*; for the old Persians inserted the sound of *n* before *g* in certain words. (See Spiegel, 'Keilinschriften,' pp. 180, 181.) "Letter" was perhaps its primitive meaning (compare Mod. Pers. *angareh*, "an account-book"); but from this it was transferred to the letter-carriers, and then to the entire system of posts established throughout the empire by Darius Hystaspis. The *ἀγγαρεύειν* of the New Testament (Matt. v. 41) is a word which obtains its meaning from this system.

דְּרַכְמֹן or אַדַּרְכֹן

These variant forms seem intended to represent one and the same word, which was undoubtedly that which the Greeks rendered by *δαρεικός*. The *alef* is merely prosthetic, as we see by the third form (used Ezr. ii. 69), where it is dropped. What the real form of the Persian word was cannot at present be determined. It undoubtedly commenced as follows:  , i.e. *darak* or *dark*; but we cannot say how it terminated. The Greeks believed that the coin took its name from the monarch who first issued it, who was (they said) a Darius (compare *louis-d'or*, *napoleon*, &c.); but this is now doubted.

אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִין

It has never been questioned that this term, *ăkhashdarpan*, stands for the same Persian word as the Greek *σατράπης*, "satrap;" but it is only recently that we have obtained a knowledge of the actual Persian literation. This appears by the Behistun Inscription to have been  , *khshătrăpâ*, which is perhaps a shortened form of an earlier  , *khshătrăpână*, or *khshătrăpân*. The word is derived from *khshătră*, "crown," and *pâ*, "to protect," the active participle of which would be *pana*. It is evident that the Hebrew term represents the older form of the word, and represents it pretty closely. There is a prosthetic *alef*, as in *adarkon* and Ahasuerus; and the *tr* of the Persian becomes in the Hebrew *dr*; but otherwise the letters are correctly rendered.

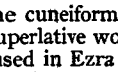
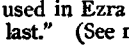
אָסְפַּרְנָא

This word, *'osparnâ*, which is used seven times in Ezra, but nowhere else in the rest of Scripture, has long been recognised as foreign, and probably Persian. (See Fürst's 'Concordance,' ad voc.) But it is only lately that an etymology has been suggested for it. The recent cuneiform discoveries have shown that *us* was an intensitive prefix in Old Persian, and *frana* appears to have been also an intensitive adverb of very wide application. Hence, from the *'osparnâ* of the Hebrew text we may recover the Old Persian term of *usfrana*, which seems to have been used as a strong intensitive with almost any verb.

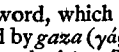
אַפְתֹם

In *aphthôm* we have probably a Hebrew representative of the Old Persian *apatama*, the superlative of *apa*, "distant." The comparative *apatara* occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions, and the regular superlative would be *apatama*. The word is used in Ezra adverbially, in the sense of "at last." (See note on Ezra iv. 13.)

גְּנָז

The Persian origin of the word, which the Greeks and Romans expressed by *gaza* (γάζα), is generally recognised by etymologists. The term does not occur in the inscriptions; but there can be little doubt that it existed, and was written  , or  . Originally the pronunciation was probably rather *ganza* than *gaza*, the Persians being in the habit of inserting the sound of *n* before the dentals *d*, *t*, and *z*, although they did not write it. As the Hebrews, however, had no such practice, they naturally supplied the *n*, and expressed the Persian or by *genez*, גְּנַז (Esther) or *g'naz*, גְּנָז (Ezra).

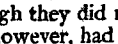
גִּזְבַּר

The Persian word thus rendered was almost certainly  , *gazabâra*, which would be literally "treasure-bearer," and so "treasurer." The Hebrew literation, *gizbâr*, follows the Persian very closely, each consonant being exactly represented, and the vocalisation undergoing only a slight change.

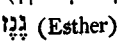
נִשְׁתְּוָן

Nishtevan, which has no Semitic derivation, is thought by some to represent a Persian word derived from *ni*, "in" or "on," and *pish*, (Sanskr. *pins*, Lat. *pingo*), "to paint" or "write" (compare the Greek γράφειν). It is, however, extremely unlikely that an important root-letter, such as *p*, would drop out.

פִּתְגָמָא

This word, *pithgâmâ*, compared with the Modern Persian *paigam*, and the Armenian *patkam*, appears to point to an old Persian noun, *patikâma* (), which must have had the sense of "command," "edict." The first element of the word would be the preposition *patiya*, "to," which becomes *pati* in composition. The other is perhaps *kâma*, "wish" or "will."

תִּרְשָׁתָא

Tirshâthâ, which occurs both in Ezra and Nehemiah as the title of the governor of Judæa, is probably the Hebrew representation of the Persian  , *tarsâta*, which is the past participle of *tars*, "to fear." "The Feared" is a title which might well be given to one in authority. Compare the German *gestrenger Herr*, and our title of "Reverend."

NEHEMIAH.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

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§ 1. TITLE.

IT has been noticed in the 'Introduction' to Ezra that in the earliest form of the Hebrew Canon known to us the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah were united in one, under the name of *Sepher Ezra*, or "The Book of Ezra."[1] After a while a division was made, and the two Books which we now recognise were distinguished as "the first" and "the second Book of Ezra."[2] Later still —probably not till towards the close of the fourth century[3]—the second Book of Ezra came to be known as "the Book of Nehemiah." In all this, however, there was nothing arbitrary. An unconscious criticism followed indications in the text, which were unmistakable, the analytical process merely resolving what had been constituted a whole by a previous synthesis—a synthesis perhaps almost coeval with the works themselves. We may thus fairly regard the Book of Nehemiah as a substantive work, a work having a real, and not merely an artificial, separateness; though perhaps the same hand which constructed it may have attached it to the previously existing Book of Ezra, which treated of nearly the same period.

[1] See 'Introduction' to Ezra, p. 385.

[2] The earliest writer that can be quoted as recognising this division is Origen, who says, *Ἔσδρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος ἐν ἑνὶ Ἔσδρᾳ, ὅ ἐστι βοηθός*, about B. C. 230.

§ 2. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.

The Book of Nehemiah is composed of four quite distinct portions:—

I. The first seven chapters contain a consecutive narrative, written in a uniform style by Nehemiah himself, as even the most sceptical critics allow.[1] The first person singular is used, when Nehemiah is spoken of, throughout. The events related cover a space of (probably) less than a year. The record, however, does not belong to the exact time of the events, but has been composed at least twelve years later, since, while the general narrative falls into the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (or B.C. 445-444), in one place (ch. v. 14), the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (or B.C. 433-432) is mentioned.

II. The second portion of the work consists of three chapters (chs. viii.-x.), and contains a narrative of some events belonging to the autumn of B.C. 444. In this portion Nehemiah is spoken of in the third person; he is called "the Tirshatha," whereas in the earlier chapters his title is always *pechah;* moreover he is thrown, comparatively speaking, into the background, his place being taken by Ezra, who holds the first and most prominent position. The style of

[3] Jerome first calls the Book "Nehemiah." (See his "Epist. ad Paulin." 'Op.' vol. iv. pars 2da, p. 574.)

[1] See De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 197, *a;* Davidson, 'Introduction,' vol. ii. p. 139.

this portion of the Book is markedly different from that of the earlier and later chapters;[2] and critics are generally agreed that it is not from the hand of Nehemiah.[3] Some[4] have ventured to assign it, on account of supposed resemblances of style, to Ezra. But this conclusion cannot be regarded as established, or, indeed, as based upon any very solid grounds. The resemblances insisted on[5] are almost wholly confined to the prayer in ch. ix. (verses 6-38), which may well have been Ezra's composition without his being the writer of the narrative. The narrative, as distinct from the prayer, is decidedly unlike that of Ezra, and contains many indications which markedly distinguish it from the writings of that author.[6] Still, from the general character of the language employed, from the minuteness of the descriptions, and especially from the use of the first person in ch. x. 29-39, we are justified in regarding this section as the work of an eye-witness, a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, who, perhaps, drew up his account of the proceedings at Jerusalem during the Tisri of B.C. 444 at their wish or under their sanction. The writer would seem, from his classing himself with "the people" (ch. x. 29 et seqq.) rather than with the priests, Levites, or nobles, to have been a layman of moderate rank and position. If conjecture is allowable, where it must be confessed that positive evidence fails, Zadok (or Zidkijah), Nehemiah's scribe or secretary (ch. xiii. 13; cf. x. 1), might be mentioned as not unlikely to have been the author.

III. The third portion of the work extends from the beginning of ch. xi. to the 26th verse of ch. xii. This consists of six important lists—1. A list of the dwellers in Jerusalem and of their chief officers in Nehemiah's time (ch. xi. 1-24); 2. A list of the country towns occupied by the returned Israelites at the same period (ch. xi. 25-36); 3. A list of the priestly and Levitical families that returned to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel (ch. xii. 1-9); 4. A list of high-priests from Jeshua to Jaddua, or from B.C. 538 to B.C. 336 (ch. xii. 10, 11); 5. A list of the actual heads of the priestly families under the high-priest,

[2] Nehemiah's parenthetic prayers are wholly wanting in this section. His favourite term for the "nobles" (*khorim*) does not occur. The characteristic phrases, "God of heaven," and "the good hand of God," are absent. God is called "Jehovah" or "Jehovah Elohim," almost as often as simply "Elohim," whereas Nehemiah uses "Jehovah" and "Jehovah Elohim," only once, each of them (ch. i. 5; v. 13.) Express mention of the law of Moses, rare with Nehemiah (only xiii. 1) is constant in this section (viii. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, &c.; ix. 3, 14; x. 29, 34; &c.).

[3] See De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 197, *a*; Hävernick, 'Einleitung,' § 305; Kleinert, § 132; Davidson, 'Introduction,' vol. ii. pp. 140, 141. Of moderns, Keil alone ascribes the section to Nehemiah.

[4] *E.g.* Hävernick (l. s. c.) and Bp. A. Hervey ('Bibl. Dict.' vol. ii. p. 494).

[5] These are chiefly the following: בהיום הזה, which occurs in Ezr. ix. twice (verses 7 and 15), occurs in Neh. ix. 10. עמי הארצות, a favourite phrase with Ezra (ix. 1, 2, 11), occurs in Neh. ix. 30. The complaint, "we are slaves"—עבדים אנחנו—and the confession, "thou art righteous"—צדיק אתה—are common to the two documents (Ez. ix. 9, 15; Neh. ix. 36, 8). The following phrases have also a resemblance:—

נתנו . . . . ביד מלכי הארצות (Ez. ix. 7) with תתנם ביד הצרים (Neh. ix. 27).

לא עזבנו אלהינו (Ezra ix. 9) with אתה אלוה לא עזבתם (Neh. ix. 17).

and אכלתם את־טוב הארץ (Ez. ix. 12) with לאכל . . את־טובה (Neh. ix. 36).

[6] Ezra never calls himself simply "Ezra the scribe," whereas "Ezra the scribe" is the ordinary phrase of the writer of this section (ch. viii. 1, 4, and 13). On the other hand, "Ezra the priest," which is Ezra's common designation of himself (Ezr. vii. 11; x. 10, 16), is found but once in this section (ch. viii. 2). Ezra calls the temple "the house of Jehovah" almost as frequently as he calls it "the house of God." The writer of this section uses the phrase, "house of Jehovah," once only (ch. x. 35), while he has "house of God" nine times (ch. viii. 16; x. 32, 33, 34, 36 (twice), 37, 38, and 39). Ezra never calls the Law of Moses "the Book of the Law;" "the Book of the Law" occurs four times in this section (ch. viii. 1, 8, 18; ix. 3). Ezra's favourite designations of God as "the God of Israel" (ch. iii. 2; v. 1; vi. 14, 22; viii. 35), "the Lord God of Israel" (iv. 1, 3; vi. 21; vii. 6; ix. 15), or "the Lord God of our (your) fathers" (vii. 27; viii. 28; x. 11), are absent wholly from this section; where the only remarkable title of God that occurs (ch. viii. 6)—"the Great God"—is one not used by Ezra.

Joiakim (ch. xii. 12-21); and 6. A list of the chief families of ordinary Levites and porters at the same period (ch. xii. 24-26).

List 1 is an essential portion of the work, being an abbreviated account of the census taken by Nehemiah (ch. vii. 5), and thus standing in close connection with the narrative of the seventh chapter. It is probably either the work of Nehemiah himself or a document drawn up by his orders.

List 2 is a natural supplement to list 1, and may be confidently assigned to the same period and writer.[7]

The other lists have no necessary or very natural connection with the general narrative of Nehemiah, and it is uncertain whether they formed any part of the original "Book," or were added by a later editor. Possibly lists 3, 5, and 6 were drawn up in the time (or even by the hand) of Nehemiah, and were incorporated by him into his work as documents having an intrinsic value, though not connected very closely with the subject-matter of his history. But list 5 cannot in its present shape have proceeded from his hand, or from that of a contemporary, since it mentions Jaddua, who lived about a century later than Nehemiah.[8] Neither can the two verses intruded with great awkwardness between the fifth and sixth lists—lists closely interconnected—belong to Nehemiah's time, since they contain a mention of both Jaddua and Darius Codomannus, his contemporary.[9] These last-named verses have quite the air of an interpolation; and it may therefore be regarded as not improbable that list 4, or at any rate the latter portion of it (verse 11), is also interpolated, having proceeded from the same hand as verses 22 and 23. If this view be taken, Neh. xii. 1-26 may be regarded as the compilation of Nehemiah himself, with the exception of verses 11, 22, and 23, which must have been added a century later. Or possibly the whole passage (ch. xii. 1-26) was first added at this period. In either case the writer must equally be considered to have drawn the lists from contemporary State archives. (See verse 23, where these archives are referred to.)

IV. The fourth and last section of the Book comprises ch. xii. from verse 27 to the end, and the whole of ch. xiii. This section contains an account of the dedication of the wall, and of certain reforms which Nehemiah effected after his return from Babylon in B.C. 432-431. It is allowed on all hands to be, in the main, the work of Nehemiah;[10] and there are no valid grounds for questioning his authorship of the entire section. The first person is used in ch. xii. 31 and 40, and in ch. xiii. 6 et seqq. The entire passage possesses the characteristics of Nehemiah's style and manner;[11] the *nexus* of the whole is satisfactory; and it is a pedantic hyper-criticism which thinks to discover in this short and consecutive narrative the intrusion of "pieces" by a later hand, or the "over-writing" of a reviser. There is every reason to believe that the last section of "Nehemiah" is, like the first, a memoir from the hand of that personage—a memoir written soon after the events—probably in B.C. 431 or 430.

§ 3. Probable History of its Compilation.

It is perhaps on the whole most probable that the various sections com-

[7] De Wette says: "Cap. xi. kann von Nehemia verfasst sein, ist wenigstens aus seiner Zeit" (§ 197, *b*). Dr. Davidson allows that "there is nothing against the supposition" that Nehemiah wrote ch. xi. ('Introduction,' vol. ii. p. 144.)

[8] Jaddua's high-priesthood is placed by some between B.C. 366 and 336; but Josephus brings down his date to B.C. 333, since he makes him meet Alexander after Issus.

[9] On the identity of "Darius the Persian" (ch. xii. 22) with Codomannus, see the foot-note on the passage. The expression, "Darius *the Persian*," is probably an indication that the passage was written after the Greek rule had set in, or later than B.C. 331.

[10] De Wette excepts ch. xii. 44-47, and ch. xiii. 1-3, but the latter of these passages doubtfully (§ 197, *b*). Dr. Davidson allows ch. xiii. 4-31 to be by Nehemiah, but regards ch. xii. 27 to ch. xiii. 3 as "a piece by Nehemiah, written over and elaborated by the author of Chronicles" (vol. ii. p. 143).

[11] As the designation of God exclusively by the name of Elohim, the use of parenthetic prayers (xiii. 14, 22, 29, 31), the exact knowledge of localities (xii. 31–39), &c.

posing the "Book of Nehemiah" were collected by Nehemiah himself, who had written, at any rate, two of them (ch. i.-vii. 5, and ch. xii. 27-xiii. 31). Having composed these two separate memoirs, containing accounts of his proceedings as civil governor during his first and second periods of office, and having perhaps drawn up also certain lists, he adopted from without an account of some religious transactions belonging to his first period, and, inserting this in its proper place, prefixed to the whole work the title, "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah," as fitly designating its main contents. His work, thus formed, was subsequently added to by Jaddua, or a writer of his time, who inserted into it verses 11, 22, and 23 of ch. xii. Or, possibly, this late writer may first have formed the Book into a whole, by collecting together the two memoirs of Nehemiah, the account of the sealing of the covenant, composed by one of Nehemiah's contemporaries, and various lists belonging to the period, which he, no doubt, extracted from the archives. The date of the compilation would, in the former case, be about B.C. 430; in the latter, about a century later.

§ 4. Authenticity of the Narrative.

The authenticity of the history contained in the Book of Nehemiah is generally admitted.[1] Rationalistic criticism has been disarmed by the fact that the narrative comprises nothing that is miraculous. The moderate tone of the entire account, the admission of a state of weakness which stands in remarkable contrast with both the earlier and the later glories of the nation, and the record of sins and shortcomings, which an uncandid narrator would have concealed, have induced even the most captious of commentators to allow that, in this Book, as in that of Ezra, we have a plain unvarnished narrative. The fact that the bulk of the history is from the pen of an eye-witness, and of one especially qualified to narrate the events of his time, being beyond dispute, it is impossible to deny that the highest degree of historical credibility attaches to the work, considered even under its merely human aspect. Thus it is unnecessary to enlarge on the authenticity of this Book, which no writer entitled to consideration has called in question.

§ 5. Condition of the Text.

The condition of the text of Nehemiah is generally good. A few omissions have taken place in ch. iii.; and in ch. vii., and perhaps elsewhere, there have been some corruptions of names and numbers. But in very few places indeed is there reason to suspect any alteration which at all seriously affects the sense. Two instances only of such corruption have been thought sufficiently important to be pointed out in the foot-notes. The omissions in ch. iii. are minute and trivial, and detract but little from the value of the document, whether for historical or for topographical purposes. The corruptions of names and numbers in ch. vii. are absolutely unimportant. Upon the whole, the text of Nehemiah will compare for purity with that of any other Book of the Old Testament.

[1] See De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 195; Winer, 'Realwörterbuch,' ad voc. *Nehemia;* Davidson, 'Introduction,' vol. ii. pp. 133-139.

THE BOOK OF

NEHEMIAH.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Nehemiah, understanding by Hanani the misery of Jerusalem, mourneth, fasteth, and prayeth.* 5 *His prayer.*

THE words of Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah. And it came to pass in the month Chisleu, in the twentieth year, as I was in Shushan the palace,

2 That Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and *certain* men of Judah; and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem.

3 And they said unto me, The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province *are* in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also [a]is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire.

[a] 2 Kin. 25. 10.

4 ¶ And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down and wept, and mourned *certain* days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven,

5 And said, I beseech thee, [b]O LORD God of heaven, the great and terrible God, that keepeth covenant and mercy for them that love him and observe his commandments:

[b] Dan. 9. 4.

CHAP. I. 1. *The words of Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah.*] The prophetical books commence generally with a title of this kind (see particularly Jer. i. 1); but no other extant historical book begins thus. Still the words are best regarded as proceeding from Nehemiah himself, who, while attaching his work to Ezra, marked in this manner the point at which his own composition commenced. (See 'Introduction,' § 1.)

And it came to pass.] Rather, "Now it came to pass." (Compare the commencement of Ruth and Esther.)

the month Chisleu.] The ninth month, corresponding to the end of November and beginning of December. (See Zech. vii. 1.)

in the twentieth year.] *I.e.* of Artaxerxes. (Compare ch. ii. 1.)

in Shushan the palace.] Compare Esth. i. 2, 5, &c.; Dan. viii. 2. Shushan, or Susa, was the ordinary residence of the Persian kings. "The palace" or acropolis was a distinct quarter of the city, occupying an artificial eminence.

2. *One of my brethren.*] Compare ch. vii. 2. Hanani seems to have been an actual brother of Nehemiah.

came.] *I.e.* arrived at Susa *from Jerusalem.*

3. *In the province.*] Compare "the children of the province" (Ezr. ii. 1).

reproach.] See ii. 17 and iv. 2-4.

the wall . . . is broken down.] Compare 2 K. xxv. 10 and Jer. lii. 14. Nebuchadnezzar had broken down the wall. The attempt to rebuild it in the time of the Pseudo-Smerdis (Ezr. iv. 12-16) had been stopped. It still remained in ruins.

the gates . . . burned with fire.] This fact had not been previously mentioned; but the Assyrian sculptures show that it was the usual practice.

4. *The God of heaven.*] This title of the Almighty, which is Persian rather than Jewish (see 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23; Ezr. i. 2; vi. 10; vii. 12, 21, 28), is a favourite one with Nehemiah, who had been born and brought up in Persia. (See i. 5; ii. 4, 20; &c.)

5. *The great and terrible God.*] So in ch. iv. 14 and ix. 32. The expression is taken from Deut. vii. 21, and the remainder of the verse from Deut. vii. 9. Daniel's address to God in Dan. ix. 4 is curiously similar.

6 Let thine ear now be attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou mayest hear the prayer of thy servant, which I pray before thee now, day and night, for the children of Israel thy servants, and confess the sins of the children of Israel, which we have sinned against thee: both I and my father's house have sinned.

7 We have dealt very corruptly against thee, and have not kept the commandments, nor the statutes, nor the judgments, which thou commandedst thy servant Moses.

8 Remember, I beseech thee, the word that thou commandedst thy ser-
[c] Deut. 4. 25, &c. vant Moses, saying, [c] *If* ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad among the nations:

9 But *if* ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do
[d] Deut. 30. 4. them; [d] though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, *yet* will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there.

10 Now these *are* thy servants and thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by thy great power, and by thy strong hand.

11 O Lord, I beseech thee, let now thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servant, and to the prayer of thy servants, who desire to fear thy name: and prosper, I pray thee, thy servant this day, and grant him mercy in the sight of this man. For I was the king's cupbearer.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Artaxerxes understanding the cause of Nehemiah's sadness sendeth him with letters and commission to Jerusalem.* 9 *Nehemiah, to the grief of the enemies, cometh to Jerusalem.* 12 *He vieweth secretly the ruins of the walls.* 17 *He inciteth the Jews to build in despite of the enemies.*

AND it came to pass in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, *that* wine *was* before him: and I took up the wine, and gave *it* unto the king. Now I had not been *beforetime* sad in his presence.

2 Wherefore the king said unto me, Why *is* thy countenance sad, seeing thou *art* not sick? this *is* nothing *else* but sorrow of heart. Then I was very sore afraid,

3 And said unto the king, Let the king live for ever: why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepul-

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8. *The word that thou commandedst thy servant Moses.*] The reference is not to any single place, but to such passages as Lev. xxvi. 33-45; Deut. iv. 25-31; xxx. 1-5; &c.

11. *Of this man.*] *I.e.* King Artaxerxes. Houbigant thinks that Nehemiah's prayer was made silently in the king's presence. But it is not necessary to suppose this. We often in prayer suppress the names of those about whom we are praying.

For I was the king's cup-bearer.] Rather, "**And I was a cup-bearer to the king.**" A Persian king had numerous cup-bearers, each of whom probably discharged the office in his turn.

CHAP. II. 1. *In the month Nisan.*] Nisan was the name given by the Persian Jews to the month previously called "Abib," the first month of the Jewish year, or that which followed the vernal equinox. It fell four months after Chisleu. (See ch. i. 1.)

the twentieth year.] Nehemiah probably reckons the years of Artaxerxes from the day on which he ascended the throne. If this day fell between April and November, Chisleu would precede Nisan in each regnal year of the monarch. As Artaxerxes ascended the throne in B.C. 465, his twentieth year would correspond to B.C. 445-444.

Artaxerxes.] It is generally agreed that the Artaxerxes intended is Longimanus, who reigned from B.C. 465 to B.C. 425.

2. *I was very sore afraid.*] A Persian subject was expected to be perfectly content so long as he had the happiness of being with his king. Both Darius and Xerxes had put persons to death for unwillingness to accompany them on expeditions. (See Herod. iv. 84 and vii. 38.) A request to quit the court was thus a serious matter.

3. *Let the king live for ever.*] See note on 1 K. i. 31.

the city . . . of my fathers' sepulchres.] We may conclude from this that Nehemiah was of

chres, *lieth* waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?

4 Then the king said unto me, For what dost thou make request? So I prayed to the God of heaven.

5 And I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant have found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it.

† Heb. *wife.*

6 And the king said unto me, (the †queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy journey be? and when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time.

7 Moreover I said unto the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may convey me over till I come into Judah;

8 And a letter unto Asaph the keeper of the king's forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the palace which *appertained* to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me.

9 ¶ Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. Now the king had sent captains of the army and horsemen with me.

10 When Sanballat the Horonite,

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the tribe of Judah, as Eusebius and Jerome say that he was.

4. *I prayed to the God of heaven.*] Mentally and momentarily, before answering the king.

6. *The queen.*] Though the Persian kings practised polygamy, they had always one chief wife, who alone was recognised as "queen." The chief wife of Longimanus was Damaspia. (Ctes. 'Exc. Pers.' § 44.)

sitting by him.] That the Persian king sometimes took his meals with his wife appears from Herodotus (ix. 110) and Athenæus ('Deipn.' iv. p. 145, A).

I set him a time.] Nehemiah appears to have stayed at Jerusalem twelve years from his first arrival (ch. v. 14); but he can scarcely have mentioned so long a term to the king. Probably his leave of absence was prolonged from time to time.

7. *The governors beyond the river.*] The satraps and other inferior officers in the tract west of the Euphrates. (Compare Ezr. viii. 36.)

8. *The keeper of the king's forest.*] Rather, "of the king's **park**." The word used, which is found only here and in two other places (Eccl. ii. 5 and Cant. iv. 13), is of Persian, or at any rate of Aryan, origin. Its primary form appears to be the Zend *pairidaeza*, "circumvallatio" (which would be represented by *pariyadeza* in Old Persian), whence Armen. *pardes*, Gk. παράδεισος, Lat. *paradisus*, Mod. Pers. *firdaus*, &c. The derivation is from *pairi* or *pariya*, "round about," an equivalent of the Gk. περί, and *daeza* or *deza*, "a wall," equivalent to the Sansk. *dehī*, which is from the root *dih*, "to squeeze together, fashion, shape." The Gk. τεῖχος and τοῖχος are probably cognate. The Persians signified by the word *pariyadeza* a walled enclosure, ornamented with trees, either planted or of natural growth, and containing numerous wild animals. The "paradise" here mentioned must have been in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and may have corresponded to the earlier "gardens of Solomon." (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' viii. 7, § 3.)

the palace which appertained to the house.] Rather, "the **fortress** which appertained to the house." *Birah*, the word here used, which corresponds to the Greek βᾶρις, has the double meaning of "palace" and "fortress," the fact being that in ancient times palaces were always fortified, and consequently were fortresses. "The fortress which appertained to the house" or "temple" is here first spoken of. We hear of it constantly under the Maccabees and Romans, under the latter of whom it was called "Antonia."

the house that I shall enter into.] *I. e.* "for my own dwelling-house."

according to the good hand, &c.] Compare Ezr. vii. 6, 9, 28; viii. 22.

9. *The king had sent captains . . . with me.*] Ezra, who was accompanied by a large number of his countrymen, had had no Persian escort (Ezr. viii. 22); Nehemiah, who went up almost alone, required and accepted one.

10. *Sanballat.*] The person thus abruptly introduced appears to have been the leader of the Samaritans at the time of Nehemiah's visit (see ch. iv. 2). Whether he is included

and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard *of it*, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.

11 So I came to Jerusalem, and was there three days.

12 ¶ And I arose in the night, I and some few men with me; neither told I *any* man what my God had put in my heart to do at Jerusalem: neither *was there any* beast with me, save the beast that I rode upon.

13 And I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon well, and to the dung port, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire.

14 Then I went on to the gate of the fountain, and to the king's pool: but *there was* no place for the beast *that was* under me to pass.

15 Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall, and turned back, and entered by the gate of the valley, and *so* returned.

16 And the rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I as yet told *it* to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that did the work.

17 ¶ Then said I unto them, Ye see the distress that we *are* in, how Jerusalem *lieth* waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come, and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach.

18 Then I told them of the hand

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in the "governors beyond the river," or held any recognised position under the Persians, is doubtful. The name is probably Babylonian, the first element being the same which commences "Sennacherib," viz. "Sin," the Moon-God, and the second *balatu*, "eminent" (?), which is found in the name of an Assyrian Eponym, Bel-balatu.

the Horonite.] A native probably of one of the Bethhorons, the upper or the lower (see Josh. xvi. 3, 5; 2 Chr. viii. 5), and therefore born within the limits of the old kingdom of Samaria, since the Beth-horons had belonged to Ephraim (Josh. l. s. c.)

Tobiah the servant.] Or, "the slave." Tobiah seems to have been an Ammonite slave, high in the favour of Sanballat, whom he probably served as secretary (see ch. vi. 17–19), and chief adviser.

it grieved them.] Compare Ezr. iv. 4-24; v. 6-17. We may presume that after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, Samaria had become the chief city of these parts. The revival of Jerusalem as a great and strong city, which was Nehemiah's aim, was likely to interfere with the prosperity, or at any rate the eminence, of its neighbour.

13. *The gate of the valley.*] A gate opening on the valley of Hinnom, which skirted Jerusalem to the west and south. The exact position is uncertain. Thenius regards it as occupying nearly the site of the modern Jaffa gate; Mr. Fergusson places it at the extreme south of the modern Zion Hill, outside the present walls. (Compare 2 Chr. xxvi. 9.)

before the dragon well.] The "dragon well," or "spring of the serpent," is not elsewhere mentioned; and it is impossible to identify it with any existing well or source.

the dung port.] The gate by which offal and excrements were conveyed out of the city. Mr. Fergusson places it at the point where he believes the southern wall to have quitted the western hill, and struck across the Tyropœon valley. Nehemiah, according to this view, turned eastward when he passed out of the valley gate.

14. *The gate of the fountain.*] A gate on the eastern side of the Tyropœon valley, not far from the pool of Siloam, which seems to be here called "the king's pool." (Compare ch. iii. 15.)

15. *By the brook.*] The Kidron watercourse, which skirted the city on the east.

and turned back.] Nehemiah does not mean that he retraced his steps, but that, having examined the eastern wall, he turned *westward*, and having made the circuit of the city, re-entered by the valley gate.

16. *The rulers.*] Compare Ezr. ix. 1, and note ad loc.

the rest that did the work.] *I. e.* "the labouring class that (afterwards) actually built the wall."

18. *The king's words.*] These have not

of my God which was good upon me; as also the king's words that he had spoken unto me. And they said, Let us rise up and build. So they strengthened their hands for *this* good *work*.

19 But when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, heard *it*, they laughed us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What *is* this thing that ye do? will ye rebel against the king?

20 Then answered I them, and said unto them, The God of heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we his servants will arise and build: but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial, in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER III.

The names and order of them that builded the wall.

THEN Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests, and they builded the sheep gate; they sanctified it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the tower of Meah they sanctified it, unto the tower of [a]Hananeel.

2 And [†]next unto him builded the men of Jericho. And next to them builded Zaccur the son of Imri.

3 But the fish gate did the sons of Hassenaah build, who *also* laid the beams thereof, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

4 And next unto them repaired

[a] Jer. 31. 38.
[†] Heb. *at his hand.*

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been given; but the royal permission to restore the walls is implied in ch. ii. 5, 6.

19. *Geshem the Arabian.*] A third adversary is here added to the two previously mentioned (verse 10). His hostility appears also in ch. vi. 1, 2, 6, and that of his people in ch. iv. 7. It is, at first sight, not quite easy to see why any Arabs should have opposed the fortification of Jerusalem; but the recent discovery that Sargon peopled Samaria in part with an Arab colony ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 415) removes the difficulty.

will ye rebel against the king?] Compare ch. vi. 6. But for the king's permission, Nehemiah's proceedings might have been fairly regarded as treasonable. Sanballat and Geshem may not have known that the king's leave had been obtained.

20. *Ye have no portion, &c. in Jerusalem.*] Compare Ezr. iv. 3.

CHAP. III. 1. *Eliashib the high priest.*] Eliashib appears by ch. xii. 10 to have been the grandson of Jeshua or Joshua, the high-priest contemporary with Zerubbabel. He succeeded his father Joiakim in the high-priesthood.

the sheep gate.] This was a gate in the eastern wall, not far from the pool of Bethesda (see John v. 2), which was perhaps originally a sheep-pool.

they sanctified it.] The priests commenced the work with a formal ceremony of consecration, whereby they "sanctified" especially their own portion of the wall. Afterwards, when the work was completed, there was a solemn dedication of the entire circuit. (See ch. xii. 27-43.)

set up the doors of it.] Not at once, but after the erection of the wall, as the final completion of the fortification. (See ch. vi. 1.)

the tower of Meah . . . of Hananeel.] The tower of Hananeel is often mentioned (Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10; Neh. xii. 39); that of Meah, or rather Hammeah, or "the Hundred," occurs in Nehemiah only. Both towers must have been situated towards the north-eastern corner of the city.

2. *The men of Jericho.*] The people of each provincial town were set to work for the most part on the portion of the wall nearest their city. Thus "the men of Jericho" were employed at the north-east corner of Jerusalem.

3. *The fish gate.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14; Zeph. i. 10. The gate through which fish from the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee entered Jerusalem; a gate in the north wall, a little to the east of the modern Damascus gate.

the locks.] It is doubtful whether "locks" are intended. Traces of them have been found in Assyrian ruins of the eighth century B.C., and in Egypt they were probably still older. The "key," moreover, borne by Eliakim (Isa. xxii. 22) implies the use of locks among the Jews. But the word used here (and in verses 6, 13, and 15) is thought to mean rather a "cross-bar" than a lock, while that translated "bars" is regarded as denoting the "hooks" or "catches" which held the cross-bar at its two ends.

Meremoth the son of Urijah, the son of Koz. And next unto them repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah, the son of Meshezabeel. And next unto them repaired Zadok the son of Baana.

5 And next unto them the Tekoites repaired; but their nobles put not their necks to the work of their Lord.

6 Moreover the old gate repaired Jehoiada the son of Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah; they laid the beams thereof, and set up the doors thereof, and the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

7 And next unto them repaired Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of Gibeon, and of Mizpah, unto the throne of the governor on this side the river.

8 Next unto him repaired Uzziel the son of Harhaiah, of the goldsmiths. Next unto him also repaired Hananiah the son *of one of* the apothecaries, and they [1] fortified Jerusalem unto the broad wall.

[1] Or, *left Jerusalem unto the broad wall.*

9 And next unto them repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.

10 And next unto them repaired Jedaiah the son of Harumaph, even over against his house. And next unto him repaired Hattush the son of Hashabniah.

11 Malchijah the son of Harim, and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab, repaired the [†] other piece, and the tower of the furnaces.

[†] Heb. *second measure.*

12 And next unto him repaired Shallum the son of Halohesh, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters.

13 The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of Zanoah; they built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and a thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung gate.

14 But the dung gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler

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4. *Meshullam.*] Compare ch. vi. 18.

5. *The Tekoites.*] On the position of Tekoah, see note on 2 S. xiv. 2.

6. *The old gate.*] According to Mr. Fergusson, this corresponded to the modern Damascus gate, which must always have been the main entrance to the city on the north side. Others regard the Damascus gate as the gate of Ephraim, in which case the "old gate" must be placed a little further eastward.

7. *The Meronothite.*] Compare 1 Chr. xxvii. 30. We may conjecture from this passage that Meronoth was a village dependent on Mizpah.

Gibeon, and Mizpah.] Neighbouring towns of Benjamin, lying opposite the north wall. (See note on verse 2.)

unto the throne, &c.] The meaning is doubtful. Bertheau and De Wette, with several of the older critics, translate, "the men of Gibeon and Mizpah, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the governor on this side the river;" *i.e.* "who, though they worked for Nehemiah, were not under his government, which did not extend so far north of Jerusalem as these cities."

8. *They fortified Jerusalem.*] Most modern critics follow the Sept. in giving the Hebrew word used its ordinary meaning of "left." Some take the sense to be, "They (*i.e.* the Chaldæans) had left Jerusalem unharmed as far as the broad wall." Others suggest, "They (*i.e.* the repairers) left Jerusalem untouched thus far," because the wall was in good order. But the sense given by our translators, which is defended by Buxtorf and has recently been preferred by Ewald, seems to be that intended by the writer, who uses the verb *'azab* a second time in this sense, ch. iv. 2.

11. *The other piece.*] Rather, "another piece," as the same phrase is translated in verses 19, 21, 27, and 30. It is conjectured with reason (Bertheau) that a verse has fallen out in which Malchijah's and Hashub's "first piece" was mentioned.

the tower of the furnaces.] Compare ch. xii. 38. Thenius places this tower at the north-western angle of the city, Mr. Fergusson midway in the western wall. The origin of the name is uncertain.

13. *The inhabitants of Zanoah.*] Zanoah is mentioned among the cities of Judah in Josh. xv. 34. It lay west of Jerusalem, at the distance of about ten miles.

of part of Beth-haccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

15 But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallun the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of part of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of [b] Siloah by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David.

16 After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur, unto *the place* over against the sepulchres of David, and to the [c] pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty.

17 After him repaired the Levites, Rehum the son of Bani. Next unto him repaired Hashabiah, the ruler of the half part of Keilah, in his part.

18 After him repaired their brethren, Bavai the son of Henadad, the ruler of the half part of Keilah.

19 And next to him repaired Ezer the son of Jeshua, the ruler of Mizpah, another piece over against the going up to the armoury at the turning *of the wall.*

[b] John 9. 7.

[c] 2 Kin. 20. 20.

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14. *Beth-haccerem.*] This place is mentioned only here and in Jer. vi. 1, where it is coupled with Jerusalem and Tekoa. It is thought to have occupied the eminence known as "the Frank mountain" (*Jebel-el-Fransawi*), or "the Paradise mountain" (*Jebel-el-Furcidis*), south-east of Bethlehem, and not far from Tekoah.

15. *The wall of the pool of Siloah.*] The "pool of Siloah," which retains its name, lies at the south-western foot of the Temple hill, near the lower end of the Tyropœon. It appears to have been at all times beyond the line of the city wall, but was perhaps joined to the city by a fortification of its own.

the king's garden.] See note on 2 K. xxv. 4.

the stairs that go down from the city of David.] A flight of steps, still to be seen, led from the low valley of the Tyropœon up the steep sides of Ophel to the "city of David," which it reached probably at a point not far south of the Temple. (Compare ch. xii. 37; and on the continued existence of the steps, see Tristram, 'Land of Israel,' p. 190.)

16. *Beth-zur.*] Now *Beit-sur*, on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron. (See note on Josh. xv. 58.)

unto the place over against the sepulchres of David.] By "the sepulchres of David" must be understood the burial place in which David and the kings his descendants to the time of Hezekiah were interred. This was an excavation in the rock, in the near vicinity of the Temple (Ezek. xliii. 7-9), and, as the present passage seems to show, on its western side. The position of the burial-place was well known until the destruction of the city by Titus (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xvi. 7, § 1); but modern research has not yet discovered it. The so-called "tomb of David," at the southern extremity of the modern Zion, cannot possibly mark the real site of the "sepulchres."

the pool that was made.] Probably that made by Hezekiah in the Tyropœon valley, west of the Temple area (see note on 2 K. xx. 20), which is perhaps identical with the modern reservoir in the same place.

17. *After him repaired the Levites.*] The close vicinity of the Temple was now reached, and the task of restoration was fitly committed to the Levites. It is difficult to follow the writer in this part of his description. Probably he proceeds northward along the Tyropœon valley to the north-west corner of the city of David (where was the armoury), and then turns eastward till he reaches "the tower that lieth out" and "the court of the prison" (verse 25). Here he arrives at the eastern wall, facing the Kidron valley.

Keilah.] See note on Josh. xv. 44.

in his part.] Rather, "for his part (of Keilah)." Hashabiah, and those who laboured under him, did their work on behalf of that division of Keilah whereof they were inhabitants. The other division was represented by others. (See the next verse.)

18. *Bavai.*] For "Bavai" we should read "Binnui," from verse 24, confirmed by ch. x. 9.

19. *Another piece.*] Ezer has not been previously mentioned as repairing a first piece; perhaps he had not done so, but the labourers under him were those who had already restored a portion of the wall under Jadon the Meronothite (verse 7).

the armoury at the turning of the wall.] Literally, "the armoury of the corner." The north-western corner of the special wall of the "city of David" seems to be intended. (See note on verse 17.)

20 After him Baruch the son of [b]Zabbai earnestly repaired the other piece, from the turning *of the wall* unto the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest.

21 After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz another piece, from the door of the house of Eliashib even to the end of the house of Eliashib.

22 And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain.

23 After him repaired Benjamin and Hashub over against their house. After him repaired Azariah the son of Maaseiah the son of Ananiah by his house.

24 After him repaired Binnui the son of Henadad another piece, from the house of Azariah unto the turning *of the wall*, even unto the corner.

25 Palal the son of Uzai, over against the turning *of the wall*, and the tower which lieth out from the king's high house, that *was* by the [d]court of the prison. After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh.

26 Moreover the Nethinims dwelt in [e][1]Ophel, unto *the place* over against the water gate toward the east, and the tower that lieth out.

27 After them the Tekoites repaired another piece, over against the great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel.

28 From above the horse gate re-

[b] Or, *Iaccai.*

[d] Jer. 32. 2.

[e] 2 Chron. 27. 3.

[1] Or, *The tower.*

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20. *Baruch . . . repaired the other piece.*] Rather, "another piece." The notice of Baruch's first piece, like that of Malchijah's and Hashub's (verse 11), seems to have slipped out of the text.

21. *Meremoth.*] See verse 4.

22. *The men of the plain.*] The word here translated "plain" (*kikkar*) is applied in the rest of Scripture almost exclusively to the *Ghor* or Jordan valley. Hence the Vulgate translates in this place, "viri de campestribus *Jordanis*." (Compare, however, ch. xii. 28.)

24. *Binnui.*] A Levite. (See ch. x. 9.)

unto the turning of the wall.] The north-eastern angle of the "city of David" seems here to be reached. At this point a tower "lay out," or projected extraordinarily, from the wall, being probably a watch-tower commanding the Kidron valley and all the approaches to the city from the south-east, the east, and the north-east.

25. *The tower which lieth out from the king's high house.*] Or, "the high tower which lieth out from the king's house." The "king's house" here mentioned is almost certainly the old palace of David, which was on the Temple hill, and probably occupied a position directly north of the Temple. (See Ps. xlviii. 2, 3.)

that was by the court of the prison.] Prisons were in old times adjuncts of palaces. The palace of David must have had its prison; and the "prison gate" of ch. xii. 39 was clearly in this quarter.

26. *The Nethinims.*] See notes on 1 Chr. ix. 2.

dwelt.] Rather, "who dwelt." To produce this sense, which *must* be that intended by the author, Houbigant suggests a slight emendation. (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

Ophel.] The slope south of the Temple. (See note on 2 Chr. xxvii. 3.)

the water gate.] A gate in the eastern wall, either for the escape of the superfluous water from the Temple reservoirs, or for the introduction of water from the Kidron valley, when the reservoirs were low.

27. *Another piece.*] Compare verse 5.

the great tower that lieth out.] A second outlying tower, probably near the south-east angle of the Temple area, seems to be here intended. The foundations of an outlying tower in this position have been recently discovered ('Our Work in Palestine,' plan opp. p. 34).

unto the wall of Ophel.] *I.e.* from the outlying tower to the point where the western wall of Ophel had been already built by Shallun, the son of Col-hozeh (verse 15).

28. *From above the horse gate.*] That "the horse gate" was on the east side of the city, overlooking the Kidron valley, is plain from Jer. xxxi. 40. It seems to have been a gate by which horses approached and left the old palace, that of David, which lay north of the Temple. It may have been in, at any rate it was not far from, the tower which lay out from the king's house (verse 25). Thus it would seem that the author here returns to the point in the eastern wall from which he had traced it southwards, and proceeds to complete his description by tracing it north-

paired the priests, every one over against his house.

29 After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer over against his house. After him repaired also Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of the east gate.

30 After him repaired Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the sixth son of Zalaph, another piece. After him repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah over against his chamber.

31 After him repaired Malchiah the goldsmith's son unto the place of the Nethinims, and of the merchants, over against the gate Miphkad, and to the ‖going up of the corner.

32 And between the going up of the corner unto the sheep gate repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants.

‖ Or, *corner chamber.*

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wards from this point to the "sheep gate," from which he started.

the priests.] The constant mention of "priests," and "Levites," and "Nethinims," from verse 17 to this point sufficiently indicates that the writer is here concerned with the sacerdotal quarter, that immediately about the Temple.

30. *Hanun . . . another piece.*] See verse 13.

Meshullam.] Compare verse 4.

31. *The gate Miphkad.*] Not elsewhere mentioned. It must have been in the east, or north-east, wall, a little to the south of the "sheep gate."

32. *The sheep gate.*] See verse 1. The circuit of the wall is thus clearly completed; but the exact line which the writer follows will probably be always a matter of dispute. According to the view here taken, the line described commences near the pool of Bethesda, on the east of the city, and is traced thence, first, northwards, then westwards, then southwards, and finally eastwards, as far as the pool of Siloam (verse 15). From this point, it seems to the present writer that the line of the *outer* wall is not followed, but, instead of this, the inner wall of the "city of David," which included the Temple, is traced. This wall is followed northwards from the pool of Siloam, past the "sepulchres of David" and Hezekiah's pool to the "armoury" (verse 19) at its north-west corner; it is then followed eastwards to "the tower which lieth out from the king's house" (verse 25); from this it is carried southwards, along the western edge of the Kidron valley to the "*great* tower which lieth out" (verse 27), and then south-westwards to the point at which it commenced near Siloam (verse 27). The special wall of the "city of David" being thus completed, the writer finishes his entire account by filling up the small interval between the north-east angle of this fortification and the "sheep gate" (verses 28-32), from which he started.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 26. "The Nethinims dwelt in Ophel."

The present text, הנתינים היו ישבים בעפל עד נגד וגו, states simply where the Nethinims lived, without saying what work they did; but the whole object of the chapter is to state what portion of the work the different persons mentioned performed. And the preposition "unto" is appropriate, if we understand "repaired" before it, but not if we join it with "dwelt." To produce the sense required, we must read והיו, "who were," for היו, "were." The Syriac version inserts the relative.

CHAPTER IV.

1 While the enemies scoff, Nehemiah prayeth and continueth the work. 7 Understanding the wrath and secrets of the enemy, he setteth a watch. 13 He armeth the labourers, 19 and giveth military precepts.

BUT it came to pass, that when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews.

2 And he spake before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said, What do these feeble Jews? will they † Heb. *leave to themselves.* †fortify themselves? will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?

3 Now Tobiah the Ammonite *was* by him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.

4 Hear, O our God; for we are † Heb. *despise.* †despised: and turn their reproach upon their own head, and give them for a prey in the land of captivity:

5 And cover not their iniquity, and let not their sin be blotted out from before thee: for they have provoked *thee* to anger before the builders.

6 So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work.

7 ¶ But it came to pass, *that* when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem †were made up, *and* that † Heb. *ascended.* the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth,

8 And conspired all of them together to come *and* to fight against Jerusalem, and †to hinder it. † Heb. *to make an error to it.*

9 Nevertheless we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night, because of them.

10 And Judah said, The strength of the bearers of burdens is decayed, and *there is* much rubbish; so that we are not able to build the wall.

11 And our adversaries said, They

CHAP. IV. 2. *His brethren.*] *I. e.* his friends and advisers, Tobiah and others. Tobiah's presence is noted in verse 3.

will they fortify themselves?] So Ewald. (Compare ch. iii. 8.) Others translate—"will they (*i. e.* the nations or the governors) leave them [what they have built]?" or, "will they (*i. e.* the nations or the governors) suffer them [to build]?" But the double change of subject involved in these renderings makes it almost impossible to accept them.

will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish that are burned?] Rather, "will they revive out of the heaps of rubbish **the stones which have been burned?**"

4. *Hear, O our God.*] The parenthetic prayers of Nehemiah form one of the most striking characteristics of his history. Here we have the first. Other examples are ch. v. 19; vi. 9, 14; xiii. 14, 22, 29, 31.

give them for a prey in the land of captivity.] Rather, "give them **to be a prey in a land** of captivity"—*i. e.* "let them be carried away captive somewhere, as we have been."

5. *They have provoked thee to anger, &c.*] This is probably the true meaning; though some translate, "they have provoked to anger the builders." (Compare 2 K. xxi. 6.)

6. *Unto the half thereof.*] *I. e.* to half the intended *height.*

7. *The Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites.*] The great body of these peoples, who were in the time of Nehemiah subject to Persia, and could not make war upon other Persian subjects, can scarcely be meant. The allusion is probably to a band, composed largely of Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, which Sanballat maintained as a guard to his person, and which formed a portion of "the army of Samaria" above mentioned (verse 2). A quarrel between such a band and the people of Jerusalem might be overlooked by the Great King.

9. *Because of them.*] Rather, "**over against them,**" *i. e.* opposite to the place where they were encamped, probably on the north side of the city.

10. *And Judah said.*] Nehemiah enumerates his discouragements—1. The Jews engaged in the work grew weary of it, and despaired of its completion; 2. The adversaries boasted and threatened; 3. The provincial Jews declared the danger of continuing the work to be great.

shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease.

12 And it came to pass, that when the Jews which dwelt by them came, they said unto us ten times, [1]From all places whence ye shall return unto us *they will be upon you.*

[1] Or, *That from all places ye must return to us.*

13 ¶ Therefore set I [†]in the lower places behind the wall, *and* on the higher places, I even set the people after their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows.

[†] Heb. *from the lower parts of the place,* &c.

14 And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, *which is* great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses.

15 And it came to pass, when our enemies heard that it was known unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned all of us to the wall, every one unto his work.

16 And it came to pass from that time forth, *that* the half of my servants wrought in the work, and the other half of them held both the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the habergeons; and the rulers *were* behind all the house of Judah.

17 They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, *every one* with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other *hand* held a weapon.

18 For the builders, every one had his sword girded [†]by his side, and *so* builded. And he that sounded the trumpet *was* by me.

[†] Heb. *on his loins.*

19 ¶ And I said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, The work *is* great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another.

20 In what place *therefore* ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us: our God shall fight for us.

21 So we laboured in the work:

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12. *The Jews which dwelt by them.*] Those who lived on the borders of Samaria.

ten times.] *I. e.* repeatedly.

From all places, &c.] Perhaps the best rendering of this difficult passage is that of Bertheau, "they said unto us ten times, from all the places [from which they came], that you must return to us." The Jews, *i.e.* from Jericho, Gibeon, Mizpah, Zanoah, and other places on the Samaritan border, came to Jerusalem and tried to withdraw their contingents of workmen from the work, representing to them the impending danger, and saying, "You must return to your homes, and so escape it."

13. *In the lower places.*] In the places where those within the walls had the least advantage of elevation, the naturally weak places, where an enemy was likely to make his attack.

on the higher places.] On such slight eminences as the ground offered.

14. *Great and terrible.*] Compare ch. i. 5 and ix. 32.

16. *My servants.*] *I. e.* "my subjects."

habergeons.] Or, "coats of mail." Coats of mail were common in Assyria from the ninth century B.C., and in Egypt even earlier. They were made of thin laminæ of bronze or iron, sewn upon leather or linen, and overlapping one another.

the rulers were behind, &c.] The chiefs stood behind the labourers at the wall, directing and encouraging them, while at the same time they were ready to lead on the armed force, if an attack was made upon the labourers.

17. *They which builded, &c.*] Translate, "They which builded at the wall, **both they that bare burdens, as they laboured,** with one of their hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon; **and also** they which builded, each of them had his sword girded at his side and so builded." The first, "they which builded," is general, including both the actual masons and their helpers; the second designates the masons only. Again, "they which have burdens" are not distinguished from "those that loaded;" but the same people are designated by both participles.

18. *He that sounded the trumpet.*] The trumpeter, who was to sound in case of an alarm.

and half of them held the spears from the rising of the morning till the stars appeared.

22 Likewise at the same time said I unto the people, Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, that in the night they may be a guard to us, and labour on the day.

23 So neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants, nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, ‖*saving that* every one put them off for washing.

‖ Or, *every one went with his weapon for water.*

CHAPTER V.

1 The Jews complain of their debt, mortgage, and bondage. 6 Nehemiah rebuketh the usurers, and causeth them to make a covenant of restitution. 14 He forbeareth his own allowance, and keepeth hospitality.

AND there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews.

2 For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, *are* many: therefore we take up corn *for them*, that we may eat, and live.

3 *Some* also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth.

4 There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, *and that upon* our lands and vineyards.

5 Yet now our flesh *is* as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and *some* of our daughters are brought unto bondage *already*: neither *is it* in our power *to redeem them*; for other men have our lands and vineyards.

6 ¶ And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

7 Then †I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.

† Heb. *my heart consulted in me.*

8 And I said unto them, We after

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21. *Half of them held the spears.*] See verse 16.

22. *Let every one . . . lodge within Jerusalem.*] "Let none," that is, "return to his own village or city at night, but let all take their rest in Jerusalem, that they may be at hand ready to guard the work in case of a night attack."

23. *Saving that every one put them off for washing.*] The text here is probably unsound. It yields no satisfactory sense. The LXX. omit the clause altogether; the Syriac version—"None of us put off our clothes *for a whole month*"—implies a completely different reading. Rödiger by a somewhat bold emendation (בידו for המים), produces the sense, "every one had his weapon by him."

CHAP. V. **2.** *We, our sons, and our daughters, are many.*] Houbigant's emendation, which brings this verse into exact parallelism with the next (see Additional Note at the end of the chapter), seems to deserve acceptance. It gives the sense—"We have pledged our sons and our daughters, that we might get corn, and eat and live." (Compare verse 5.)

3. *That we might buy corn, because of the dearth.*] Rather, "that we might **get corn in the famine.**" It is implied that there had been a scarcity some time previously, and that the mortgages had been then made.

4. *The king's tribute.*] The tax payable to the Persian monarch. (Compare Ezr. iv. 13; Esth. x. 1; and infra, ch. ix. 37.) On the connection in ancient times of debt with taxation, see Liv. ii. 23.

5. *We bring into bondage our sons and our daughters.*] The power of a father to sell his daughter into slavery is expressly mentioned in the Law (Ex. xxi. 7). The power to sell a son appears from this passage, but is not otherwise distinctly stated. In either case the sale held good for six years only, or until the next year of jubilee. (See note on Lev. xxv. 39, 40.)

neither is it in our power to redeem them.] Literally, "neither is there aught in our hand"—in other words, "we are wholly destitute."

7. *Ye exact usury.*] Rather, "**ye lend upon pledge.**" The phrase is peculiar to Nehemiah, and is best explained by the context, which shows the practice of the rich Jews at the time to have been not so much to lend on usury as to lend on mortgage and pledge.

8. *We . . . have redeemed our brethren.*]

[a] Lev. 25. 48. our ability have [a] redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found nothing *to answer*.

9 Also I said, It *is* not good that ye do: ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies?

10 I likewise, *and* my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury.

11 Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth *part* of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them.

12 Then said they, We will restore *them*, and will require nothing of them; so will we do as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according to this promise.

13 Also I shook my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and [†] emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the LORD. And the people did according to this promise.

[†] Heb. *empty*, or, *void*.

14 ¶ Moreover from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, *that is*, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor.

15 But the former governors that *had been* before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of

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Nehemiah contrasts his own example with that of the rich Jews. He has spent money in redeeming some of his countrymen, who were in servitude among the heathen; they are causing others to be sold into slavery among the Jews.

sell.] *I.e.* cause to be sold.

unto us.] Among *ourselves*, among *us Jews*; in opposition to "the heathen" of the first clause.

9. *Because of the reproach.*] Because of the opportunity to reproach us which your misconduct gives our enemies.

10. *I likewise . . . might exact.*] Rather, "I, too, my brethren, and my servants, **lend** (or, **have lent**) **them** money and corn." Nehemiah had lent, but not upon pledge.

this usury.] Rather, "**this pledge-taking.**" (See note on verse 7.)

11. *The hundredth part of the money, &c.*] *I.e.* the interest. It is conjectured that the hundredth part was payable *monthly*, or, in other words, that interest was taken at the rate of twelve per cent. The Law altogether disallowed the taking of interest from Israelites. (See Ex. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36; &c.)

that ye exact of them.] Literally, "that **you lend to them.**" The relative refers to the "money, corn, wine, and oil."

12. *I called the priests.*] As witnesses of the oath which he "took" or exacted of the rich men.

13. *I shook my lap.*] Compare Acts xviii. 6. By "lap" is meant, what the Latins called the *sinus*, a fold in the bosom of the dress, capable of serving as a pocket. (Compare Is. xlix. 22.)

even thus be he shaken out, &c.] Rather, "**and thus let him be** shaken out and emptied."

14. *Moreover.*] Besides the relief which he afforded to the poorer sort of people by these measures, Nehemiah goes on to show that he spared them also in other ways:—1. In requiring no taxation for the support of himself and court; 2. In declining to buy the lands of the necessitous (verse 16); and 3. In taking his full share of the burthen of building the wall (ibid.). Thus a single idea pervades the whole chapter.

have not eaten the bread of the governor.] *I.e.* "have not, like other Persian governors, lived at the expense of the people under my government."

15. *Had taken of them bread and wine.*] Under the Persian system, which assigned no stipends to governors, the provinces were always charged with the support of the satrap and his court; and furnished contributions both in money and in kind. (See notes on Ezr. iv. 13, 14.)

them bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare rule over the people: but so did not I, because of the fear of God.

16 Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my servants *were* gathered thither unto the work.

17 Moreover *there were* at my table an hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen that *are* about us.

18 Now *that* which was prepared *for me* daily *was* one ox *and* six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine: yet for all this required not I the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people.

19 [a] Think upon me, my God, for good, *according* to all that I have done for this people. [a] ch. 13. 22.

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beside forty shekels of silver.] Not forty shekels a year from each person, as some suppose, but rather forty shekels a day from the entire province. For such a table as that kept up by Nehemiah (verse 18) this would be a very moderate payment.

16. *I continued.*] Rather, "I **repaired**" —"I took my share in the work of repairing the wall," not (as appears from ch. iii.) by working at a particular piece, but in the way of general superintendence.

neither bought we any land.] I did not take advantage of the general poverty to buy poor men's plots of ground.

17. *Moreover, &c.*] Translate, "Moreover there were at my table, **of the Jews**, an hundred and fifty rulers, besides those, &c." The governor entertained daily 150 of the chief resident Jews, besides keeping open house for such as came on a visit to Jerusalem from foreign countries.

18. *One ox, &c.*] Compare the far grander provision for Solomon's table (1 K. iv. 23).

once in ten days store of all sorts of wine.] Wine was, no doubt, drunk every day; but the stock was renewed only once in ten days.

the bondage was heavy.] The demands of the Persian crown upon the Jews, as its subjects, were heavy. (Compare verse 4 of this chapter, and ch. ix. 36, 37.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 2.

According to Houbigant we should read ערבים *for* רבים *here, in which case verses 2 and 3 will be cast in exactly the same mould, viz.:*

Verse 2.
ויש אשר אמרים בנינו ובנתינו אנחנו
ערבים ונקחה דגן ונר

Verse 3.
ויש אשר אמרים שדתינו וכרמינו ובתינו
אנחנו ערבים ונקחה דגן וגר

If רבים be retained, there is great awkwardness in the opening phrase, "Our sons and our daughters, we are many,' and there is no direct complaint of the servitude which was the main grievance of the time. (See verse 8.) Again, with רבים, the only complaint in verse 2 would be, "Our families are large," a circumstance which is never regarded as a misfortune in Scripture.

CHAPTER VI.

1 Sanballat practiseth by craft, by rumours, by hired prophecies, to terrify Nehemiah. 15 The work is finished to the terror of the enemies. 17 Secret intelligence passeth between the enemies and the nobles of Judah.

NOW it came to pass, when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, and the rest of our enemies, heard that I had builded the wall, and *that* there was no breach left therein; (though at that time I had not set up the doors upon the gates;)

2 That Sanballat and Geshem sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in *some one of* the villages in the plain of Ono. But they thought to do me mischief.

3 And I sent messengers unto them, saying, I *am* doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and come down to you?

4 Yet they sent unto me four times after this sort; and I answered them after the same manner.

5 Then sent Sanballat his servant unto me in like manner the fifth time with an open letter in his hand;

6 Wherein *was* written, It is reported among the heathen, and [1]Gashmu saith *it*, *that* thou and the Jews think to rebel: for which cause thou buildest the wall, that thou mayest be their king, according to these words.

[1] Or, *Geshem*, ver. 2.

7 And thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem, saying, *There is* a king in Judah: and now shall it be reported to the king according to these words. Come now therefore, and let us take counsel together.

8 Then I sent unto him, saying, There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.

9 For they all made us afraid, saying, Their hands shall be weakened from the work, that it be not done. Now therefore, *O God*, strengthen my hands.

10 Afterward I came unto the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel, who *was* shut up; and he said, Let us meet together in the house of God, within the temple, and let us shut the doors of the temple: for they will come to slay thee; yea, in the night will they come to slay thee.

11 And I said, Should such a man as I flee? and who *is there*, that,

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CHAP. VI. 1. *I had not set up the doors upon the gates.*] Rather, "in the gates." This work would naturally be delayed to the last.

2. *Sanballat and Geshem.*] Tobiah is omitted as being the mere servant of Sanballat. (See note on ch. ii. 10.)

in some one of the villages.] Or, "in Cephirim," a place not elsewhere mentioned.

in the plain of Ono.] The choice made of Ono, on the skirts of Benjamin, 25 or 30 miles from Jerusalem, as the meeting-place, was, no doubt, in order to draw Nehemiah to a distance from his supporters, that so an attack might be made on him with a better chance of success. On the position of Ono, see note on 1 Chr. viii. 12.

5. *An open letter.*] The letter was "open," in order that the contents might be generally known, and that the Jews, alarmed at the threats contained in it, might refuse to continue the work.

6. *Gashmu.*] This form is probably a dialectic variety of the "Geshem," which is found in ch. ii. 19 and vi. 1, 2.

according to these words.] *I.e.* "according to these reports concerning thee."

9. *Now therefore, O God, strengthen my hands.*] The absence from the original of the words, "O God," have caused many critics to doubt whether this is a prayer. But the passage scarcely admits of any other rendering.

10. *Who was shut up.*] On account, probably, of some legal uncleanness. (Compare Jer. xxxvi. 5.)

within the temple.] Inside the main building of the temple, which it was not lawful for any but the priests and Levites to enter.

11. *Should such a man as I flee?*] Should

being as I *am*, would go into the temple to save his life? I will not go in.

12 And, lo, I perceived that God had not sent him; but that he pronounced this prophecy against me: for Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him.

13 Therefore *was* he hired, that I should be afraid, and do so, and sin, and *that* they might have *matter* for an evil report, that they might reproach me.

14 My God, think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works, and on the prophetess Noadiah, and the rest of the prophets, that would have put me in fear.

15 ¶ So the wall was finished in the twenty and fifth *day* of *the month* Elul, in fifty and two days.

16 And it came to pass, that when all our enemies heard *thereof*, and all the heathen that *were* about us saw *these things*, they were much cast down in their own eyes: for they perceived that this work was wrought of our God.

17 ¶ Moreover in those days the nobles of Judah †sent many letters unto Tobiah, and *the letters* of Tobiah came unto them.

† Heb. *multiplied their letters passing to Tobiah.*

18 For *there were* many in Judah sworn unto him, because he *was* the son in law of Shechaniah the son of Arah; and his son Johanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah.

I, the leader of the people, set an example of cowardice?

being as I.] Being a layman, as I am. (See note on ch. ii. 3.)

would go into the temple to save his life.] Rather, "**could go into the temple and live.**" For a layman to enter the sanctuary was a capital offence. (See Num. xviii. 7.)

12. *I perceived, &c.*] Translate—"I perceived that God had not sent him, **that he should utter this prophecy unto me, but that** Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him." The existence of a party among the Jews who sided with Sanballat; and lent themselves to his schemes, is here for the first time indicated. Other notices of the same fact occur in verses 14 and 17-19 of this chapter, and in ch. xiii. 4, 5, and 28.

14. *The prophetess Noadiah.*] Noadiah is not elsewhere mentioned. But the examples of Miriam, Deborah, Huldah and Anna, show that the prophetical gift was occasionally bestowed upon women. (See note on 2 K. xxii. 14.)

15. *The month Elul.*] The sixth month, corresponding to the latter part of August and the beginning of September.

in fifty and two days.] This time has been regarded as too short, and the statement of Josephus that the repairs of the wall occupied two years and four months has been preferred to that of the text. But Nehemiah's narrative is thoroughly consistent with itself, and contains in it nothing that is improbable. He represents the walls as everywhere existing at the time that he commenced his task, and as only needing repairs. He states that the work was partitioned among at least thirty-seven working parties, who laboured simultaneously. He shows that the material for repairs was ready at hand in the *débris* of the walls which lay at their base (ii. 14; iv. 2). He explains how, notwithstanding all menaces, the workmen laboured uninterruptedly. There can be no doubt that a dismantled fortress as large as Jerusalem, *i.e.* less than four miles in circumference, has often been put into a state of defence in a shorter time than fifty-two days.

16. *They perceived that this work was wrought of our God.*] Compare Ps. cxxvi. 2. The hand of God was traceable, 1. In the favourable disposition of Artaxerxes towards a work on which he might naturally have looked with jealousy (see ch. i. 11; ii. 4); and 2. In the failure of all attempts to intimidate or deceive Nehemiah.

17. *The letters.*] Rather, "many letters."

18. *Sworn unto him.*] Many of the Jews had sworn friendship with him, as David did with Jonathan (1 S. xviii. 3).

Shechaniah the son of Arah.] Arah is mentioned as the head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 5; Neh. vii. 10).

Meshullam.] Compare ch. iii. 4. Though Tobiah is called "the servant" or "slave" (ii. 10, 19), and was perhaps a bought slave of Sanballat's, yet he was in such a position that Jewish nobles readily contracted affinity with him. This is quite in harmony with the practice of the East, where slaves often fill high positions and make grand marriages.

19 Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my ‖ words to him. *And* Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.

‖ Or, *matters.*

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Nehemiah committeth the charge of Jerusalem to Hanani and Hananiah.* 5 *A register of the genealogy of them which came at the first out of Babylon,* 9 *of the people,* 39 *of the priests,* 43 *of the Levites,* 46 *of the Nethinims,* 57 *of Solomon's servants,* 63 *and of the priests which could not find their pedigree.* 66 *The whole number of them, with their substance.* 70 *Their oblations.*

NOW it came to pass, when the wall was built, and I had set up the doors, and the porters and the singers and the Levites were appointed,

2 That I gave my brother Hanani, and Hananiah the ruler of the palace, charge over Jerusalem: for he *was* a faithful man, and feared God above many.

3 And I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand by, let them shut the doors, and bar *them:* and appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every one *to be* over against his house.

4 Now the city *was* †large and great: but the people *were* few therein, and the houses *were* not builded.

† Heb. *broad in spaces.*

5 ¶ And my God put into mine heart to gather together the nobles, and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and found written therein,

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CHAP. VII. 1. *The doors.*] Compare ch. vi. 1.

the porters and the singers and the Levites.] As the watch of the Temple had hitherto been kept by porters, singers, and Levites (1 Chr. xxvi. 1-19; infra, xii. 45-47), so it would seem that now the watch of the entire city was committed to men of the same three classes, their experience pointing them out as the fittest persons.

2. *My brother Hanani.*] See ch. i. 2.

the ruler of the palace.] Or, "the governor of the fortress." (See note on ch. ii. 8.)

he.] *i.e.* Hananiah.

3. *Until the sun be hot.*] An unusual precaution. The ordinary practice in the East is to open town gates at sunrise.

4. *The people were few.*] The number of those who returned with Zerubbabel was no more than 42,360. (Ezra ii. 64; Neh. vii. 66.) With Ezra had come less than 2000 (Ezra viii. 1-20). This scanty population of under 50,000 persons was spread over the whole of Judæa from Bethel to Beersheba (Neh. xi. 30, 31). Yet it was hardly more than sufficient to furnish Jerusalem with its normal population, which is estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000.

5. *I found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and found written therein.*] It is argued by some that the entire catalogue which follows (verses 7-73) is not the register of them "which came up *at the first,*" but of the Jewish people in Nehemiah's time; that it stands in Nehemiah in its right place; and that it has been improperly transferred to Ezr. ii. The chief arguments in favour of this view are—1. The mention of Nehemiah (assumed to be the writer of the present book) in Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7; 2. The mention of the Tirshatha (believed to be a title peculiar to Nehemiah) in Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; and 3. The apparent connection of the narrative of Neh. viii., which certainly belongs to Nehemiah's own time (see verse 9), with the latter part of ch. vii. Further, it is said, if this catalogue be not the account of Nehemiah's census, no account of it is anywhere given, which is very improbable.

But against these arguments must be set—1. The distinct statement in Ezra (ii. 2) that the men mentioned "came with Zerubbabel;" 2. The repetition of that statement here (verse 7); 3. The harmony between the position of the list in Ezra and the words, "a register of the genealogy of them which came up *at the first,*" by which it is prefaced here; and 4. The certainty that a quotation from the old register must follow the words, "and found written in it," combined with the improbability that the quotation would stop short with a mere heading, and that then, *without any notice,* Nehemiah would proceed to give his own register.

Further, the weakness of the grounds relied upon by the opponents may be noticed:—1. There is nothing to show that the Nehemiah

6 [b]These *are* the children of the province, that went up out of the captivity, of those that had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away, and came again to Jerusalem and to Judah, every one unto his city;

7 Who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, [1]Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah. The number, *I say*, of the men of the people of Israel *was this;*

8 The children of Parosh, two thousand an hundred seventy and two.

9 The children of Shephatiah, three hundred seventy and two.

10 The children of Arah, six hundred fifty and two.

11 The children of Pahath-moab, of the children of Jeshua and Joab, two thousand and eight hundred *and* eighteen.

12 The children of Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

13 The children of Zattu, eight hundred forty and five.

14 The children of Zaccai, seven hundred and threescore.

15 The children of [1]Binnui, six hundred forty and eight.

16 The children of Bebai, six hundred twenty and eight.

17 The children of Azgad, two thousand three hundred twenty and two.

18 The children of Adonikam, six hundred threescore and seven.

19 The children of Bigvai, two thousand threescore and seven.

20 The children of Adin, six hundred fifty and five.

21 The children of Ater of Hezekiah, ninety and eight.

22 The children of Hashum, three hundred twenty and eight.

23 The children of Bezai, three hundred twenty and four.

24 The children of [1]Hariph, an hundred and twelve.

25 The children of [1]Gibeon, ninety and five.

26 The men of Beth-lehem and Netophah, an hundred fourscore and eight.

27 The men of Anathoth, an hundred twenty and eight.

28 The men of [1]Beth-azmaveth, forty and two.

29 The men of [1]Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred forty and three.

30 The men of Ramah and Gaba, six hundred twenty and one.

31 The men of Michmas, an hundred and twenty and two.

32 The men of Beth-el and Ai, an hundred twenty and three.

33 The men of the other Nebo, fifty and two.

34 The children of the other [a]Elam, a thousand two hundred fifty and four.

35 The children of Harim, three hundred and twenty.

36 The children of Jericho, three hundred forty and five.

37 The children of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, seven hundred twenty and one.

38 The children of Senaah, three thousand nine hundred and thirty.

39 ¶ The priests: the children of [b]Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, nine hundred seventy and three.

40 The children of Immer, a thousand fifty and two.

[b] Ezra 2. 1, &c.

[1] Or, *Seraiah.*

[1] Or, *Bani.*

[1] Or, *Jora.*

[1] Or, *Gibbar*

[1] Or, *Asmaveth.*

[1] Or, *Kirjath-arim.*

[a] See ver. 12.

[b] 1 Chron. 24. 7.

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of Ezr. ii. 2 and Neh. vii. 7 is Nehemiah the governor; 2. If Tirshatha is, as generally allowed, an official title, it is likely to have belonged to others besides Nehemiah; 3. The apparent connection of the narrative of ch. viii. with ch. vii. arises from an error of punctuation. Ch. vii. should terminate with the words, "all Israel dwelt in their cities," ch. viii. commencing, "And when the seventh month came." Finally, we seem to have the result of Nehemiah's registration in ch. xi.

7-73. As these verses are essentially a repetition of Ezra ii., the reader is referred to that place for a comment on them.

41 The children of Pashur, a thousand two hundred forty and seven.

42 The children of Harim, a thousand and seventeen.

43 ¶ The Levites: the children of Jeshua, of Kadmiel, *and* of the children of [1]Hodevah, seventy and four.

[1] Or, *Hodaviah*, Ezra 2. 40. or, *Judah*, Ezra 3. 9.

44 ¶ The singers: the children of Asaph, an hundred forty and eight.

45 ¶ The porters: the children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai, an hundred thirty and eight.

46 ¶ The Nethinims: the children of Ziha, the children of Hashupha, the children of Tabbaoth,

47 The children of Keros, the children of Sia, the children of Padon,

48 The children of Lebana, the children of Hagaba, the children of Shalmai,

49 The children of Hanan, the children of Giddel, the children of Gahar,

50 The children of Reaiah, the children of Rezin, the children of Nekoda,

51 The children of Gazzam, the children of Uzza, the children of Phaseah,

52 The children of Besai, the children of Meunim, the children of Nephishesim,

53 The children of Bakbuk, the children of Hakupha, the children of Harhur,

54 The children of Bazlith, the children of Mehida, the children of Harsha,

55 The children of Barkos, the children of Sisera, the children of Tamah,

56 The children of Neziah, the children of Hatipha.

57 ¶ The children of Solomon's servants: the children of Sotai, the children of Sophereth, the children of Perida,

58 The children of Jaala, the children of Darkon, the children of Giddel,

59 The children of Shephatiah, the children of Hattil, the children of Pochereth of Zebaim, the children of [1]Amon.

[1] Or, *Ami.*

60 All the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants, *were* three hundred ninety and two.

61 [c]And these *were* they which went up *also* from Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, Addon, and Immer: but they could not shew their father's house, nor their [1]seed, whether they *were* of Israel.

[c] Ezra 2. 59.

[1] Or, *pedigree.*

62 The children of Delaiah, the children of Tobiah, the children of Nekoda, six hundred forty and two.

63 ¶ And of the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai, which took *one* of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite to wife, and was called after their name.

64 These sought their register *among* those that were reckoned by genealogy, but it was not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood.

65 And [1]the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood *up* a priest with Urim and Thummim.

[1] Or, *the governor.*

66 ¶ The whole congregation together *was* forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore,

67 Beside their manservants and their maidservants, of whom *there were* seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and they had two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women.

68 Their horses, seven hundred thirty and six: their mules, two hundred forty and five:

69 *Their* camels, four hundred thirty and five: six thousand seven hundred and twenty asses.

70 ¶ And [†]some of the chief of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure a thou-

[†] Heb. *part.*

sand drams of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments.

71 And *some* of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand and two hundred pound of silver.

72 And *that* which the rest of the people gave *was* twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments.

73 So the priests, and the Levites, and the porters, and the singers, and *some* of the people, and the Nethinims, and all Israel, dwelt in their cities; and when the seventh month came, the children of Israel *were* in their cities.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The religious manner of reading and hearing the law.* 9 *They comfort the people.* 13 *The forwardness of them to hear and be instructed.* 16 *They keep the feast of tabernacles.*

AND all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that *was* before the water gate; [a] and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD had commanded to Israel.

[a] Ezra 3. 1. & 7. 6.

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70. *Five hundred and thirty priests' garments.*] Bertheau proposes to read "500 *pounds of silver* and 30 priests' garments," believing the words *keseph mânim* to have fallen out. Ezra and Nehemiah are thus brought into near accordance.

Nehemiah.		Ezra.
Gold.	dr.	Gold.
Given by Tirshatha . . .	1,000	
,, chief fathers . .	20,000	
,, people	20,000	
	41,000	61,000 dr. (a corruption of 41,000).
Silver.	lbs.	
Given by Tirshatha . . .	500	
,, chief fathers . .	2,200	
,, people	2,000	
	4,700	5,000 lbs. (a round number).
Garments.		
Given by Tirshatha . . .	30	
,, people	67	
	97	100 (a round number).

73. *Dwelt in their cities.*] Nehemiah's quotation from Zerubabbel's register here comes to an end, and the narration of events in Jerusalem in his own day is resumed from verse 3. The narrative (chs. viii.–x.) appears from internal evidence to be by a different author, whom some suppose to be Ezra; but this is more than doubtful. (See 'Introduction,' § 2.)

CHAP. VIII. The last two clauses of ch. vii. should be detached from verse 73, and should stand at the beginning of this chapter. The text would then run:—

> "And when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in their cities, the whole people gathered themselves together as one man," &c.

Compare Ezr. iii. 1; which the writer follows, though he is speaking of a different occasion; and note that the division here advocated is followed by the LXX.

1. *The street.*] Rather, "**the square**" or "**court.**" (Compare Ezr. x. 9.) The court seems to have been one between the eastern gate of the Temple and the water-gate in the city-wall. It would thus lie within the modern Haram area.

they spake unto Ezra the scribe.] This is the first mention of Ezra in the present book, and the first proof we have had that he was contemporary with Nehemiah. It seems impossible that he should have been in Jerusalem during the events narrated in Neh. ii.-vi. and have played no part in them. Probably he returned to the court of Artaxerxes soon after effecting the reforms which he relates in Ezr. x., and did not revisit Jerusalem till about the time when the walls were completed. If he had thus just returned after an absence of more than ten years, it would be natural for the people to request him to resume the work of exposition of the Law to

2 And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month.

† Heb. *that understood in hearing.*

3 And he read therein before the street that *was* before the water gate from the morning until midday, before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people *were attentive* unto the book of the law.

† Heb. *from the light.*

4 And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose; and beside him stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, *and* Meshullam.

† Heb. *tower of wood.*

5 And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; (for he was above all the people;) and when he opened it, all the people stood up:

† Heb. *eyes*

6 And Ezra blessed the LORD, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshipped the LORD with *their* faces to the ground.

7 Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites, caused the people to understand the law: and the people *stood* in their place.

8 So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused *them* to understand the reading.

9 ¶ And Nehemiah, which *is* the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day *is* holy unto the LORD your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law.

‖ Or, *the governor.*

10 Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them

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which he had accustomed them on his former visit. (See Ezr. vii. 10, 25.)

2. *Upon the first day of the seventh month.*] The day of the "Feast of Trumpets," appointed as one of sabbatical rest, and on which there was to be a "Holy Convocation." (See Lev. xxiii. 24, and note ad loc.) The gathering together of the people, spoken of in verse 1, was probably to keep this feast.

4. *Beside him stood Mattithiah, &c.*] These thirteen persons were probably the chief priests of the course which was at the time performing the temple service. Only a few of the names recur in other parts of the book. (Hilkiah, ch. xii. 7; Malchiah, x. 3; Meshullam, x. 7; Pedaiah, iii. 25; Urijah, iii. 4.)

5. *Stood up.*] The attitude of attention and respect. Compare the practice of the Christian Church at the reading of the Gospel for the day.

7. *Jeshua, and Bani, &c.*] These names, as used here, and also in ch. ix. 4, 5, and ch. x. 9, seem not to be the personal appellations of individuals, but rather designations of Levitical families, the descendants respectively of a Jeshua, a Bani (Binnui), a Sherebiah, &c. The persons from whom the families took their names lived not later than the time of Zerubbabel. (See ch. xii. 8, and compare ch. vii. 43.)

8. *Gave the sense.*] Either by rendering the Hebrew into the Aramaic dialect, or perhaps simply by explaining obscure words or passages.

and caused them to understand.] Bertheau translates, with the LXX. and the Vulgate, "and they (the people) understood what was read." De Wette prefers the meaning given by the A. V. Maurer renders "they (the Levites) expounded as they read;" which is probably the true meaning.

9. *Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha.*] Hitherto Nehemiah has called himself *pechah*, (v. 14, 15, 18), which is the ordinary word for "governor." Now for the first time he is called "the Tirshatha." The new title is among the indications that this portion of the Book is from another hand. (See 'Introduction,' § 2.)

This day is holy.] See note on verse 2.

the people wept, when they heard the words of the law.] Undoubtedly because "it brought vividly before them their own sins of omission and commission."

10. *Send portions.*] The "sending of por-

for whom nothing is prepared: for *this* day *is* holy unto our Lord: neither be ye sorry; for the joy of the LORD is your strength.

11 So the Levites stilled all the people, saying, Hold your peace, for the day *is* holy; neither be ye grieved.

12 And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them.

13 ¶ And on the second day were gathered together the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests, and the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even ‖ to understand the words of the law.

14 And they found written in the law which the LORD had commanded † by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in [b] booths in the feast of the seventh month:

15 And that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as *it is* written.

16 ¶ So the people went forth, and brought *them*, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim.

17 And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day

[b] Lev. 23. 34. Deu. 16. 13.

‖ Or, *that they might instruct in the words of the law.*

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

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tions" to the poor is not distinctly mentioned in any but the later historical Scriptures. (Compare Esth. ix. 19, 22.) But it was an injunction of the Law that the enjoyment of the greater festivals should be extended to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (Deut. xvi. 11, 14); and the practice of sending portions naturally grew out of this injunction, proceeding even beyond it.

the joy of the Lord is your strength.] Festal joy strengthens the soul against coming trials. The Jews were not now forbidden to be sorry for their sins, but only prohibited from marring with the expression of their sorrow a festive occasion.

12. *They had understood the words.*] They had felt the reasonableness of the words addressed to them by Nehemiah and Ezra (verses 9, 10).

13. *To understand.*] Rather, "to consider."

14. *They found written, &c.*] See Lev. xxiii. 42. The Feast of Tabernacles had fallen, it would seem, into abeyance since the time when it was kept by Zerubbabel and those who returned with him from Babylon (Ezr. iii. 4); or, at any rate, the practice of dwelling in booths during its continuance had been given up. It is evident that the observance of the Law, impossible during the Captivity, was restored slowly and with difficulty after the return.

15. *Saying.*] According to the present text, the whole of this verse should be a quotation from the Pentateuch, or at any rate should give the sense of certain passages. But evidently this is not the case. The Law required proclamation of the festival (Lev. xxiii. 4), but nothing else. It has therefore been proposed, with some reason, to amend the text. (See *Additional Note at the end of the chapter.*)

the mount.] The "mount of Olives" is probably intended.

pine branches.] Rather, "branches of the wild olive."

branches of thick trees.] See note on Lev. xxiii. 40.

as it is written.] The reference must be to Lev. xxiii. 40, where, however, the "olive," "wild olive," and "myrtle" of the present passage are replaced by the *hâdâr* (see note on Lev. xxiii. 40) and the "willow of the brook." It was probably considered that the spirit of the command was kept if branches of trees similar in general character to those named in Leviticus were employed. The actual trees named may have become scarce.

16. *In their courts.*] Oriental houses are almost always built round a court-yard, into which the windows look.

the street of the water gate.] See note on verse 1.

the street of the gate of Ephraim.] A "square," or "open space" just inside this gate.

17. *Since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun*

had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness.

18 Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day *was* †a solemn assembly, according unto the manner.

† Heb. *a restraint.*

. . . *had not the children of Israel done so.*] It is certainly not the intention of the writer to state that the Feast of Tabernacles had not been kept from the time of Joshua until this occasion, since it was notorious that Solomon had celebrated the feast with great pomp (1 K. viii. 2, 65); and he could scarcely be ignorant that it had also been celebrated by Zerubbabel (Ezr. iii. 4). All that he means is, that there had been *no such* celebration as this ("the children of Israel had not *done so*") since Joshua's time. (Compare 2 K. xxiii. 22; 2 Chr. xxxv. 18.)

18. *He read in the book of the law.*] Obeying the injunctions of the Law (Deut. xxxi. 10, 11.)

according unto the manner.] Or, "as the custom was"—a clear indication that the celebration of the festival was customary. On the "solemn assembly" of the eighth day see Lev. xxiii. 36.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 15.

If, with Houbigant, we read ואשר ישמעו ויעבירו for ואשר ישמיעו ויעבירו, we may translate, "And when they heard, they proclaimed in all their cities," &c.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *A solemn fast, and repentance of the people.* 4 *The Levites make a religious confession of God's goodness, and their wickedness.*

NOW in the twenty and fourth day of [c]this month the children of Israel were assembled with fasting, and with sackclothes, and earth upon them.

[c] ch. 8 2.

2 And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all †strangers, and stood and confessed their sins, and the iniquities of their fathers.

† Heb. *strange children.*

3 And they stood up in their place, and read in the book of the law of the LORD their God *one* fourth part of the day; and *another* fourth part they confessed, and worshipped the LORD their God.

4 ¶ Then stood up upon the [1]stairs, of the Levites, Jeshua, and Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, *and* Chenani, and cried with a loud voice unto the LORD their God.

[1] Or, *scaffold.*

5 Then the Levites, Jeshua, and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabniah, Shere-

CHAP. IX. 1. *In the twenty and fourth day.*] The festival lasted from the 15th day of the 7th month to the 21st. The 22nd day was a day of solemn observance (ch. viii. 18). One day seems to have been allowed the people for rest; and then the work of repentance, for which they had shown themselves ready on the second day of the feast (viii. 9), was taken in hand, and a general fast was proclaimed.

earth upon them.] Compare 1 S. iv. 12; 2 S. xv. 32; &c.

3. *Read.*] *I.e.* "engaged in the reading of the Law." The actual readers were no doubt the Levites. (See ch. viii. 3-8.)

4. *Upon the stairs, of the Levites.*] There should be no comma after "stairs." By the "stairs (or scaffold) of the Levites" is to be understood an elevated platform from which they could the better address and lead the people. (Compare ch. viii. 4.)

Bani . . . Bunni . . . Bani.] Compare the "Binnui," "Bani," and "Beninu," of ch. x. 9, 13.

Chenani.] Compare the "Hanan" of ch. viii. 7, and x. 10. As in ch. viii. 7, Levitical *families* are intended.

5. *Jeshua, and Kadmiel, Bani, &c.*] The LXX. omit all the names after Kadmiel.

biah, Hodijah, Shebaniah, *and* Pethahiah, said, Stand up *and* bless the LORD your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise.

6 Thou, *even* thou, *art* LORD alone; [d]thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all *things* that *are* therein, the seas, and all that *is* therein, and thou preservest them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth thee.

[d] Gen. 1. 1.

7 Thou *art* the LORD the God, who didst choose [e]Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the name of Abraham;

[e] Gen. 11. 31. & 12. 1. & 17. 5.

8 And foundest his heart [f]faithful before thee, and madest a [g]covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, to give *it*, *I say*, to his seed, and hast performed thy words; for thou *art* righteous:

[f] Gen. 15. 6.
[g] Gen. 12. 7. & 15. 18. & 17. 7, 8.

9 [h]And didst see the affliction of our fathers in Egypt, and heardest their cry by the Red sea;

[h] Ex. 3. 7. & 14. 10.

10 And [i]shewedst signs and wonders upon Pharaoh, and on all his servants, and on all the people of his land: for thou knewest that they dealt proudly against them. So didst thou get thee a name, as *it is* this day.

[i] Ex. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, & 14, chapters.

11 [k]And thou didst divide the sea before them, so that they went through the midst of the sea on the dry land; and their persecutors thou threwest into the deeps, as a stone into the [l]mighty waters.

[k] Ex. 14. 22.
[l] Ex. 15. 10.

12 Moreover thou [a]leddest them in the day by a cloudy pillar; and in the night by a pillar of fire, to give them light in the way wherein they should go.

[a] Ex. 13. 21.

13 [b]Thou camest down also upon mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and [†]true laws, good statutes and commandments:

[b] Ex. 19. 20. & 20. 1.
[†] Heb. *laws of truth.*

14 And madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant:

15 And [c]gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock for their thirst, and promisedst them that they should [d]go in to possess the land [†]which thou hadst sworn to give them.

[c] Ex. 16. 15. & 17. 6. Num. 20. 9.
[d] Deut. 1. 8.
[†] Heb. *which thou hadst lift up thine hand to give them.*

16 But they and our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened their necks, and hearkened not to thy commandments,

17 And refused to obey, neither were mindful of thy wonders that thou didst among them; but hardened their necks, and in their rebellion appointed [e]a captain to return to their bondage: but thou *art* [†]a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger,

[e] Num. 14. 4.
[†] Heb. *a God of pardons.*

Stand up.] The people had knelt to confess and worship God (verse 3). They were now to take the attitude proper for praise.

6. *The heaven of heavens.*] See note on Deut. x. 14.

all their host.] Cf. Gen. ii. 1.

thou preservest them.] Literally, "thou givest them life."

the host of heaven worshippeth thee.] *I.e.* the angels. (See 1 K. xxii. 19; Ps. ciii. 21.)

10. *They dealt proudly.*] The same phrase is used by Jethro (Ex. xviii. 11).

get thee a name.] Compare Ex. ix. 16.

11. *Into the mighty waters.*] Rather, "into mighty waters," or, "into fierce waters."

14. *And madest known unto them thy holy sabbath.*] See the notes on Ex. xx. 8 (vol. i. pp. 333, 339).

17. *In their rebellion appointed a captain to return to their bondage.*] The LXX. and several MSS., instead of "in their rebellion," have "in Egypt." Translate—"And appointed a captain **to return to their bondage in Egypt.**" Cf. Num. xiv. 4, and note that the Levites regard the appointment as made, whereas we are only told in Numbers that it was proposed.

and of great kindness, and forsookest them not.

18 Yea, [f] when they had made them a molten calf, and said, This *is* thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt, and had wrought great provocations;

19 Yet thou in thy manifold mercies forsookest them not in the wilderness: the [g] pillar of the cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the pillar of fire by night, to shew them light, and the way wherein they should go.

20 Thou gavest also thy [h] good spirit to instruct them, and withheldest not thy [i] manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst.

21 Yea, forty years didst thou sustain them in the wilderness, *so that* they [k] lacked nothing; their [k] clothes waxed not old, and their feet swelled not.

22 Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners. so they possessed the land of [l] Sihon, and the land of the king of Heshbon, and the land of Og king of Bashan.

23 Their children also multipliedst thou as the stars of heaven, and broughtest them into the land, concerning which thou hadst promised to their fathers, that they should go in to possess *it*.

24 So the children went in and possessed the land, and thou subduedst before them the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, and gavest them into their hands, with their kings, and the people of the land, that they might do with them [†] as they would.

25 And they took strong cities, and a fat land, and possessed houses full of all goods, [‖] wells digged, vineyards, and oliveyards, and [†] fruit trees in abundance: so they did eat, and were filled, and became fat, and delighted themselves in thy great goodness.

26 Nevertheless they were disobedient, and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs, and slew thy [m] prophets which testified against them to turn them to thee, and they wrought great provocations.

27 Therefore thou deliveredst them into the hand of their enemies, who vexed them: and in the time of their trouble, when they cried unto thee, thou heardest *them* from heaven; and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours, who saved

[f] Ex. 32. 4.
[g] Ex. 13. 22. Num. 14. 14. 1 Cor. 10. 1.
[h] Num. 11. 17.
[i] Ex. 16. 15. & 17. 6. Josh. 5. 12.
[k] Deut. 8. 4.
[l] Num. 21. 21, &c.
[†] Heb *according to their will.*
[‖] Or, *cisterns.*
[†] Heb. *tree of food.*
[m] 1 Kings 19. 10.

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gracious and merciful, slow to anger, &c.] Cf. Joel ii. 13; Jon. iv. 2.

20. *Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them.*] Cf. Ps. xxxii. 8, and cxliii. 10. This truth is not openly announced in the Pentateuch.

22. *Thou didst divide them into corners.*] Rather, "thou didst **distribute them on all sides**." (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

and the land of the king of Heshbon.] There is a rhetorical amplification throughout this prayer, which will account for this clause—a mere repetition, in other words, of the last—without any alteration of the text. (See, particularly, verse 16, "they and our fathers;" but cf. also verse 12 with 19, verse 15 with 20, &c.)

23. *As the stars of heaven.*] Cf. Gen. xxii. 17.

25. *Houses full of all goods, &c.*] See Deut. vi. 11.

became fat.] *I.e.* "grew proud," or "wanton"—a rare phrase, only occurring here and in two other places, Deut. xxxii. 15; Jer. v. 28.

delighted themselves.] Rather, "**luxuriated**." The word is ἅπ. λεγ.; but cognate terms make the sense clear.

26. *Slew thy prophets.*] Besides the prophets slain by the foreigner, Jezebel (1 K. xviii. 4), the only murder of a prophet distinctly mentioned in the Old Testament is that of Zechariah (2 Chr. xxiv. 21). Jewish tradition, however, states that more than one of the great prophets (*e.g.* Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) were martyred by their countrymen. (Epiphan. "De Vit. et Mort. Proph." 'Op.' ii. pp. 238-240.)

27. *Thou gavest them saviours.*] See Judg.

them out of the hand of their enemies.

† Heb. *they returned to do evil.*

28 But after they had rest, †they did evil again before thee: therefore leftest thou them in the hand of their enemies, so that they had the dominion over them: yet when they returned, and cried unto thee, thou heardest *them* from heaven; and many times didst thou deliver them according to thy mercies;

29 And testifiedst against them, that thou mightest bring them again unto thy law: yet they dealt proudly, and hearkened not unto thy commandments, but sinned against thy judgments, (which if a man do, he shall live in them;) and †withdrew the shoulder, and hardened their neck, and would not hear.

† Heb. *they gave a withdrawing shoulder.*

† Heb. *protract over them.*

30 Yet many years didst thou †forbear them, and testifiedst *against them by thy spirit †in thy prophets: yet would they not give ear: therefore gavest thou them into the hand of the people of the lands.

* 2 Kings 17. 13. 2 Chr. 36. 15.

† Heb. *in the hand of thy prophets.*

31 Nevertheless for thy great mercies' sake thou didst not utterly consume them, nor forsake them; for thou *art* a gracious and merciful God.

32 Now therefore, our God, the great, the *mighty, and the terrible God, who keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the †trouble seem little before thee, †that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day.

* Ex. 34. 6.

† Heb. *weariness.*

† Heb. *that hath found us.*

33 Howbeit thou *art* just in all that is brought upon us; for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly:

34 Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments and thy testimonies, wherewith thou didst testify against them.

35 For they have not served thee in their kingdom, and in thy great goodness that thou gavest them, and in the large and fat land which thou gavest before them, neither turned they from their wicked works.

36 Behold, we *are* servants this day, and *for* the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold, we *are* servants in it:

37 And it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we *are* in great distress.

38 And because of all this we make a sure *covenant*, and write *it*; and our princes, Levites, *and* priests, †seal *unto it.*

† Heb. are *at the sealing*, or, *sealed.*

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iii. 9, 15 (where Othniel and Ehud are called "saviours"), and compare Judg. iv. 6-24; vi. 12; &c.

28. *After they had rest.*] Cf. the frequent phrase, "and the land had rest," in Judges (iii. 11, 30; v. 31; viii. 28).

29. *Which if a man do, &c.*] These words are taken from Lev. xviii. 5.

withdrew the shoulder.] Cf. Zech. vii. 11.

30. *The people of the lands.*] *I.e.* "the heathen." (Compare the use of the expression in Ezr. ix. 1, 2.)

36. *We are servants.*] As we would not be thy servants, we are servants to the king of Persia. (Compare Ezr. ix. 9.)

37. *It yieldeth much increase.*] *I.e.* "it pays tribute in money and kind." (See note on Ezr. iv. 13.)

they have dominion over our bodies and over our cattle.] They can require of us military service, and turn our cattle into baggage animals. Herodotus speaks of the "Syrians of Palestine" (among whom the Jews must have been included) as serving in the armament of Xerxes (Her. vii. 89).

38. *Seal unto it.*] The exact force of the phrase used is doubtful; but its general sense must be that the classes named took part in the sealing. It was usual in the East to authenticate covenants by appending the seals of those who were parties to them. (See Jer. xxxii. 10; Wilkinson, 'Anc. Egyptians,' ii. 342; Layard, 'Nin. and Bab.' p. 154; &c.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 22.

The expression, לִפְאָה, which is nowhere else used absolutely, is explained by Gesenius as equivalent to the plural לְפָאוֹת, and translated "in varias regiones sive partes terræ sanctæ" ('Thesaurus,' s. v.), Bertheau conjectures that the full original phrase was לִפְאָה פֵּאָה, "on side and side," *i. e.* "on every side," for which לִפְאָה is a contraction.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The names of them that sealed the covenant.*
29 *The points of the covenant.*

† Heb. *at the sealings.*
‡ Or, *the governor.*

NOW †those that sealed *were*, Nehemiah, ‡the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah,
2 Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah,
3 Pashur, Amariah, Malchijah,
4 Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch,
5 Harim, Meremoth, Obadiah,
6 Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch,
7 Meshullam, Abijah, Mijamin,
8 Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah: these *were* the priests.
9 And the Levites: both Jeshua the son of Azaniah, Binnui of the sons of Henadad, Kadmiel;
10 And their brethren, Shebaniah, Hodijah, Kelita, Pelaiah, Hanan,
11 Micha, Rehob, Hashabiah,
12 Zaccur, Sherebiah, Shebaniah,
13 Hodijah, Bani, Beninu.
14 The chief of the people; Parosh, Pahath-moab, Elam, Zatthu, Bani,
15 Bunni, Azgad, Bebai,
16 Adonijah, Bigvai, Adin,
17 Ater, Hizkijah, Azzur,
18 Hodijah, Hashum, Bezai,
19 Hariph, Anathoth, Nebai,
20 Magpiash, Meshullam, Hezir,
21 Meshezabeel, Zadok, Jaddua,
22 Pelatiah, Hanan, Anaiah,
23 Hoshea, Hananiah, Hashub,
24 Hallohesh, Pileha, Shobek,
25 Rehum, Hashabnah, Maaseiah,
26 And Ahijah, Hanan, Anan,
27 Malluch, Harim, Baanah.
28 ¶ [a]And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, the Nethinims, and all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, every one having knowledge, and having understanding;

[a] Ezra 2. 43.

29 They clave to their brethren, their nobles, and entered into a curse,

CHAP. X. 1. *Zidkijah.*] The "Zidkijah" of this passage is probably the same person as the "Zadok" of ch. xiii. 13. "Zadok" is expressly called "the scribe," and it was probably as the scribe who drew up the document that "Zidkijah" signed it immediately after Nehemiah. (Compare Ezr. iv. 8, 9.)

2-8. *Seraiah, &c.*] It has been regarded as strange that we do not find in this list the names of either Ezra or Eliashib; and it has been even argued (Davidson) that, as Ezra's name does not appear, he cannot have been present at Jerusalem during the sealing. But, if we examine the names in verses 2-8, we shall find that, of the twenty-one, sixteen occur nearly in the same order, in ch. xii. 1-6, as the names of priests who "went up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua," and whose sons were contemporary with Jeshua's son, Joiakim (ib. 12-21). It is evident, therefore, that the names, as used here, are not personal, but designate families. The seal of the high-priestly house of Seraiah was probably appended either by Ezra or Eliashib, who both belonged to it.

9-13. *Jeshua, &c.*] Levitical families are certainly intended by the first three names here (see note on ch. viii. 7), and probably by the remainder.

14. *The chief of the people.*] From "Parosh" to "Magpiash" (Magbish), the names are those of clans or families (cf. Ezr. ii. 3-30; Neh. vii. 8-33). After this follow the names of men—perhaps the head men of the numerous places which occur in Neh. vii. without being repeated here (Gibeon, Bethlehem, Netophah, Beth-azmaveth, &c.).

28. *All they that had separated themselves.*] See ch. ix. 2.

29. *They clave to their brethren, their nobles.*]

and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given † by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the LORD our Lord, and his judgments and his statutes;

† Heb. *by the hand of.*

30 And that we would not give [b] our daughters unto the people of the land, nor take their daughters for our sons:

[b] Ex. 34. 16. Deut. 7. 3.

31 [c] And *if* the people of the land bring ware or any victuals on the sabbath day to sell, *that* we would not buy it of them on the sabbath, or on the holy day: and *that* we would leave the seventh year, and the [d] exaction of † every debt.

[c] Ex. 20. 10. Lev. 23. 3. Deut. 5. 12. ch. 13. 15, &c.

[d] Lev. 25. 4. Deut. 15. 2.

† Heb. *every hand.*

32 Also we made ordinances for us, to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God;

33 For the shewbread, and for the continual meat offering, and for the continual burnt offering, of the sabbaths, of the new moons, for the set feasts, and for the holy *things*, and for the sin offerings to make an atonement for Israel, and *for* all the work of the house of our God.

34 And we cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood offering, to bring *it* into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of the LORD our God, as *it is* written in the [e] law:

[e] See Num. 28, & 29. Ex. 23. 19 Lev. 19. 23.

35 And to bring the firstfruits of our ground, and the firstfruits of all fruit of all trees, year by year, unto the house of the LORD:

36 Also the firstborn of our sons, and of our cattle, as *it is* written [f] in the law, and the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks, to bring to the house of our God, unto the priests that minister in the house of our God:

[f] Ex. 13. 2. Lev. 23. 17. Num. 15. 19. & 18. 12, &c.

37 And *that* we should bring the firstfruits of our dough, and our offerings, and the fruit of all manner of trees, of wine and of oil, unto the

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I.e. "to their (more) distinguished brethren," those who had set their seals to the covenant.

31. *Bring ware . . . on the sabbath day.*] Compare ch. xiii. 16, where this desecration of the sabbath is shown to have commonly taken place.

leave the seventh year.] *I.e.* "let the land rest in the sabbatical year," as commanded Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 4.

the exaction of every debt.] Rather, "**the debt**" (or "**the pledge**") "**of every hand.**" The promise is to give up the "pledge-taking" mentioned in ch. v, 2-10.

32. *The third part of a shekel.*] This appears to have been the first occasion on which an annual payment towards the maintenance of the Temple service and fabric was established. The half-shekel of the Law (Ex. xxx. 13) was paid only at the time of a census (which rarely took place) and was thus not a recurring tax. In after times the annual payment was raised from the third of a shekel to half a shekel. (See Matt. xvii. 24.)

34. *We cast the lots . . . for the wood offering.*] No special provision was made by the Law for the supply of wood necessary to keep fire ever burning upon the altar; nor do David or Solomon appear to have instituted any definite regulations on the subject. It remained for Nehemiah to establish a system by which the duty of supplying the wood should be laid as a burthen in turn on the various clans or families, which were regarded as constituting the nation. The lot was used to determine the order in which the several families should perform the duty. A special day (the 14th of the fifth month, according to Josephus) was appointed for the bringing in of the supply; and this day was after a time regarded as a high festival, and called "the Feast of the Wood-offering." (Joseph. 'B. J.' ii. 17, § 6.)

as it is written in the law.] The allusion is probably to Lev. vi. 12.

35. *Firstfruits.*] On the "first fruits of the ground," see notes on Ex. xxii. 29 and xxiii. 19. On those of trees, see notes on Lev. xix. 23; Deut. xxvi. 2.

36. *The firstborn of our sons.*] *I.e.* the redemption-money for them. (Num. xviii. 15, 16.)

and of our cattle.] *I.e.* of our unclean beasts. These also were to be redeemed (Num. xviii. 15). The firstlings of the clean beasts were to be sacrificed (ib. 17).

37. *The firstfruits of our dough.*] See Num. xv. 20.

priests, to the chambers of the house of our God; and the tithes of our ground unto the Levites, that the same Levites might have the tithes in all the cities of our tillage.

38 And the priest the son of Aaron shall be with the Levites, *e* when the Levites take tithes: and the Levites shall bring up the tithe of the tithes unto the house of our God, to the chambers, into the treasure house.

e Num. 18. 26.

39 For the children of Israel and the children of Levi shall bring the offering of the corn, of the new wine, and the oil, unto the chambers, where *are* the vessels of the sanctuary, and the priests that minister, and the porters, and the singers: and we will not forsake the house of our God.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *The rulers, voluntary men, and the tenth man chosen by lot, dwell at Jerusalem.* 3 *A catalogue of their names.* 20 *The residue dwell in other cities.*

AND the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem: the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city, and nine parts *to dwell* in *other* cities.

2 And the people blessed all the men, that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem.

3 ¶ Now these *are* the chief of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem: but in the cities of Judah dwelt every one in his possession in their cities, *to wit*, Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants.

4 And at Jerusalem dwelt *certain* of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin. Of the children of Judah; Athaiah the son of Uzziah, the son of Zechariah, the son of Amariah, the son of Shephatiah, the son of Mahalaleel, of the children of Perez;

5 And Maaseiah the son of Baruch, the son of Col-hozeh, the son of Hazaiah, the son of Adaiah, the son of Joiarib, the son of Zechariah, the son of Shiloni.

6 All the sons of Perez that dwelt at Jerusalem *were* four hundred threescore and eight valiant men.

7 And these *are* the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of Joed, the son of Pedaiah, the son of Kolaiah, the son of Maaseiah, the son of Ithiel, the son of Jesaiah.

8 And after him Gabbai, Sallai, nine hundred twenty and eight.

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the chambers of the house.] The side-chambers of the Temple (1 K. vi. 5), wherein the tithes and the other portions of the priests were stored (infra, ch. xiii. 5).

38. *The tithe of the tithes.*] On "the tithe of the tithes," which was the priests' due, see Num. xviii. 26-28.

CHAP. XI. There is a close connection between this chapter and the opening portion of ch. vii. The thought of the writer, or compiler, goes back to what was said in ch. vii. 4 of the scant population of Jerusalem; and he proceeds to tell us how the deficiency was remedied.

To bring one of ten.] Artificial enlargements of capitals by forcible transfers of population to them, were not unusual in ancient times. Syracuse became a great city, ab. B.C. 500, in this way; Megalopolis in B.C. 371; Tigranocerta about B.C. 70. Tradition ascribed the greatness of Rome, in part, to this cause.

3. *The children of Solomon's servants.*] See note on Ezr. ii. 55.

4-19. On the close correspondence of this passage with 1 Chr. ix. 3-22, see note on that chapter, verse 3. Both accounts appear to be extracts from a public official register which Nehemiah caused to be made of his census. The census itself seems to have been confined to the dwellers at Jerusalem.

4. *Athaiah.*] Or, "Uthai" (1 Chr. ix. 4, and note ad loc.).

5. *Maaseiah.*] Or, "Asaiah" (ib. 5).

6. *The sons of Perez.*] The number of the descendants of "Perez," or Pharez, the eldest born of Judah, is not given in Chronicles, where, however, the number of the "sons of Zerah" is put on record (1 Chr. ix. 6).

8. *Gabbai, Sallai.*] Not mentioned in Chronicles.

nine hundred twenty and eight.] In Chroni-

9 And Joel the son of Zichri *was* their overseer: and Judah the son of Senuah *was* second over the city.

10 Of the priests: Jedaiah the son of Joiarib, Jachin.

11 Seraiah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, *was* the ruler of the house of God.

12 And their brethren that did the work of the house *were* eight hundred twenty and two: and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pelaliah, the son of Amzi, the son of Zechariah, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchiah,

13 And his brethren, chief of the fathers, two hundred forty and two: and Amashai the son of Azareel, the son of Ahasai, the son of Meshillemoth, the son of Immer,

14 And their brethren, mighty men of valour, an hundred twenty and eight: and their overseer *was* Zabdiel, [1] the son of *one of* the great men.

15 Also of the Levites: Shemaiah the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, the son of Bunni;

16 And Shabbethai and Jozabad, of the chief of the Levites, [†] *had* the oversight of the outward business of the house of God.

17 And Mattaniah the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi, the son of Asaph, *was* the principal to begin the thanksgiving in prayer: and Bakbukiah the second among his brethren, and Abda the son of Shammua, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun.

18 All the Levites in the holy city *were* two hundred fourscore and four.

19 Moreover the porters, Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren that kept

[1] Or, *the son of Haggedolim.*

[†] Heb. were *over.*

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cles the Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem are reckoned as 956 (1 Chr. ix. 9).

10. *Jedaiah the son of Joiarib.*] Most commentators amend the text here by omitting the word for "son," which is not found in Chronicles. "Jedaiah," "Joiarib," and "Jachin" were three distinct priestly families. (See note on 1 Chr. ix. 10.)

11. *Seraiah ... was the ruler of the house of God.*] *I.e.* "the house of Seraiah furnished the high-priests." (See note on 1 Chr. ix. 11.) The actual high-priest of the time was Eliashib, who was descended from Seraiah through Jozadak, Jeshua, and Joiakim. (1 Chr. vi. 14; Ezr. iii. 2; Neh. xii. 10.)

12. *Adaiah.*] See note on 1 Chr. ix. 12.

13. *Amashai.*] Rather, "Amashsai," called Maasiai (Ma'sai) in Chronicles (l.s.c.).

14. *An hundred twenty and eight.*] The number of the priests dwelling at Jerusalem was, according to Nehemiah, (822 + 242 + 128 =) 1192; according to Chronicles (1 Chr. ix. 13) it was 1760. Corruption may be suspected.

15. *Shemaiah.*] See note on 1 Chr. ix. 14.

16. *Shabbethai and Jozabad.*] See above, ch. viii. 7.

the outward business of the house of God.] As, the collection of the newly imposed tax (ch. x. 32), the providing of the regular sacrifices, the renewal of vestments, and the like.

17. *The principal to begin the thanksgiving.*] *I.e.* "the precentor," or "leader of the choir."

18. *All the Levites.*] The number of the Levites is not given in Chronicles.

19. *The porters.*] See note on 1 Chr. ix. 17.

an hundred seventy and two.] The number in 1 Chr. ix. 22 is 212. The subjoined table exhibits the differences between the accounts of the entire population of Jerusalem as given in Nehemiah and in Chronicles:—

	1 Chronicles.	Nehemiah.
Tribe of Judah :—		
Of Pharez	..	468
Of Zerah	690	..
Tribe of Benjamin :—	956	928
Tribe of Levi :—		
Priests	1760	1192
Levites	..	284
Porters	212	172

† Heb. *at the gates.*

the gates, *were* an hundred seventy and two.

20 ¶ And the residue of Israel, of the priests, *and* the Levites, *were* in all the cities of Judah, every one in his inheritance.

[a] See ch. 3. 26.
‖ Or, *The tower.*

21 [a]But the Nethinims dwelt in ‖Ophel: and Ziha and Gispa *were* over the Nethinims.

22 The overseer also of the Levites at Jerusalem *was* Uzzi the son of Bani, the son of Hashabiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Micha. Of the sons of Asaph, the singers *were* over the business of the house of God.

23 For *it was* the king's commandment concerning them, that ‖a certain portion should be for the singers, due for every day.

‖ Or, *a sure ordinance.*

24 And Pethahiah the son of Meshezabeel, of the children of Zerah the son of Judah, *was* at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people.

25 And for the villages, with their fields, *some* of the children of Judah dwelt at Kirjath-arba, and *in* the villages thereof, and at Dibon, and *in* the villages thereof, and at Jekabzeel, and *in* the villages thereof,

26 And at Jeshua, and at Moladah, and at Beth-phelet,

The result will be that, according to Nehemiah's numbers, supplemented (where they fail) from Chronicles, the entire adult male population of the city was 3734, which would give a total population of 14,936. According to Chronicles, supplemented from Nehemiah, the adult males were 4370, and consequently the entire population, 17,480. As the Nethinims and the Israelites of Ephraim and Manasseh (1 Chr. ix. 3) are not included in either list, we may conclude that the actual number of the inhabitants, after the efforts recorded in verses 1 and 2, was not much short of 20,000.

20. *The residue of Israel.*] It is assumed throughout both Ezra and Nehemiah, that the returned community, though consisting mainly of members of the Two Tribes, represents the entire people of Israel. (See Ezr. ii. 70; iii. 1; vi. 16, 17, 21; vii. 7; &c.; Neh. ii. 10; vii. 73; ix. 2; xi. 3; &c.) The ground, however, which the returned community occupies, is not the whole land, but that which had constituted the kingdom of Judah.

21. *The Nethinims dwelt in Ophel.*] Ophel, the southern spur of the Temple hill, having a wall of its own (iii. 27) might be reckoned either in Jerusalem or outside it. Here it is made a separate place.

Ziha and Gispa.] Ziha is mentioned as the head of a division of the Nethinims in Ezr. ii. 43, and Neh. vii. 46. Gispa does not appear elsewhere.

22. *The overseer, &c.*] The whole of this verse forms one sentence, and should be thus rendered: "The overseer also of the Levites in Jerusalem was Uzzi, ... the son of Micha, of the sons of Asaph, the singers, in respect of the business of the house of God." The business intended is probably the *internal* business, as distinct from that "outward business," which was under the superintendence of Shabbethai and Jozabad. (See verse 16.) A part of it was the apportionment of the royal bounty among the members of the choir. (See the next verse.)

23. *It was the king's commandment.*] The goodwill of Artaxerxes towards the ministers employed in the Temple service, had been previously shown by his exempting them from taxation of every kind (Ezr. vii. 24). Now, it would seem, he had gone further and assigned to the singers an allowance from the royal revenue.

that a certain portion (marg. *a sure ordinance*) *should be for the singers, due for every day.*] Or, "that there should be made sure for the singers, a portion day by day."

24. *At the king's hand, &c.*] It is difficult to say what office Pethahiah filled. So far as we know, the only regular officers under the Persian system of government were the Satrap, the sub-satrap, the permanent royal secretary, the commandant, and the occasional commissary. It may be suspected, however, that our knowledge of the Persian system is incomplete, and that it comprised other (subordinate) officers also besides these.

25. *For the villages.*] Or, "small towns," in contradistinction to the capital.

Kirjath-arba.] *I.e.* Hebron. In the absence of the Hebrews during the Captivity the place had recovered its old name.

the villages thereof.] Literally, "the daughters thereof."

Dibon.] Probably the same as "Dimonah," which is joined with "Kabzeel" and "Moladah" in Josh. xv. 21-26. "Jekabzeel" is no doubt the same as "Kabzeel."

26-30.] Of the places mentioned in this

27 And at Hazar-shual, and at Beer-sheba, and *in* the villages thereof,
28 And at Ziklag, and at Mekonah, and in the villages thereof,
29 And at En-rimmon, and at Zareah, and at Jarmuth,
30 Zanoah, Adullam, and *in* their villages, at Lachish, and the fields thereof, at Azekah, and *in* the villages thereof. And they dwelt from Beer-sheba unto the valley of Hinnom.
31 The children also of Benjamin ‖ Or, *of Geba.* ‖ from Geba *dwelt* ‖ Or, *to Michmash.* at Michmash, and Aija, and Beth-el, and *in* their villages,
32 *And* at Anathoth, Nob, Ananiah,
33 Hazor, Ramah, Gittaim,
34 Hadid, Zeboim, Neballat,
35 Lod, and Ono, the valley of craftsmen.
36 And of the Levites *were* divisions *in* Judah, *and* in Benjamin.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The priests,* 8 *and the Levites, which came up with Zerubbabel.* 10 *The succession of high priests.* 22 *Certain chief Levites.* 27 *The solemnity of the dedication of the walls.* 44 *The offices of priests and Levites appointed in the temple.*

NOW these *are* the [b] priests and the Levites that went up with Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua: Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra,
2 Amariah, ‖ Malluch, Hattush,
3 ‖ Shechaniah, ‖ Rehum, ‖ Meremoth,

[b] Ezra 2. 1.

‖ Or, *Melicu,* ver. 14. ‖ Or, *Shebaniah,* ver. 14. ‖ Or, *Harim,* ver. 15. ‖ Or, *Meraioth,* ver. 15.

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passage, Beersheba, Ziklag, Jarmuth, and Lachish are well known. They all lay in the tract originally assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 28-39). Moladah, Beth-phelet (Beth-palet), Hazar-shual, Zareah (Zoreah), Zanoah, Adullam, and Azekah occur also in the list of "cities of Judah" in Joshua xv. (verses 27-35). En-rimmon is to be identified with the "Ain, Remmon," or "Ain and Rimmon" of Joshua (xv. 32; xix. 7) and Chronicles (1 Chr. iv. 32). "Jeshua" and "Mekonah" are alone new to us.

31-35. *Geba, Michmash, &c.*] Of these towns only Geba (Gaba) and Ramah occur in the list of Joshua (xxiii. 21-28). But Bethel, Michmash, Anathoth, Nob, Lod, and Ono are frequently mentioned. Gittaim appears in 2 S. iv. 3 (q. vide). Aija is probably the same as Aiath (Is. x. 28) or Ai. Zeboim must be connected with "the valley of Zeboim" (1 S. xiii. 18), which was near Michmash. Hadid is mentioned in Ezr. ii. 33 and Neh. vii. 37. Ananiah, Hazor, and Neballat occur here only.

31. *The children also of Benjamin from Geba dwelt at Michmash, &c.*] Rather, "Also the children of Benjamin dwelt from Geba to Michmash, and Aija, and Bethel, and their villages, and Anathoth, Nob, &c."

36. *Of the Levites were divisions.*] *I.e.* "the Levites were scattered among various towns both in Judah and Benjamin."

CHAP. XII. This chapter is made up of two portions. From verse 1 to verse 26 it mainly consists of lists of the leading priests and Levites at different periods. Verses 27-47 give an account of the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. This last passage is certainly from the pen of Nehemiah, and was written probably about B.C. 433. The lists which constitute the earlier portion of the chapter, are four: 1. A list of the chief priestly and Levitical families, which returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (verses 1-9); 2. The succession of the high-priests from Jeshua to Jaddua, high-priest in the time of Alexander the Great (verses 10, 11); 3. A list of the actual heads of the priestly families in the time of the high-priest Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (verses 12-21); and 4. A list of the chief Levitical families at the same period (verses 24-26). Of these four lists, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, may have been drawn up in the time of Nehemiah, but No. 2 in its present form must be much later.

1. *The priests.*] The number of the names here given, which is 22, is probably to be connected with that of the Davidic "courses," which was 24 (1 Chr. xxiv. 7-18). Eight names are identical with those of the heads in David's time. On comparing the present list with that of the families who sealed to Nehemiah's covenant (ch. x. 2-8), we shall find that the first sixteen recur in that document nearly in the same order; but that the last six are absent from it. It would seem that as these six declined to seal to Nehemiah's covenant, they were placed below the rest here in a sort of supplementary list. Note especially the "and" which connects this second part of the list with the earlier part, both in verse 6 and in verse 19.

Ezra.] For this name we have the slightly variant form, Azariah, in ch. x. 2. "Ezra the scribe" cannot be intended, for he was of the house of Seraiah (Ezra vii. 1).

3. *Shechaniah, Rehum.*] Read, "Shebaniah,

4 Iddo, [1]Ginnetho, Abijah
5 [1]Miamin, [1]Maadiah, Bilgah,
6 Shemaiah, and Joiarib, Jedaiah,
7 [1]Sallu, Amok, Hilkiah, Jedaiah.
These *were* the chief of the priests and of their brethren in the days of Jeshua.

8 Moreover the Levites: Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, *and* Mattaniah, *which was* over [1]the thanksgiving, he and his brethren.

9 Also Bakbukiah and Unni, their brethren, *were* over against them in the watches.

10 ¶ And Jeshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim also begat Eliashib, and Eliashib begat Joiada,

11 And Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua.

12 And in the days of Joiakim were priests, the chief of the fathers: of Seraiah, Meraiah; of Jeremiah, Hananiah;

13 Of Ezra, Meshullam; of Amariah, Jehohanan;

14 Of Melicu, Jonathan; of Shebaniah, Joseph;

15 Of Harim, Adna; of Meraioth, Helkai;

16 Of Iddo, Zechariah; of Ginnethon, Meshullam;

17 Of Abijah, Zichri; of Miniamin, of Moadiah, Piltai;

18 Of Bilgah, Shammua; of Shemaiah, Jehonathan;

19 And of Joiarib, Mattenai; of Jedaiah, Uzzi;

20 Of Sallai, Kallai; of Amok, Eber;

21 Of Hilkiah, Hashabiah; of Jedaiah, Nethaneel.

22 ¶ The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua, *were* recorded chief of the fathers: also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian.

23 The sons of Levi, the chief of

[1] Or, *Ginnethon*, ver. 16.
[1] Or, *Miniamin*, ver. 17.
[1] Or, *Moadiah*, ver. 17.
[1] Or, *Sallai*, ver. 20.
[1] That is, *the psalms of thanksgiving.*

Harim," as the names are given in verses 14, 15, and also in ch. x. 4, 5. Harim appears also in 1 Chr. xxiv. 8; Ezr. ii. 39; and Neh. vii. 42.

4. *Iddo.*] Called "Obadiah" in ch. x. 5.

5. *And Joiarib.*] See note on verse 1.

8. *The Levites.*] Of the Levitical houses here mentioned, three only returned at first, those of Jeshua, Kadmiel, and Judah or Hodevah (ch. vii. 43). The others must have returned subsequently. All the names have occurred frequently except that of Unni.

over the thanksgiving.]. See ch. xi. 17.

10, 11. That this is the line of the high-priests appears sufficiently from the two names, Jeshua (Hag. i. 1), and Eliashib (supra, ch. iii. 1), and is confirmed, with regard to the other names by Josephus. ('A. J.' xi. 7, § 1; &c.) The space of time known to have been covered by the six generations is a little more than two centuries (B.C. 538-333), giving a little under thirty-five years to a generation, which is quite in accordance with probability. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Jaddua intended is the high-priest who (according to Josephus) had an interview with Alexander shortly after the battle of Issus. ('A. J.' xi. 8, § 5.)

12. *Meraiah.*] Meraiah, Hananiah, Meshullam, &c., were probably the actual heads of the courses under Joiakim.

14. *Of Shebaniah.*] The representative of Hattush has been omitted here, either by a slip of the compiler of the list, or by an error of transcription.

17. *Of Miniamin.*] Here a name has evidently dropped out of the text by accident.

22, 23. These verses come in very awkwardly, interrupting the account of the church officers in the time of Joiakim, which is resumed in verse 24. They appear to be an addition to the original text, made about the time of Alexander the Great, when the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah would seem to have first taken their existing shape. The same hand which inserted these verses probably also added to the original text verse 11.

Johanan.] This is probably the true form of the name which in verse 11 is given as "Jonathan." "Johanan" occurs again in verse 23; and Josephus uses, in reference to the same high-priest, the form "Johannes" (Ἰωάννης).

to the days of Darius the Persian.] Modern commentators are generally agreed that Darius Codomannus, the antagonist of Alexander the Great, is intended. This prince ascended the throne B.C. 336, and reigned till B.C. 331.

the fathers, *were* written in the
[c] 1 Chron. 9. 14, &c. book of the [c]chronicles, even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib.

24 And the chief of the Levites: Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son of Kadmiel, with their brethren over against them, to praise *and* to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward.

25 Mattaniah, and Bakbukiah, Obadiah, Meshullam, Talmon, Akkub, *were* porters keeping the ward
[‖] Or, *treasuries*, or, *assemblies.* at the [‖]thresholds of the gates.

26 These *were* in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe.

27 ¶ And at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness, both with thanksgivings, and with singing, *with* cymbals, psalteries, and with harps.

28 And the sons of the singers gathered themselves together, both out of the plain country round about Jerusalem, and from the villages of Netophathi;

29 Also from the house of Gilgal, and out of the fields of Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had builded them villages round about Jerusalem.

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23. *In the book of the chronicles.*] This passage shows that the practice of keeping a record of public events in state archives, of which there are so many indications under the kings, was continued after the return from the captivity, at least to the time of Johanan.

the son of Eliashib.] *I. e.* "the grandson." (See above, verses 10, 11.)

24. *Jeshua, the son of Kadmiel.*] If the reading is sound, this Jeshua must have been the head of the Levitical family of Kadmiel in the time of Joiakim; but it may be suspected that for *ben*, "son," should be read "Bani," a Levitical name found in many of the lists (ch. viii. 7; ix. 4; x. 13; &c.). In that case, the text would run as follows:—"The chiefs of the Levites, Hashabiah, Sherebiah, Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, and their brethren."

according to the commandment of David.] See 1 Chr. xxv. 1-8.

ward over against ward.] *I. e.* "alternately," one part of the choir answering the other.

25. *Porters.*] In 1 Chr. ix. 17, 24, 26, four chief porters only are mentioned, and the duty of acting as porter is assigned to four Levitical families—those of Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman. *Six* families of porters, however, are implied both here and likewise in Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45. The explanation of the apparent discrepancy will be found in 1 Chr. xxvi. 14-19, where it appears that the Temple had four chief gates, fronting the cardinal points, and two minor ones, "towards Asuppim," and "at Parbar."

thresholds.] Rather, "chambers" or "store-rooms."

26. *In the days of Joiakim . . . and of Nehemiah.*] Joiakim was high-priest earlier than the time of Nehemiah; but the same families may have held the chief place as Levites, and as porters, at both periods.

27. *The dedication of the wall.*] It seems strange that the wall should not have been dedicated immediately after its completion. But the *nexus* of the remainder of this chapter with the next, and the date given in ch. xiii. 6, make it certain that the ceremony was deferred for the space of nearly twelve years. Perhaps Nehemiah required an express permission from the Persian king before he could venture on a solemnity which might have been liable to misrepresentation.

out of all their places.] *I. e.* out of the various cities of Judah and Benjamin in which they dwelt. (See ch. xi. 36.)

28. *The plain country round about Jerusalem.*] It is difficult to understand what this means, as there is nothing but mountain and valley immediately round Jerusalem. The word *kikkar*, which is here used, means ordinarily "the Jordan valley;" but that was not "round about Jerusalem." Perhaps the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, which enclose Jerusalem on three sides, are intended.

the villages of Netophathi.] Rather, "the villages of the Netophathites," as the same phrase is rendered in 1 Chr. ix. 16. The Netophathites were so called after their chief town, Netophah, which is mentioned in Ezr. ii. 22, and Neh. vii. 26. This place lay near Bethlehem (1 Chr. ii. 54), and is perhaps represented by the modern *Antubeh*.

29. *The house of Gilgal.*] Or, "Beth-Gilgal"—probably the Gilgal north of Jerusalem (now *Jiljilia*).

30 And the priests and the Levites purified themselves, and purified the people, and the gates, and the wall.

31 Then I brought up the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great *companies of them that gave* thanks, *whereof one* went on the right hand upon the wall toward the dung gate:

32 And after them went Hoshaiah, and half of the princes of Judah,

33 And Azariah, Ezra, and Meshullam,

34 Judah, and Benjamin, and Shemaiah, and Jeremiah,

35 And *certain* of the priests' sons with trumpets; *namely*, Zechariah the son of Jonathan, the son of Shemaiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Michaiah, the son of Zaccur, the son of Asaph:

36 And his brethren, Shemaiah, and Azarael, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethaneel, and Judah, Hanani, with the musical instruments of David the man of God, and Ezra the scribe before them.

37 And at the fountain gate, which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water gate eastward.

38 And the other *company of them that gave* thanks went over against *them*, and I after them, and the half of the people upon the wall, from beyond the tower of the furnaces even unto the broad wall;

39 And from above the gate of Ephraim, and above the old gate, and above the fish gate, and the tower of

30. *Purified themselves.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxix. 15; Ezr. vi. 20.

31. *I brought up.*] Note the resumption of the first person, which has been laid aside since ch. vii. 5, and which is continued now to the end of the Book. It is generally allowed that we have here once more a memoir by Nehemiah himself.

on the right hand.] The two choirs, having ascended the wall on its western face, near the modern Jaffa Gate, stood looking eastward towards the city and Temple; then the southern choir, being on the *right*, commenced the circuit of the southern wall, while the choir upon the left proceeded round the northern wall (verses 38-39), till both met on the eastern wall, between the water and the prison gates.

the dung gate.] See ch. ii. 13.

32. *Hoshaiah.*] Perhaps the "Hoshea" of ch. x. 23.

33, 34. *Azariah, &c.*] "Azariah," "Meshullam," "Shemaiah," and "Jeremiah," appear among the priestly families which signed the covenant (ch. x. 2-8). "Ezra" is probably a variant form of "Azariah," which has crept in from the margin. "Judah and Benjamin" are the lay people of those two tribes.

35. *Namely, Zechariah.*] By the genealogy of Zechariah (cf. ch. xi. 17), and again by his duties as described in the next verse, it appears that he belonged to the Levite rather than the priest class. If so, the "namely" of our version is wrong, and we should rather supply "and," a *vau* conjunctive having probably slipped out.

36. *Shemaiah, &c.*] These names appear to be personal, like those of Zechariah (verse 35) and Hoshaiah (verse 32). They do not occur in the previous Levitical lists (ch. viii. 7; ix. 4, 5; x. 9-13; xii. 8).

37. *The fountain gate.*] See ch. iii. 15.

which was over against them.] There is no "which was" in the original; and the word translated "over against them" belongs to the following, and not to the preceding, clause. Translate—"And at the fountain gate, **straight before them**, they ascended the stairs of the city of David." (Compare Josh. vi. 5; and for the "stairs" themselves see note on ch. iii. 15.)

above the house of David.] It cannot be meant that the "going up of the wall," *i.e.* the staircase, or ascent, was "above" the house of David, which was situated on almost the highest part of the Temple hill. (See note on ch. iii. 25.) Rather, the meaning is that this choir or procession went above (or beyond) the old palace of David, following the line described in ch. iii. 16-26, on their way to the eastern wall.

the water gate.] Cf. ch. iii. 26.

38. *The other company.*] The places mentioned in this and the two following verses occur (in the reverse order) in ch. iii. 1-11, excepting the gate of Ephraim and the prison gate, whose position is best fixed from the present passage. The line followed is that of the northern wall.

Hananeel, and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep gate: and they stood still in the prison gate.

40 So stood the two *companies of them that gave* thanks in the house of God, and I, and the half of the rulers with me:

41 And the priests; Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Michaiah, Elioenai, Zechariah, *and* Hananiah, with trumpets;

42 And Maaseiah, and Shemaiah, and Eleazar, and Uzzi, and Jehohanan, and Malchijah, and Elam, and Ezer. And the singers † sang loud, with Jezrahiah *their* overseer.

† Heb. *made their voice to be heard.*

43 Also that day they offered great sacrifices, and rejoiced: for God had made them rejoice with great joy: the wives also and the children rejoiced: so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off.

44 ¶ And at that time were some appointed over the chambers for the treasures, for the offerings, for the firstfruits, and for the tithes, to gather into them out of the fields of the cities the portions ‖ of the law for the priests and Levites: † for Judah rejoiced for the priests and for the Levites † that waited.

‖ That is, *appointed by the law.*

† Heb. *for the joy of Judah.*

† Heb. *that stood.*

45 And both the singers and the porters kept the ward of their God, and the ward of the purification, [a] according to the commandment of David, *and* of Solomon his son.

[a] 1 Chron. 25, & 26.

46 For in the days of David [b] and Asaph of old *there were* chief of the singers, and songs of praise and thanksgiving unto God.

[b] 1 Chron. 25. 1, &c.

47 And all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and in the days of Nehemiah, gave the portions of the singers and the porters, every day his portion: and they ‖ sanctified *holy things* unto the Levites; [c] and the Levites sanctified *them* unto the children of Aaron.

‖ That is, *set apart.*

[c] Num. 18. 26.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Upon the reading of the law separation is made from the mixed multitude.* 4 *Nehemiah at his return causeth the chambers to be cleansed.* 10 *He reformeth the offices in the house of God.* 15 *The violation of the sabbath,* 23 *and the marriages with strange wives.*

ON that day † they read in the [d] book of Moses in the † audience of the people; and therein was found

† Heb. *there was read.*

[d] Num. 22. 5. Deut. 23. 3.

† Heb. *ears.*

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40. *So stood the two companies . . . in the house of God.*] Rather, "by the house of God." The routes described had brought the two choirs to the portion of the eastern wall which was directly opposite the Temple.

half the rulers.] Compare verse 32.

41. *The priests; Eliakim, &c.*] "Eliakim, Elioenai, Eleazar, Jehohanan, Elam, and Ezer," are new as priestly names, and we may, therefore, best regard the whole list in verses 41, 42, as personal.

44. *Chambers for the treasures.*] Cf. ch. x. 32.

for the offerings.] *I.e.* "the free-will offerings."

for Judah rejoiced.] Judah's satisfaction with the priests and Levites took the shape of increased offerings, more ample tithes and the like, whence the appointment of treasuries and treasurers became necessary.

that waited.] *I.e.* "that served in the temple."

45. *And both the singers and the porters kept the ward, &c.*] Rather, "And they (the priests and the Levites) kept the ward, &c. **And so did the singers and the porters.**"

the ward of the purification.] The observances with respect to purification. (Cf. 1 Chr. xxiii. 28.)

46. *Chief of the singers and songs of praise.*] Rather, "**chiefs** of the singers and **of the** songs of praise."

47. *All Israel in the days of Zerubbabel and in the days of Nehemiah.*] The intention is to compare the religious activity and strictness of Nehemiah's time with that which had prevailed under Zerubbabel, as described by Ezra (vi. 16, 22). It is implied that the intermediate period had been a time of laxity.

they sanctified holy things, &c.] *I.e.* "the people paid their tithes regularly to the Levites, and the Levites paid the tithe of the tithes to the priests." (Compare ch. x. 37, 38.)

CHAP. XIII. 1. *On that day.*] Or, "at that time," as the phrase is translated in ch. xii. 44.

written, that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever;

[e] Num. 22. 5. Josh. 24. 9.

2 [e]Because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but hired Balaam against them, that he should curse them: howbeit our God turned the curse into a blessing.

3 Now it came to pass, when they had heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.

4 ¶ And before this, Eliashib the priest, [†]having the oversight of the chamber of the house of our God, *was* allied unto Tobiah:

[†] Heb. *being set over.*

5 And he had prepared for him a great chamber, where aforetime they laid the meat offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, [†]which was commanded *to be given* to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters; and the offerings of the priests.

[†] Heb. *the commandment of the Levites.*

6 But in all this *time* was not I at Jerusalem: for in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon came I unto the king, and [†]after certain days [‖]obtained I leave of the king:

[†] Heb. *at the end of days.*

[‖] Or, *I earnestly requested.*

7 And I came to Jerusalem, and understood of the evil that Eliashib did for Tobiah, in preparing him a chamber in the courts of the house of God.

8 And it grieved me sore: therefore I cast forth all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber.

9 Then I commanded, and they cleansed the chambers: and thither brought I again the vessels of the house of God, with the meat offering and the frankincense.

10 ¶ And I perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given *them:* for the Levites and the

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in the book of Moses.] The reference is to Deut. xxiii. 3-5; but by "the book of Moses" is probably meant the entire Pentateuch.

2. *Our God turned the curse into a blessing.*] See Num. xxiii. 7-11; xxiv. 3-19.

3. *They separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.*] A separation like that made by Ezra some twenty years previously (Ezr. x. 15-44) seems to be intended. The heathen wives were divorced, and sent back, with their offspring, to their own countries.

4. *Eliashib.*] There is no reason to doubt that the high-priest (ch. iii. 1) is meant, since the facts here recorded are in close agreement with what is distinctly narrated of the high-priestly house in verse 28. The relations of Eliashib with Tobiah and Sanballat will account, moreover, for the absence of any reference to him in chs. viii.-x., and again in ch. xii. 27-47.

the chamber of the house of our God.] By "the chamber," we must understand here the entire outbuilding or "lean-to," which surrounded the Temple on three sides, and was made up of three stories, each containing a number of rooms, some smaller, some larger. (See 1 K. vi. 5-10.)

allied.] *I.e.* "connected by marriage." Some suppose the marriage of Eliashib's grandson with Sanballat's daughter (see verse 28) to be intended; but it is not clear that this would ally Eliashib to *Tobiah.* Tobiah was himself married to a Jewess (ch. vi. 18), who *may have been* a relation of Eliashib; and his son Johanan was married to another (ib.), of whom the same may be said.

5. *The offerings of the priests.*] *I.e.* "the portion of the offerings assigned for their sustenance to the priests."

6. *Artaxerxes king of Babylon.*] Compare Ezr. vi. 22, where Darius Hystaspis is called "king of Assyria," and note ad loc. The mention of the 32nd year of Artaxerxes shows that the king intended is either Longimanus or Mnemon, since Ochus reigned but 21 years.

after certain days.] Or, "at the end of a year," which is a meaning that the phrase often has. (Ex. xiii. 10; Lev. xxv. 29, 30; Num. ix. 22; Judg. xvii. 10; &c.) Nehemiah probably went to the court at Babylon in B.C. 433, and returned to Jerusalem B.C. 432.

9. *The chambers.*] The "great chamber" assigned to Tobiah (verse 5) contained, it would seem, more than one apartment.

10. *The portions of the Levites had not been given.*] During Nehemiah's absence there had been a general falling away, in which both some of the higher class of priests, and the leading laity (verses 11 and 16), had

singers, that did the work, were fled every one to his field.

11 Then contended I with the rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And I gathered them together, and set them in their † place.

12 Then brought all Judah the tithe of the corn and the new wine and the oil unto the ‖ treasuries.

13 And I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and of the Levites, Pedaiah: and † next to them *was* Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah: for they were counted faithful, and † their office *was* to distribute unto their brethren.

14 *f* Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my † good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the ‖ offices thereof.

15 ¶ In those days saw I in Judah *some* treading wine presses on the sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all *manner of* burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath day: and I testified *against them* in the day wherein they sold victuals.

16 There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of Judah, and in Jerusalem.

17 Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing *is* this that ye do, and profane the sabbath day?

18 Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the sabbath.

† Heb. *standing.*

‖ Or, *storehouses.*

† Heb. *at their hand.*

† Heb. it was *upon them.*

f ver. 22.

† Heb. *kindnesses.*

‖ Or, *observations.*

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participated. The tithes and offerings had ceased to be paid; the Levites had been forced to give themselves to the tillage of their lands; the choral service of the Temple had ceased (verse 11); the Temple chambers, not being needed as storehouses, had been made dwellings for the friends of the high-priest. Desecration of the sabbath (verses 15-22), and intermixture with the heathen (verses 23-28), had followed; and there was danger of a complete national apostacy.

11. *I gathered them together.*] Nehemiah gathered the Levites from their lands, and reinstated them in their set offices.

13. *Shelemiah.*] The names of "Shelemiah," "Zadok," and "Hanan" (Hanun) occur in close connection among those concerned in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (ch. iii. 29, 30). "Pedaiah" appears as a Levitical name in ch. viii. 4.

Zadok the scribe.] Probably the same as the Zidkijah of ch. x. 1. (See note ad loc.)

15. *In those days saw I . . . some treading wine-presses on the sabbath.*] The desecration of the sabbath is first brought into prominence among the sins of the Jewish people by Jeremiah. (See ch. xvii. 21-27.) It could not but have gained ground during the Captivity, when foreign masters would not have allowed the cessation of labour one day in seven. On the return from captivity, the sabbatical rest appears to have been one of the institutions most difficult to re-establish.

in the day wherein they sold victuals.] Rather, "**concerning** the day."

16. *There dwelt men of Tyre.*] On the friendly relations subsisting between the Phœnicians and the Jews, after the Captivity, see note on Ezr. iii. 7. It was, however, a new fact, and one pregnant with evil consequences, that the Tyrians should have established a permanent colony at Jerusalem, which "dwelt there," and by its influence on the other inhabitants, weakened the hold of the law upon men's consciences, and caused it to be transgressed continually more and more openly.

which brought fish.] According to some, Zidon, the most ancient of the Phœnician cities, was so named on account of its being a "fishery," which is the meaning of the word *tsidon* in Hebrew. The Eastern Mediterranean was always prolific in fish (Ezek. xlvii. 10), many varieties of which are represented as disporting themselves in its waters by the Assyrians. (See Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' First Series, pl. 71; Botta, 'Monument de Ninive,' pls. 31 to 35.) The Phœnicians no doubt salted the produce of their fisheries before they conveyed it to Jerusalem.

17. *The nobles.*] See above ii. 16; iv. 14, 19; v. 7, &c.

18. *Did not your fathers thus.*] Cf. Jer. xvii. 21-27.

19 And it came to pass, that when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the sabbath, I commanded that the gates should be shut, and charged that they should not be opened till after the sabbath: and *some* of my servants set I at the gates, *that* there should no burden be brought in on the sabbath day.

20 So the merchants and sellers of all kind of ware lodged without Jerusalem once or twice.

21 Then I testified against them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye † about the wall? if ye do *so* again, I will lay hands on you. From that time forth came they no *more* on the sabbath.

† Heb. *before the wall?*

22 And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves, and *that* they should come *and* keep the gates, to sanctify the sabbath day. Remember me, O my God, *concerning* this also, and spare me according to the ‖ greatness of thy mercy.

‖ Or, *multitude.*

23 ¶ In those days also saw I Jews *that* † had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, *and* of Moab:

† Heb. *had made to dwell with them.*

24 And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and † could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language † of each people.

† Heb. *they discerned not to speak.*

† Heb. *of people and people.*

25 And I contended with them, and ‖ cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, *saying*, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves.

‖ Or, *reviled them.*

26 Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all Israel: *a* nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin.

a 1 Kings 11. 1, &c.

27 Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives?

28 And *one* of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, *was* son in law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me.

29 Remember them, O my God, † because they have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites.

† Heb. *for the defilings.*

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19. *When the gates . . . began to be dark before the sabbath.*] *I.e.* at the sunset of the day before the Sabbath; since the sabbath was regarded as commencing on the previous evening.

some of my servants.] Compare ch. iv. 16, 23; v. 16.

21. *Why lodge ye about the wall?*] The lodging of the merchants with their merchandise just outside Jerusalem during the sabbath, while they impatiently waited for the moment when they might bring their wares in, was thought by Nehemiah to be unseemly, and to have an irreligious tendency. He therefore threatened the merchants with arrest if they continued the practice.

22. *I commanded the Levites.*] At first Nehemiah had employed his own retinue in the work of keeping the gates. But, as this was inconvenient, he now made a change, and assigned the duty to the Levites, as one which properly belonged to them, since the object of the regulation was the due observance of the Sabbath.

24. *The speech of Ashdod.*] The Philistine language, which was akin to that of Egypt. (Hieronym. ad Es. xix. 18.)

according to the language of each people.] The children spoke a mixed dialect, half Philistine, half Hebrew.

25. *Cursed them.*] The marginal "reviled them" is preferred by Gesenius, Prof. Lee, Dathe, and others.

smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair.] Scarcely with his own hand. The meaning rather is that Nehemiah caused them to be thus punished.

26. *Who was beloved of his God.*] Compare 2 S. xii. 24, 25.

cause to sin.] See note on 1 K. xi. 4.

28. *Joiada.*] See ch. xii. 10, 11, 22.

30 Thus cleansed I them from all strangers, and appointed the wards of the priests and the Levites, every one in his business;

31 And for the wood offering, at times appointed, and for the first-fruits. Remember me, O my God, for good.

30. *The wards of the priests and the Levites.*] Rather, "the **offices**." Nehemiah's arrangement is probably that described in ch. xi. 10-22.

31. *The wood offering.*] See note on ch. x. 34.

ESTHER.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

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§ 1. TITLE.

THE Book of Esther is entitled by the Jews *megillath Esther*, "the volume of Esther," or simply *megillah*, "the volume." Anciently it was always written on a separate roll, which was read through at the Feast of Purim. The Greek translators dropped the term *megillah*, and retained only "Esther," which thus became the ordinary title among Christians.

The enlarged "Esther" of the later Alexandrians seems to have been called sometimes "the Epistle of Purim."[1] This title must be taken as connected with Esth. ix. 20, 29, passages which were misinterpreted to mean that the whole Book of Esther was written by Mordecai, and sent by him as a "letter" to the provincial Jews. But the name "Epistle of Purim" was never, even at Alexandria, received into general use.

§ 2. DATE OF COMPOSITION.

There is much controversy concerning the date of "Esther." De Wette[1] assigns it vaguely to the time of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ (*i. e.* B.C. 312-65); Bertheau[2] thinks it a work of the third century B.C.; Dr. Davidson[3] suggests the reign of Ptolemy Lagi (B.C. 323-283); Bertholdt, Welte, and Hävernick,[4] that of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464-425); Bp. Arthur Hervey,[5] the latter portion of the reign of Xerxes (B.C. 473-464). The arguments in favour of a late date are weak and unsatisfactory. So far as they are critical, they do but show that the work is of about the same date with Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah,[6] which all probably belong (in the main) to the reign of Longimanus.[7] So far as they rest upon the contents, they are the reverse of convincing. The extreme minuteness of the details and vividness of the portraits in Esther suggest the hand of a contemporary far more decidedly than any occasional expressions suggest a composer who lived long after the events commemorated.[8] The tone of the Book[9] is in ac-

[1] See the epilogus to the Greek Book of Esther—ἔτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰσήνεγκε Δωσίθεος, ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευίτης, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραί.

[1] 'Einleitung,' § 199.

[2] 'Exegetisches Handbuch,' vol. iv. p. 288.

[3] 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' vol. ii. p. 166.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Smith's 'Biblical Dictionary,' vol. i. p. 584.

[6] "The Hebrew is very like that of Ezra and parts of Chronicles," says Bishop A. Hervey. "It is like these Books, but later," says Dr. Davidson. But the only indications of a later date pointed out consist of some half-dozen Chaldee words not found in Ezra and Chronicles, which books have also several not found in Esther.

[7] See the 'Introductions' to those Books.

[8] The opening and close of the work are thought to show that the reign of Ahasuerus was "long past;" but they are such as would be not unnatural to an Oriental, who wrote of events that had occurred twenty or thirty years previously.

[9] This tone has been called one of "revenge and pride" (De Wette, Davidson). It is, no doubt, one of strong hostility towards the nation's enemies, and of joy at the signal triumph obtained over them. Such feelings were not peculiar to any one period in the history of the Jewish nation.

cord with the history which it narrates, and is not unlike that of Zechariah. There is, on the whole, no sufficient ground for placing the composition of Esther later than that of the three Books above mentioned as resembling it linguistically; and, if the arguments by which those works have been assigned to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus be regarded as valid, it can scarcely be maintained that Esther is to be given a lower date. On the other hand, there is certainly no ground for regarding Esther as earlier than the other post-Captivity historical books—much less for placing it in the reign of Xerxes. Assuming Ahasuerus to be Xerxes (which is now generally allowed), it may be said that both the opening sentence and the conclusion of the work indicate that the reign of Xerxes was over.[10] Consequently the earliest date that can reasonably be assigned to the Book is B.C. 464; and it is, on the whole, most probable that it was composed twenty or thirty years later (B.C. 444-434).

§ 3. Question of the Authorship.

Those who think that "Esther" can be assigned to a definite author, regard it generally as the work of Mordecai.[1] It has, however, been ascribed also to Ezra[2] and to the high-priest Joiakim.[3] A Jewish tradition makes it the work of "the men of the great Synagogue."[4] These various opinions seem to be, in reality, little more than guesses at the true answer to a question, which there are no means of determining. Tradition does not speak on the subject with one voice or with any great authority.[5] The internal evidence does not point to any special individual—not at all to Ezra,[6] and not with any distinctness to Mordecai.[7] It is no doubt conceivable that Mordecai may have been the author; but this is the most that can be said.[8] More probably the author was a younger contemporary of Mordecai's, who put the facts on record towards the middle or end of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when they were in danger of being forgotten by the passing away of the generation that had witnessed them.

The author almost certainly wrote in Persia, where he had access to the royal archives, which contained an account, more or less full, of the transactions he was desirous of recording.[9] He must not be supposed, however, to have made a mere transcript from the archives. Much of what he relates would certainly not have been contained in them; and this must have been derived from other sources, as from personal observation,[10] and from communications with Mordecai and (perhaps) Esther.[11] The exact circumstances under which he wrote, and the motive which induced him to suppress, not only the name of God, but all direct reference to religion, are unknown to us, though not probably beyond the reach of conjecture. (See the next section.)

[10] An author writing under Xerxes would not say—"Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia . . .)." Nor would he speak of "*all* the acts of his power and of his might" as being "written in the . . . chronicles."

[1] So Aben-Ezra, Clem. Alex., Vatablus, Walther, Gerhard, Danhauer, and Bp. A. Hervey.

[2] Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' c. 36; Isid. 'Orig.' c. 2; page 45, F.

[3] Pseudo-Philo, 'Chronograph.'; R. Azarias, &c. (See Carpzov, 'Introductio,' xx. § 4, p. 361.)

[4] 'Baba-bathra,' fol. 15, 1.

[5] The Talmud is at variance with Aben-Ezra and the Rabbi Azarias. Clement of Alexandria is at variance with Augustine and Isidorus.

[6] None of Ezra's peculiar turns of expression (supra, p. 387) occur in Esther.

[7] Verses 20 and 32 of ch. ix. have been quoted as favouring the authorship of Mordecai; but in the former passage Mordecai's circular letter, and in the latter the "Book of the Chronicles of Media and Persia" seems to be intended.

[8] If Mordecai had been the author, he would probably have spoken of himself in the first person, at any rate sometimes, as do Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel. He would also probably have dwelt less on his own greatness (ch. viii. 15; ix. 4; x. 2) and good qualities (ch. x. 3).

[9] See ch. ix. 32 and x. 2.

[10] As the description of Susa (ch. i. 6), that of the royal posts (ch. viii. 10, 14), of Mordecai's apparel (ib. 15), and the like.

[11] *E.g.* The genealogy of Mordecai (ch. ii. 5), his private communications with Esther (ib. 10, 11, 20, 22) and Hatach (ch. iv. 6-16), &c.

§ 4. Characteristics.

Esther is more purely a historical Book than any other in Scripture. Not only is its main scope historical,[1] but it has scarcely any other aspect. Direct religious teaching is wholly absent from it; and it has only a didactic tendency in common with all history written by God-fearing men, the reader's sympathies being enlisted on the side of the nobler characters, and his aversion aroused by the baser ones. The absence of the name of God, and the slightness of the religious and didactic elements are the most marked characteristics of the work. It is further peculiar in its entire silence with respect to Jerusalem and Palestine, the Temple, the priesthood, and most of the peculiar institutions of the Jews. It is not, however, wanting in patriotism, for the writer's sympathies are warmly with his nation, which he recognises as a distinct people,[2] one, though scattered, living under a law of its own,[3] and secure of continuance,[4] whatever may be attempted against it. He is not a Gentilised Jew, or one who thinks little of the differences which separate his people from "the nations." Still, his Persian breeding, together probably with other circumstances which cannot be particularized, has prevented his sharing the ordinary Jewish spirit of local attachment, while at the same time it has taught him a reticence with respect to the doctrines of his religion very unusual with his countrymen.

The narrative of Esther is striking and graphic. The writer loves to dwell on details, and sometimes by numerous and careful touches produces an effect like that of a finished picture.[5] He excels in the dramatic exhibition of character, Ahasuerus, Haman, Esther, and Mordecai being vividly pourtrayed by their words and acts, without any formal description. The style in which he writes is "remarkably chaste and simple;"[6] the constructions are mostly easy; and the sentences clear and unambiguous. The vocabulary, on the contrary, is, as might have been expected, not altogether pure, a certain number of Persian words being employed,[7] and also a few terms characteristic of the later Hebrew or "Chaldee" dialect.[8]

§ 5. Authenticity of the History.

The authenticity of the history of Esther has been more or less impugned by various recent critics;[1] but the objections taken are for the most part minute, and will be more satisfactorily treated in the foot-notes than in a general dissertation. It is allowed on all hands that there must be a historical foundation to the Book;[2] and the more candid of sceptical critics admit that the main circumstances of the narrative, which at first sight appear improbable, are not so if the peculiarly extravagant and capricious character of the Persian monarch, whom the author calls Ahasuerus, be taken into account.[3] Etymo-

[1] The main scope of "Esther" is simply to give an account of the circumstances under which the Feast of Purim was instituted.

[2] See ch. ii. 10, 20; iii. 8; vii. 3; &c.

[3] Ch. iii. 8; ix. 27. [4] Ch. iv. 14.

[5] As particularly in ch. i. 6.

[6] Bp. A. Hervey, in 'Biblical Dictionary,' vol. i. p. 585.

[7] The principal Persian words, some of which have been already explained (see Appendix to Ezra), are אגרא, "a letter" (ix. 26); גנז, "a treasury" (iii. 9); כרפס, "linen" or "cotton" (i. 6); כתר, "the Persian crown," Greek κίδαρις (i. 11); אחשדרפני, "satraps" (iii. 12); אחשתרנים, "royal" (viii. 10); פרתמים, "nobles," lit. "first men" (i. 3); פתגם, "a decree" (i. 20); פתשגן, "a copy," "a transcript" (iii. 14), and פור, "a part," "a lot" (iii. 7). (See below, "Appendix to Esther.")

[8] Such as אבדן for אֲבַדּוֹן, "destruction" (viii. 6); ביתן for בית, "house" (i. 5); מאמר for אמר, "saying" (i. 15.); פרשה, "showing forth" (iv. 7; x. 2); שרבים for שבט, "sceptre" (iv. 11), and תקף, "strength," "authority" (ix. 29). To these De Wette adds, בוץ (i. 6); גבה (i. 5); שש, "marble" (i. 6); רב, "officer" (i. 8); and the expression, טוב על (i. 19).

[1] As particularly De Wette, 'Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.' § 198, *a*; Th. Parker, 'Translation of De Wette's Einleitung,' vol. ii. pp. 340-345; and Dr. Davidson, 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' vol. ii. pp. 157-162.

[2] De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 198, *b*; Davidson, p. 162.

[3] De Wette says, "The summoning of Vashti, not merely to a banquet, but to a ca-

logically, the name Ahasuerus is identical with the Persian *Khshayarsha* and the Greek Xerxes;[4] and it is to this particular Persian monarch that the portrait of Ahasuerus exhibits a striking similarity.[5] The chronological notices in the work also exactly fit this monarch's history;[6] and the entire representation of the court and kingdom is suitable to his time and character. Had the work been composed by a Jewish romancer, at the distance of a century and a half or two centuries from the events, and been merely based upon traditional recollections of a great danger and a great deliverance, which is the hypothesis of De Wette and Dr. Davidson, it is inconceivable that the character of Xerxes should have been so exactly hit off, and that the picture of Persian manners should have been at once so vivid and so correct; it is also highly improbable that no mistakes would have been made with respect to dates, circumstances, and persons, such as those which at once condemn as unhistoric the apocryphal Books of Judith and Tobit.[7] That we have no direct profane confirmation of the narrative of Esther must be admitted, for the identity of Mordecai with Matacas is too doubtful to be relied upon;[8] but that we have none is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that our accounts of the reign of Xerxes after his sixth year, and more particularly of his domestic life, are scanty in the extreme, the native records being silent, and the Greek writers, from whom we obtain our information, concerning themselves almost entirely with those public events which bore upon the history of Greece. "Esther" is, in fact, the sole authority for the period and circumstances of which it treats. No profane writer treats of the time in such a way as to admit of comparison with it; and thus at any rate no contradiction is to be found between it and the established facts of history. On the contrary, the narrative is in harmony with those facts; completes very happily the portraiture of Xerxes and of his court; agrees with, but goes beyond, the descriptions of Persian life and manners which have otherwise come down to us; has the air of being by a contemporary;[9] and, if untrue, might have easily been proved to be untrue at the time when it was published, by reference to the extant "book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia," which it quotes.[10] It has, moreover, always been regarded by the Jews as an authentic account of the great deliverance which they celebrate annually by the Feast of Purim, and has been placed by some of them in an exceptional position of honour.[11]

rouse; Esther's marriage with Ahasuerus, though she was not a member of one of the seven privileged houses; and the grant to Mordecai of royal honours, are possible on account of the advancing corruption in Xerxes' time and the folly of Xerxes himself" (§ 198, *a*, note *b*); and again, "That Haman obtained from Xerxes an edict to destroy the Jews, and Mordecai a counter-edict, may perhaps be attributed to the base and despotic character of that monarch" (ibid.). Dr. Davidson, after enumerating thirteen difficulties, says: "Some of these difficulties may perhaps be solved by Xerxes' weak, capricious, proud, and mad-like disposition. He . . . . cannot be judged by the ordinary standard of humanity." (P. 161.)

[4] See Appendix to Ezra, p. 422.

[5] This similarity is admitted (Davidson, p. 156).

[6] See notes on Esther i. 3 and ii. 16.

[7] In Tobit Sennacherib is made the son of "Enemessar," when he was the son of Sargon (i. 15); he is said to have been murdered by his sons fifty-five days after he returned from his unsuccessful Syrian expedition (i. 21), whereas he outlived it at least seventeen years; Nineveh is said to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and Xerxes (xiv. 15), whereas it was really destroyed by Nabopolassar and Cyaxares; Tobias is made to reach the Tigris halfway between Nineveh and Ecbatana (vi. 1); &c. In Judith, Nebuchadnezzar is made to reign *in Nineveh* (i. 1) *after* the Jews had returned from captivity (iv. 3), and to contend with and slay Arphaxad, a wholly unknown Median monarch (i. 5-15); Mesopotamia is placed *west* of the Euphrates (ii. 24); the Jews are said to have crowned Judith with a *garland of olive* (xv. 13); Judith is made to sing about the *sons of the Titans* (xvi. 7); &c.

[8] Especially as it is uncertain whether the true reading in Ctesias is "Matacas" or "Natacas."

[9] Compare above, § 2.

[10] Ch. ii. 23; ix. 32; x. 2.

[11] The saying is attributed to Maimonides, that "in the days of the Messiah the prophetical books and the Hagiographa will be done away with, excepting only Esther, which will endure together with the Pentateuch." (See Carpzov, 'Introduct.,' c. xx. § 6.)

§ 6. Condition of the Text.

The condition of the text is remarkably good. The various readings are, comparatively speaking, few, and generally unimportant. Some corruptions of Persian names have probably taken place in ch. i. 14 and ch. ix. 7-9; and one interpolation (ch. ix. 31) may be suspected; but otherwise the work is probably nearly in the state in which it left the hands of the author.

§ 7. Apocryphal Additions to Esther.

The "additions" to Esther in the Septuagint version consist of five principal passages. 1. The first is introductory. It is dated in the second year of Ahasuerus, and contains (*a*) the pedigree of Mordecai, an anticipation of ch. ii. 5; (*b*) a dream which he is supposed to have had; (*c*) an account of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs and Mordecai's discovery of it; (*d*) a statement that Mordecai was at once rewarded with gifts; and (*e*) a statement that Haman wished ill to Mordecai and his people on account of the affair of the eunuchs. 2. The second occurs after ch. iii. 13, and consists of a pretended translation of the letter sent out by Ahasuerus at the request of Haman. 3. The third follows on the close of ch. iv., and comprises (*a*) a long prayer ascribed to Mordecai; (*b*) another still longer prayer ascribed to Esther; and (*c*) an expanded account of Esther's venturing before the king unsummoned, in lieu of ch. v. verses 1, 2. 4. The fourth is interposed between verses 13 and 14 of ch. viii., and consists of a pretended copy of the letter sent out in the King's name by Mordecai. 5. The fifth and last occurs at the close of ch. x. It comprises (*a*) Mordecai's application of his dream to the events; (*b*) his appointment of the days of Purim as a permanent festival; and (*c*) an epilogue stating that the Greek version of Esther was brought (to Alexandria) in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra by a certain Dositheus, a priest, and was said by him to have been translated by a certain Lysimachus, of Jerusalem.

The unauthentic character of the "additions" is very evident. They contradict the original document to which they are attached on the following points:—the time of the eunuchs' conspiracy, the fact that Mordecai was not at first rewarded for discovering it, the cause of Haman's dislike of Mordecai, the time of Haman's elevation, and the time when his sons were put to death.[1] They make Haman a *Macedonian* who aimed at transferring the empire of the Persians to the Macedonians.[2] They are quite different in tone and style from the rest of the Book. The name of God is freely used in them, and religious ideas are made prominent. They contain a reference to the Temple.[3] The two letters ascribed to Ahasuerus have nothing Oriental about them, but are thoroughly Greek in character; and the Greek is of a late date, probably not much anterior to B.C. 100. Many little expressions scattered through the "additions" are inappropriate to the persons using them, or otherwise suspicious.[4] On the whole, while some skill has been shown in introducing them into the narrative, the "additions" would probably have been detected by criticism from their internal characteristics, apart from the fact that they are not found in the Hebrew original.

The intention of the "additions" is clear enough. They aim at giving a thoroughly religious character to a work in which, as originally written, the religious element was latent or only just perceptible. Their author has been

[1] In the second letter of Ahasuerus we are told that Haman was put to death "*with all his house*" (σὺν τῇ πανοικίᾳ); an expression in which his sons must certainly be included.

[2] See the second letter of Ahasuerus.

[3] Mention is made in Esther's prayer of Jehovah's "house" and "altar."

[4] *E.g.* the mention of "the month *Adar*" in both of the letters of Ahasuerus—the expression in the first letter, "that they who from of old and even now wish us ill may in one and the same day descend by violence *into hell*"—Esther's boast that she "had never eaten *at the table of Haman*," or "drunk the wine *of libations*"—Ahasuerus comforting her by saying "I am thy *brother*" (v. 1), and his calling the Jews "the *elect* nation" (viii. 13).

offended at the secular tone of the narrative, and has determined to remedy what he regarded as a defect by a plentiful infusion of the spirit which he found lacking. Hence the vision of Mordecai, sent from God, and received by him as coming from God;[5] hence the long prayers of Mordecai and Esther; hence the religious exordium of ch. v.,[6] and the religious conclusion to ch. x. The only important "additions" which cannot be thus accounted for, are the two letters of Ahasuerus, in the former of which there is nothing at all that bears upon religion, unless it be the mention of a "descent into hell,"[7] while in the latter, although the name of God is introduced repeatedly, yet the main purport is less religious than secular. The peculiar style of the letters makes it probable that they are from another and a later hand; and we may, perhaps, on the whole, conclude that the Greek book of Esther, as we have it, was composed in the following way:—first a translation was made of the Hebrew text, honest for the most part, but with a few very short additions and omissions;[8] then the markedly religious portions were added, the opening passage, the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, the exordium to ch. v., the religious touches in ch. vi. (verses 1 and 13); and the concluding verses of ch. x. Finally, the "letters of Ahasuerus" were composed by a writer more familiar than most Hellenists with the true spirit of the Greek tongue, and these, being accepted as genuine, were inserted in chs. iii. and viii.

[5] Διεγερθεὶς Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ ἑωρακὼς τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο, καὶ τί ὁ θεὸς βεβούλευται ποιῆσαι, εἶχεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ.

[6] Note particularly the expressions, ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα and μετέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πραΰτητα.

[7] See above, note [4].

[8] The additions which seem to belong to the original translation from the Hebrew are:—1. ὅτι προήχθη Μαρδοχαῖος (ii. 21); 2. ἡμέρα μου ἐπίσημος σήμερόν ἐστι (v. 4). Among the principal omissions are—(1) Omission of the difficult clause at the end of ch. i. (2) Omission of Esther's original name, Hadassah. (3) Omission in ch. v. 9 of Mordecai's contemptuous refusal to notice Haman's presence. (4) Omission in ch. vi. 8 of the clause with respect to the "crown royal." (5) Omission in ch. viii. 10 of the difficult words at the end of the verse, and a similar omission in verse 14. (6) Omission of verse 30 of ch. ix.

THE BOOK OF

ESTHER.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Ahasuerus maketh royal feasts.* 10 *Vashti, sent for, refuseth to come.* 13 *Ahasuerus, by the counsel of Memucan, maketh the decree of men's sovereignty.*

NOW it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, (this *is* Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, *over* an hundred and seven and twenty provinces:)

2 *That* in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on the throne of his kingdom, which *was* in Shushan the palace,

3 In the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and

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CHAP. I. 1. *Now it came to pass.*] Compare the commencement of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel; also that of Nehemiah, omitting the "title."

Ahasuerus.] It has been shown in the appendix to Ezra that the Hebrew Ahasuerus (or Akhashverosh) is the exact correspondent of the Persian *Khshayarsha*, which the Greeks and Romans rendered by Xerxes.

this is Ahasuerus, &c.] The writer assumes that more than one Ahasuerus is known to his readers, and seeks to make it clear to them which Ahasuerus he is speaking of. First, he notes that the subject of his narrative is a real king, and, therefore, not the Ahasuerus of Daniel (ix. 1); secondly, that he ruled "from India to Ethiopia," and, therefore, belonged to the later portion of the Persian series, since it was well known that the earlier Persian monarchs were not masters of India. He thus sets aside the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6 (Cambyses), and points with sufficient clearness to Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis.

from India even unto Ethiopia.] The empire of Xerxes is rightly described as lying between these extremes; for though Ethiopia was not regarded as a "province," and is, therefore, absent alike from the Greek and the native lists, yet it paid a tribute (Herod. iii. 97), and, therefore, owned a certain degree of subjection. (Compare Herod. vii. 69.)

an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.] So also in ch. viii. 9. It has been usual to compare the 120 "satraps" of Dan. vi. 1. But the Babylonian kingdom of "Darius the Mede" and the Persian empire of Xerxes scarcely stand in any close relation the one to the other. It is more to the purpose that we should note the tendency towards the multiplication of provinces in Persia, as time went on. Herodotus makes the original satrapies of Darius 20 in number (iii. 89-94); Darius himself mentions 21 in his first, 23 in his second, and 29 in his third enumeration; Herodotus, quoting from a document of the time of Xerxes (vii. 61-95), makes the nations then under Persian rule about sixty. The 127 "provinces" (not "satrapies" be it remarked) include probably "sub-satrapies" and other smaller divisions of the great governments.

2. *Shushan the palace.*] See note on Neh. i. 1.

3. *In the third year of his reign he made a feast.*] In this year, B.C. 483, Xerxes, according to Herodotus, assembled the governors of provinces at Susa, in connection with his contemplated expedition against Greece. Councils were held, speeches were made, and at last formal orders were issued to the satraps to prepare their several contingents. The governors would be guests at his table during their stay.

Persia and Media.] The position of Media, as second only to Persia under the Achæmenian princes, is clearly apparent both in the native monuments and in the accounts of the Greeks. Medes held many of the highest offices both under Darius and under Xerxes.

Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, *being* before him:

4 When he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, *even* an hundred and fourscore days.

5 And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were †present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace;

6 *Where were* white, green, and ‖blue, *hangings*, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds *were* *of* gold and silver, upon a pavement ‖of red, and blue, and white, and black, marble.

7 And they gave *them* drink in vessels of gold, (the vessels being diverse one from another,) and †royal wine in abundance, †according to the state of the king.

8 And the drinking *was* according to the law; none did compel: for so

† Heb. *found.*

‖ Or, *violet.*

‖ Or, *of porphyre, and marble, and alabaster, and stone of blue colour.*

† Heb. *wine of the kingdom.*

† Heb. *according to the hand of the king.*

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the nobles.] Literally, "the first men." (Compare the Latin "primores.") The Hebrew word used is one adopted from the Persian. (See 'Appendix,' p. 498.)

4. *An hundred and fourscore days.*] It has been objected that, to leave the provinces without their governors for nearly half a year, would have been ruin to the Empire; but we are not obliged to suppose that all, or any, of the governors were present during the whole period of festivity. Rather, we may conclude that the time was extended in order to allow of the different persons making their appearance at the court successively.

5. *A feast unto all the people.*] Feasts on this extensive scale were not unusual in the East. Cyrus is said on one occasion to have feasted "all the Persians" (Herod. i. 126). Even ordinarily, the later Persian monarchs, according to Dino and Ctesias (Athen. 'Deipn.' iv. p. 146, C.), entertained at their table 15,000 persons.

the garden of the king's palace.] That gardens were an appendage of Oriental palaces appears also from the Assyrian sculptures ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 440), and from the records of the Babylonians (Beros. ap. Joseph. 'Ap.' i. 20).

6. *Where were white, green and blue hangings.*] Rather, "where was an **awning of fine white cotton and violet.**" White and blue (or violet) were the royal colours in Persia, being those alike of the royal tunic ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 104) and of the special emblem of royalty, the diadem (ib. p. 155). (Compare below, note on ch. viii. 15.)

cords of fine linen and purple.] Rather, "cords of fine **white** linen and purple." The colour, rather than the material, is in the writer's thought. The suitability of such awnings as are here described, to the pillared halls and porches of a Persian summer-palace, and especially to the situation of the palatial edifice of Susa, is strongly witnessed to by Mr. Loftus, the chief explorer of the Susian building, who says:—"Nothing could be more appropriate than this method at Susa and Persepolis, the spring residences of the Persian monarchs. . . . A massive roof, covering the whole expanse of columns, would be too cold and dismal; whereas curtains around the central group would serve to admit both light and warmth. Nothing can be conceived better adapted to the climate or the season" ('Chaldæa and Susiana,' p. 375).

the beds.] Rather, "**couches**" or "**sofas,**" on which the guests reclined at meals.

were of gold and silver.] Bertheau understands "of gold and silver *stuff*;" but the actual framework of Persian furniture appears to have been sometimes of gold and silver. (Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 37; Herod. ix. 82.)

a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black, marble.] In the original, "a pavement of *bahath*, of *shêsh*, of *dar*, and of *sochereth*." It is generally agreed that the four substances named are stones; but to identify the stones, or even their colours, is difficult. *Bahath*, translated by the LXX. as λίθος σμαραγδίτης, was probably green; *shêsh*, white; *dar*, pearl-coloured; and *sochereth*, spotted or black.

7. *Vessels of gold.*] On the use of these by the Persians, see Herod. ix. 80; Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 18; and Strab. xv. 3, § 19.

royal wine.] Some understand the "wine of Helbon," which, according to the Greeks, was the sole drink of the Persian kings; but perhaps no more is meant than wine from the royal cellar.

according to the state of the king.] Or, "as beseemed the king."

8. *According to the law.*] Or, "according to *command*." This is further explained by the clause, "for so had the king appointed." An exception to the ordinary practice of compulsory drinking had been made on this occasion by the king's order.

the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure.

9 Also Vashti the queen made a feast for the women *in* the royal house which *belonged* to king Ahasuerus.

10 ¶ On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded Mehuman, Biztha, Harbona, Bigtha, and Abagtha, Zethar, and Carcas, the seven ‖ chamberlains that served in the presence of Ahasuerus the king,

11 To bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to shew the people and the princes her beauty: for she *was* † fair to look on.

12 But the queen Vashti refused to come at the king's commandment † by *his* chamberlains: therefore was the king very wroth, and his anger burned in him.

13 ¶ Then the king said to the wise men, which knew the times, (for so *was* the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgment:

14 And the next unto him *was* Carshena, Shethar, Admatha, Tarshish, Meres, Marsena, *and* Memucan, the [a] seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, *and* which sat the first in the kingdom;)

15 † What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus by the chamberlains?

16 And Memucan answered before

‖ Or, *eunuchs.*

† Heb. *good of countenance.*

† Heb. *which was by the hand of his eunuchs.*

[a] Ezra vii. 14.

† Heb. *What to do.*

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9. *Vashti, the queen.*] If the Ahasuerus of Esther is rightly identified with Xerxes, Vashti should be Amestris, whom the Greeks regarded as the only legitimate wife of that monarch, and who was certainly married to him before he ascended the throne. In this case the name may be explained either as a corruption of Amestris, or as a title, *vahishta*, (conf. Sanskr. *vasishtha*, the superlative of *vasu*, "sweet"); and it may be supposed that the disgrace recorded (verses 19-21) was only temporary; Amestris in the later part of Xerxes' reign recovering her former dignity.

10. *When the heart of the king was merry with wine.*] On the custom of the Persians to drink to excess, see Herod. i. 133; Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 10.

Mehuman, &c.] These names, being those of eunuchs, are not unlikely to be of foreign origin. They have, generally, but little resemblance to known Persian names.

chamberlains.] Literally, "eunuchs."

11. *To bring Vashti the queen.*] It has been said that this is incredible, and indicates an ignorance of Persian customs on the part of the author. But even De Wette allows that such an act is not out of harmony with the character of *Xerxes* ('Einleitung,' § 198 a, note *b*); and it is evidently related as something strange and unusual. Otherwise the queen would not have refused to come.

with the crown royal.] The "crown royal" or ordinary head-dress of a Persian *king* was a stiff cap, probably of felt or cloth, ornamented with a blue and white band or ribbon—which was the "diadem" proper. The character of the queen's crown is not known.

13. *The wise men, which knew the times.*] Not "astrologers," who were unknown in Persia; but rather men of practical wisdom, who knew the facts and customs of former times.

for so was the king's manner.] Rather, "for so was the king's **business laid before** all that knew law, &c."

14. *Carshena, Shethar, &c.*] These names have a general Persian cast, though they are difficult of identification. They have probably suffered to some extent from corruption; and perhaps they were not even at first very close to the Persian originals. In Marsena we may perhaps recognise the famous Mardonius, and in Admatha, Xerxes' uncle, Artabanus. (See additional Note A, at the end of the chapter.)

the seven princes . . . which saw the king's face.] According to Herodotus (iii. 84), there were seven families of the first rank in Persia, from which alone the king could take his wives. Their chiefs were entitled to have free access to the monarch's person. The Behistun inscription, which gives Darius six coadjutors in his conspiracy, confirms the Greek writer. (See note on Ezr. vii. 14.)

16. *And Memucan answered.*] It is not surprising that the judgment delivered by Memucan was one of condemnation, for it was rarely indeed that any Persian subject ventured to offer opposition to the wildest caprice or the most extravagant whim of the

the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that *are* in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus.

17 For *this* deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women, so that they shall despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not.

18 *Likewise* shall the ladies of Persia and Media say this day unto all the king's princes, which have heard of the deed of the queen. Thus *shall there arise* too much contempt and wrath.

19 †If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment †from him, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, †that it be not altered, That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate †unto another that is better than she.

20 And when the king's decree which he shall make shall be published throughout all his empire, (for it is great,) all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small.

21 And the saying †pleased the king and the princes; and the king did according to the word of Memucan:

22 For he sent letters into all the king's provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house, and †that *it* should be published according to the language of every people.

† Heb. *If it be good with the king.*
† Heb. *from before him.*
† Heb. *that it pass not away.*
† Heb. *unto her companion.*
† Heb. *was good in the eyes of the king.*
† Heb. *that one should publish* it *according to the language of his people.*

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monarch. (See Herod. iii. 31, 35; and compare 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 113.)

18. *The ladies.*] Literally, "the princesses."

which have heard of the deed of the queen.] This clause is out of place. Translate—"Likewise shall the princesses of Persia and Media, which have heard of the deed of the queen, say this day unto all the king's princes."

19. *That it be not altered.*] Compare Dan. vi. 8, and see below, ch. viii. 8. The theoretical inviolability of the laws of the Persians is often touched on by the Greek writers. Practically, the monarch, if he chose, could always dispense with the law. It was therefore quite within his power to restore Vashti to her queenly dignity notwithstanding the present decree, if he so pleased. (See note on verse 9.)

22. *He sent letters into all the king's provinces.*] The Persian system of posts is described with some minuteness both by Herodotus (viii. 98) and Xenophon ('Cyrop.' viii. 6). The incidental notices of the present Book (see ch. iii. 12-15; viii. 9-14) are in entire harmony with the accounts of the classical writers. Herodotus describes the system as in full operation under Xerxes.

into every province according to the writing thereof.] The practice of the Persians to address proclamations to the subject-nations in their own speech, and not merely in the language of the conqueror, is illustrated by the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of the Achæmenian monarchs, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Ochus, each inscription being of the nature of a proclamation.

that every man should bear rule in his own house.] This decree has been called "absurd" and "quite unnecessary in Persia" (Davidson). If the criticism were allowed, it would be sufficient to observe that many absurd things were done by Xerxes. (See Herod. vii. 35; ix. 108-111.) But it may be questioned whether the decree was unnecessary. The undue influence of women in domestic, and even in public, matters is a feature of the ancient Persian monarchy. Herodotus tells us that Atossa "completely ruled" Darius (vii. 3). Xerxes himself was, in his later years, shamefully subject to Amestris (ib. ix. 111). The example of the court would naturally infect the people. The decree therefore would seem to have been not so much an idle and superfluous act as an ineffectual protest against a real and growing evil.

and that it should be published, &c.] The words of the existing text cannot possibly bear this meaning. They are extremely simple, and unless altered must be rendered as follows:—"that every man should bear rule in his own house, and *speak the language of his own people.*" Some commentators are content with this sense, understanding the king to have decreed that the wife's language, if different from her husband's, should in no case be allowed to prevail in the household.

It is, however, certainly strange that a completely new idea should thus be suddenly intruded; and an emendation of the text, suggested by Hitzig, deserves attention. (See Additional Note B at the end of the chapter.) This would give the sense—"that every man should bear rule in his own house, and speak what seemeth him good."

ADDITIONAL NOTES on verses 14 and 22.

NOTE A, on verse 14.

Mardonius is *Marduniya* in Old Persian, and would have been best expressed in Hebrew by מרדוניא. It may, however, not improbably have been originally written by the author (without the *yod*) מרדונא. This form would easily become מרסנא, the ם replacing the two letters דו.

Artabanus would naturally be expressed in Hebrew by ארתבנא. A slight corruption might turn this into ארתמא, the מ replacing the בנ. By an inversion of the order of two letters, ארתמא would become ארמתא, and finally ארמתא might become אדמתא by the common confusion of *resh* with *daleth*.

NOTE B, on verse 22.

For כלשון עמו, Hitzig, by the change of a single letter, reads כְּלִשְׁוֹה עִמּוֹ. The somewhat unusual word שׁוה is a favourite one with the author of Esther (ch. iii. 8; v. 13; vii. 4), who uses it in the sense of "meet," "fitting." מדבר כלשוה עמו might mean "speaking all that suited with himself," *i.e.* all that was agreeable to him. It must be confessed, however, that שׁוה is not elsewhere followed by עם.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Out of the choice of virgins a queen is to be chosen.* 5 *Mordecai the nursing father of Esther.* 8 *Esther is preferred by Hegai before the rest.* 12 *The manner of purification, and going in to the king.* 15 *Esther best pleasing the king is made queen.* 21 *Mordecai discovering a treason is recorded in the chronicles.*

AFTER these things, when the wrath of king Ahasuerus was appeased, he remembered Vashti, and what she had done, and what was decreed against her.

2 Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, Let there be fair young virgins sought for the king:

3 And let the king appoint officers in all the provinces of his kingdom, that they may gather together all the fair young virgins unto Shushan the palace, to the house of the women, † unto the custody of ‖ Hege the king's chamberlain, keeper of the women; and let their things for purification be given *them*:

4 And let the maiden which pleaseth the king be queen instead of Vashti. And the thing pleased the king; and he did so.

† Heb. *unto the hand.*

‖ Or, *Hegai*, ver. 8.

CHAP. II. 1. *After these things.*] The events here related (verses 1-11) must belong to the time between the great assembly held at Susa in Xerxes' third year, B.C. 483, and the departure of the monarch on his expedition against Greece in his fifth year, B.C. 481. It is impossible to fix their date more exactly.

2. *The king's servants that ministered.*] *I.e.* the high officers of the palace (compare ch. vi. 3), who in the reign of Xerxes were chiefly eunuchs.

3. *The house of the women.*] The "gynæceum," or "haram"—always an essential part of an Oriental palace. (Compare 1 K. vii. 8.) In the Persian palaces it was very extensive, since the monarchs maintained, besides their legitimate wives, as many as 300 or 400 concubines. (Parmen. ap. Athen. 'Deipn.' xiii. p. 608, A.)

Hege . . . keeper of the women.] Strictly speaking, Hege (or Hegai) seems to have been "keeper of the virgins" only; since the concubines were under the charge of Shaashgaz (verse 14).

things for purification.] What these were appears from verse 12.

5 ¶ *Now* in Shushan the palace there was a certain Jew, whose name *was* Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite;

6 [a] Who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away.

7 And he [†] brought up Hadassah, that *is*, Esther, his uncle's daughter: for she had neither father nor mother, and the maid *was* [†] fair and beautiful; whom Mordecai, when her father and mother were dead, took for his own daughter.

8 ¶ So it came to pass, when the king's commandment and his decree was heard, and when many maidens were gathered together unto Shushan the palace, to the custody of Hegai, that Esther was brought also unto the king's house, to the custody of Hegai, keeper of the women.

9 And the maiden pleased him, and she obtained kindness of him; and he speedily gave her her things for purification, with [†] such things as belonged whom Mordecai, when her father and mother were dead, took for his own daughter.

[a] 2 Kin. 24. 15. 2 Chr. 36. 10. Jer. 24. 1.

† Heb. *nourished.*

† Heb. *fair of form, and good of countenance.*

† Heb. *her portions.*

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5. *Mordecai.*] Mordecai has been probably identified with a certain Matacas, who, according to Ctesias, was the most powerful of the eunuchs during the latter portion of the reign of Xerxes. The change of the *t* into the cognate *d* is one that can occasion no surprise (compare *akhashdarpan* for *khshatrapan*), while the insertion of the *r* is in accordance with later Jewish usage. That Mordecai was a eunuch is implied by his adoption of a young female cousin, and also by the ready access which he had to the harem of Ahasuerus (ch. ii. 11, 22; viii. 7).

the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish.] According to one view, Jair is the real father of Mordecai, but Shimei and Kish, instead of being his grandfather and great-grandfather, are well-known men among his remoter ancestors, the former being "Shimei, the son of Gera" (2 S. xvi. 5), and the latter Kish, the father of Saul. But if the writer had intended to derive Mordecai from a royal stock, he would scarcely have omitted the name of Saul himself. Nor would he have designated Kish as a mere "Benjamite." This view therefore is untenable; and we must suppose that the list is simply the true line of Mordecai's descent from a certain Kish, otherwise unknown, who was his great-grandfather.

6. *Who had been carried away, &c.*] According to the laws of grammar, the relative "who" may refer either to Kish or to Mordecai. Chronological considerations make it, however, almost certain that Kish is the true antecedent. Had Mordecai been carried off by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 598—the year of Jeconiah's captivity—he would have been at least 113 when Xerxes mounted the throne, and consequently would have been at least 125 when he was made grand vizier. In this case, Esther, his first cousin, could scarcely at the time of her marriage have been less than seventy! If Kish be regarded as the antecedent, all difficulty vanishes. The four generations, Kish, Shimei, Jair, Mordecai, exactly fill up the space of 130 years from Jeconiah's captivity to the latter half of the reign of Xerxes. The generations correspond to the known generations in other cases, *e. g.*:—

High-priests.	Kings of Persia.	Royal stock of Judah.
Seraiah	Cambyses	Jeconiah
Jozadak	Cyrus	Salathiel
Jeshua	Darius	Zerubbabel
Joiakim	Xerxes	Hananiah

The age of Mordecai at the accession of Xerxes may probably have been about 30 or 40; that of Esther, his first cousin, about 20.

the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah.] Compare 2 K. xxiv. 12-16.

7. *Hadassah, that is, Esther.*] Hadassah would seem by this to have been the Hebrew and Esther the Persian name of the damsel. *Hadas* in Hebrew signifies "myrtle," and Hadassah would thus be a name corresponding to the Greek Μύρτις. Esther is thought to be connected with the Zend *çtare*, Gk. ἀστήρ, Mod. Pers. *sitareh*, Germ. *sterne*, which is our "star." But there is not at present any positive evidence of the existence in Old Persian of a kindred word.

his uncle's daughter.] Literally, "his father's brother's daughter."

9. *She obtained kindness of him.*] Or, "she obtained favour in his sight," as the same phrase is translated in verse 17.

to her, and seven maidens, *which were* meet to be given her, out of the king's house: and † he preferred her and her maids unto the best *place* of the house of the women.

† Heb. *he changed her.*

10 Esther had not shewed her people nor her kindred: for Mordecai had charged her that she should not shew *it*.

11 And Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, † to know how Esther did, and what should become of her.

† Heb. *to know the peace.*

12 ¶ Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after that she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women, (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, *to wit*, six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with *other* things for the purifying of the women;)

13 Then thus came *every* maiden unto the king; whatsoever she desired was given her to go with her out of the house of the women unto the king's house.

14 In the evening she went, and on the morrow she returned into the second house of the women, to the custody of Shaashgaz, the king's chamberlain, which kept the concubines: she came in unto the king no more, except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name.

15 ¶ Now when the turn of Esther, the daughter of Abihail the uncle of Mordecai, who had taken her for his daughter, was come to go in unto the king, she required nothing but what Hegai the king's chamberlain, the keeper of the women, appointed. And Esther obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her.

16 So Esther was taken unto king Ahasuerus into his house royal in the tenth month, which *is* the month Tebeth, in the seventh year of his reign.

17 And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained

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seven maidens, which were meet to be given her.] Rather, "her seven maidens, which were **selected** to be given her." It is implied that each concubine received seven maidens, but that by the favour of Hegai, Esther received *picked* maidens.

10. *Esther had not shewed her people.*] The Persians had no special contempt for the Jews; but, of course, they despised more or less all the subject races. Esther, with her Aryan name, may have passed for a native Persian.

11. *Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house.*] Mordecai occupied, apparently, a humble place in the royal household. He was probably one of the porters or doorkeepers at the main entrance to the palace. (See verse 21, and compare ch. iii. 2; v. 13; &c.) This position separated him from his adopted daughter, and some effort was needed to keep up communication with her.

12. *According to the manner of the women.*] Rather, "according to the **law** respecting the women."

14. *She returned into the second house of the women.*] *I. e.* she returned to the "house of the women," but not to the same part of it. She became an inmate of the "second house," or "house of the concubines," which was under the superintendence of a distinct officer, Shaashgaz.

15. *She required nothing.*] No doubt, the virgins generally took the opportunity—one that would occur but once in their lives—to load themselves with precious ornaments of various kinds, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, anklets, and the like. Esther let Hegai dress her as he would.

16. *The month Tebeth.*] The name "Tebeth," which does not occur elsewhere in Scripture, is singularly like that of the corresponding Egyptian month, *Tobi* or *Tubi*. A name but slightly different is found in the Palmyrene inscriptions. (Gesen. 'Thesaur.' p. 543.) Tebeth corresponded nearly to our January.

in the seventh year of his reign.] In December, B.C. 479, or January, B.C. 478. Xerxes quitted Sardis for Susa in, or soon after, September, B.C. 479. It has been regarded as a "difficulty" that Vashti's place, declared vacant in B.C. 483, was not supplied till the end of B.C. 479, four years afterwards (Davidson). But as more than two years out of the four had been occupied by the Grecian expedition, the objection cannot be considered very weighty.

grace and [1]favour [2]in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti.

18 Then the king made a great feast unto all his princes and his servants, *even* Esther's feast; and he made a [2]release to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king.

19 And when the virgins were gathered together the second time, then Mordecai sat in the king's gate.

20 Esther had not *yet* shewed her kindred nor her people; as Mordecai had charged her: for Esther did the commandment of Mordecai, like as when she was brought up with him.

21 ¶ In those days, while Mordecai sat in the king's gate, two of the king's chamberlains, [1]Bigthan and Teresh, of those which kept [2]the door, were wroth, and sought to lay hand on the king Ahasuerus.

22 And the thing was known to Mordecai, who told *it* unto Esther the queen; and Esther certified the king *thereof* in Mordecai's name.

23 And when inquisition was made of the matter, it was found out; therefore they were both hanged on a tree: and it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king.

[1] Or, *kindness.* [2] Heb. *before him.* [2] Heb. *rest.* [1] Or, *Bigthana*, ch. 6. 2. [2] Heb. *the threshold.*

CHAPTER III.

1 *Haman, advanced by the king, and despised by Mordecai, seeketh revenge upon all the Jews.* 7 *He casteth lots.* 8 *He obtaineth by calumniation a decree of the king to put the Jews to death.*

AFTER these things did king Ahasuerus promote Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, and

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17. *The royal crown.*] See note on ch. i. 11.

18. *He made a release to the provinces.*] The word translated "release" occurs here only. It probably signifies either remission of taxation, or of military service, or of both. Such remissions were sometimes made by the Persian kings. (See Herod. iii. 67.)

gave gifts.] A common Oriental practice. On its employment by the Persians, see Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 3; 'Anab.' i. 9, § 22; &c. The most ordinary gifts were robes of honour.

according to the state of the king.] *I.e.* "in true kingly fashion." (Compare ch. i. 7.)

19 *When the virgins, &c.*] Rather, "when virgins." These words should begin a new paragraph. They stand in contrast with those of verse 8, and serve in the mind of the writer to date the new event here narrated, viz. the discovery by Mordecai of the plot against the life of the king. It appears from them that there was a second collection of virgins after that described in verse 8—either arrivals from the remoter provinces or newly discovered beauties—and that it was at the time of this second collection (which the writer assumes his readers to know of) that Mordecai had the good fortune to save the king's life. The nexus of verses 19-21 would best appear by translating as follows:—

"Now when virgins were gathered together a second time, and Mordecai sat in the king's gate; (Esther had not yet showed her kindred nor her people, as Mordecai had charged her; for Esther did the commandment of Mordecai, like as when she was brought up with him:) in those days, while Mordecai was sitting in the king's gate, two of the king's chamberlains," &c.

21. *Bigthan and Teresh.*] "Bigthan" (the Bigtha of ch. i. 10) is probably the Old Persian *Bagadâna* (= "Dieu-donné."). "Teresh" is derived by some from *tars*, "to fear;" but it is more like a foreign than a Persian name.

sought to lay hand on the king.] Conspiracies inside the palace were ordinary occurrences in Persia. Xerxes was ultimately murdered by Artabanus, the captain of the guard, and Aspamitras, a chamberlain and eunuch. (Ctes. 'Pers.' § 29; Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 1.) A similar fate befel Artaxerxes Ochus.

23. *Both hanged on a tree.*] *I.e.* "crucified" or "impaled"—the ordinary punishment of rebels and traitors in Persia. (See Herod. iii. 159; iv. 43; and the Behistun Inscription, passim.)

it was written in the book of the chronicles.] These royal chronicles were distinctly mentioned by Ctesias, who said that he drew his Persian history from them (Diod. Sic. ii. 32). They are often glanced at by Herodotus (vii. 100; viii. 85, 90; &c.).

CHAP. III. 1. *Haman the son of Hammedatha.*] The name, Haman, is probably the same which is found in the classical writers under the form of Omanes, and which in ancient Persian would have been, *Umana* or, *Umanish*,

advanced him, and set his seat above all the princes that *were* with him.

2 And all the king's servants, that *were* in the king's gate, bowed, and reverenced Haman: for the king had so commanded concerning him. But Mordecai bowed not, nor did *him* reverence.

3 Then the king's servants, which *were* in the king's gate, said unto Mordecai, Why transgressest thou the king's commandment?

4 Now it came to pass, when they spake daily unto him, and he hearkened not unto them, that they told Haman, to see whether Mordecai's matters would stand: for he had told them that he *was* a Jew.

5 And when Haman saw that Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence, then was Haman full of wrath.

6 And he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone; for they had shewed him the people of Mordecai: wherefore Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that *were* throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus, *even* the people of Mordecai.

7 ¶ In the first month, that *is*, the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast Pur, that *is*, the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, *to* the twelfth *month*, that *is*, the month Adar.

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an exact equivalent of the Greek "Eumenes." Hammedatha is perhaps the same as *Madâta* or *Mahadâta* ("Madates" of Q. Curtius), an Old Persian name signifying "given by (or to) the moon."

the Agagite.] The Jews generally understand by this expression "the descendant of Agag," and take the Agag intended to be the Amalekite monarch of 1 S. xv. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 6, § 5; Targ. Esth.) It is certainly difficult to assign any other meaning to the word; but on the other hand it seems unlikely that Agag's children, if he had any, would have been spared at the time of the great destruction of Amalek, without some distinct notice being taken of it. Haman, moreover, by his own name, and the names of his sons (ch. ix. 7-9) and his father, would seem to have been a genuine Persian.

advanced him.] The classical writers give us no confirmation of this fact; but their notices of the reign of Xerxes after the year B.C. 479 are exceedingly scanty.

2. *Mordecai bowed not.*] It is most likely that Mordecai regarded the required prostration, usual though it was, as trenching on the reverence due to the Supreme Being, and refused on religious grounds. Hence his opposition led on to his confession that he was a Jew (verse 4). Many Greeks, however, refused the prostration as simply unmanly, and against their customs. (See Herod. vii. 136; Plut. 'Artaxerx.' § 22; Philostr. 'Vit. Apollon. Tyan.' i. 27).

4. *Whether Mordecai's matters would stand.*] Rather, "whether Mordecai's words would hold good"—whether, that is, his excuse, that he was a Jew, would be allowed as a valid reason for his refusal.

5. *When Haman saw.*] Until his attention was called to it, Haman, it seems, had not observed Mordecai's contumacy.

6. *Haman sought to destroy all the Jews.*] In the West such an idea as this would never have occurred to a revengeful man; but in the East it is different. There massacres of a people, a race, a class, have at all times been among the incidents of history, and would naturally present themselves to the mind of a statesman. The Magophonia, or the great massacre of the Magi at the accession of Darius Hystaspis, was an event not fifty years old in the twelfth year of Xerxes, and was commemorated annually. A massacre of the Scythians had occurred about a century previously (Herod. i. 106).

7. *In the first month . . . the twelfth year.*] *I.e.* in March or April of B.C. 474.

they cast Pur.] "Pur" is supposed to be an Old Persian word etymologically connected with the Latin *pars*, and signifying "part" or "lot." In Modern Persian *pâreh* has this meaning. The recovered fragments of the old language have not, however, yielded any similar root.

The practice of casting lots to obtain a lucky day obtains still in the East, and is probably extremely ancient. Assyrian calendars note lucky and unlucky days as early as the eighth century B.C. Lots were in use both among the Oriental and the classical nations from a remote antiquity.

from day to day, and from month to month.] A lot seems to have been cast, or a throw of some kind made, for each day of the month and each month of the year. The day and month which obtained the best throws were then selected.

8 ¶ And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws *are* diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it *is* not †for the king's profit to suffer them.

† Heb. *meet*, or, *equal.*

9 If it please the king, let it be written †that they may be destroyed: and I will †pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business, to bring *it* into the king's treasuries.

† Heb. *to destroy them.*

† Heb. *weigh.*

10 And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' ‖enemy.

‖ Or, *oppressor.*

11 And the king said unto Haman, The silver *is* given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee.

12 Then were the king's ‖scribes called on the thirteenth day of the first month, and there was written

‖ Or, *secretaries.*

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to the twelfth month.] The LXX. interpose a clause to the effect that the lot fell out for the 14th day of the month, but this is probably an interpolation.

Adar.] "Adar," the twelfth month, corresponds nearly to our March. It seems to have derived its name from *âdar*, "splendour," because of the brightness of the sun and the flowers at that time.

8. *A certain people . . . dispersed . . . in all the provinces.*] Although a part of the Jewish nation had returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, the greater portion was still dispersed among the provinces, in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. (See Ezr. vii. 6; viii. 17; Neh. i. 1, 2; &c.)

neither keep they the king's laws.] Compare the charges made against the Jews by Rehum and Shimshai (Ezr. iv. 13-16).

9. *Ten thousand talents of silver.*] According to Herodotus, the regular revenue of the Persian king consisted of 14,560 silver talents (iii. 95); so that, if the same talent is intended, Haman's offer would have exceeded two-thirds of a year's revenue (or two and a half millions sterling). With respect to the ability of Persian subjects to make presents to this amount, it is enough to quote the offer of Pythius (Herod. vii. 28) to present this same monarch with four millions of gold darics, or about four millions and a half of our money, and the further statement of the same writer that a certain satrap of Babylon had a revenue of nearly *two bushels* of silver daily. (Herod. i. 192.)

to the hands of those that have charge of the business.] *I.e.* the treasurers, or collectors of the revenue.

10. *The king took his ring from his hand.*] The signets of Persian monarchs were sometimes rings, sometimes cylinders, the latter probably suspended by a string round the wrist. The expression here used might apply to either kind of signet.

11. *The silver is given to thee.*] Some understand this to mean that Xerxes refused the silver which Haman had offered to him; but the passage is better explained as a grant to him of all the property of such Jews as should be executed. In the East confiscation follows necessarily on public execution, the goods of criminals escheating to the crown, which does with them as it chooses. (Compare verse 13, ad fin., and ch. viii. 1, and 11, ad fin.)

the people also.] It has been said to be "incredible" that any king should thus sacrifice a whole people to the offended dignity of a minister; but even De Wette allows that such an act is in keeping with the character of Xerxes, and, being told of him, is credible. ('Einleitung,' § 298, *a.*) In fact, it is on a par with many acts of Oriental despots.

12. *Then were the king's scribes called.*] The "scribes" of Xerxes are mentioned more than once by Herodotus (vii. 100; viii. 90). They appear to have been in constant attendance on the monarch, ready to indite his edicts or to note down any occurrences which he desired to have recorded.

on the thirteenth day.] Haman had, apparently (comp. verse 7 with verse 13), obtained by his use of the lot the 13th day of Adar as the lucky day for destroying the Jews. This may have caused him to fix on the 13th day of another month for the commencement of his enterprise.

of the first month.] By the issue of the decree at this time the Jews throughout the empire had from nine to eleven months' warning of the peril which threatened them. So long a notice is thought to be "incredible" (Davidson), and the question is asked, "Why did they not then quit the kingdom?" In reply we may say, (1) that many of them may have quitted the kingdom; and (2) that those who remained may have believed, with Mordecai (ch. iv. 14), that enlargement and deliverance would arise from some quarter

according to all that Haman had commanded unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors that *were* over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every province according to the writing thereof, and *to* every people after their language; in the name of king Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring.

13 And the letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, *even* upon the thirteenth *day* of the twelfth month, which *is* the month Adar, and *to take* the spoil of them for a prey.

14 The copy of the writing for a commandment to be given in every province was published unto all people, that they should be ready against that day.

15 The posts went out, being hastened by the king's commandment, and the decree was given in Shushan the palace. And the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city Shushan was perplexed.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The great mourning of Mordecai and the Jews.* 4 *Esther, understanding it, sendeth to Mordecai, who sheweth the cause, and adviseth her to undertake the suit.* 10 *She excusing herself is threatened by Mordecai.* 15 *She appointing a fast undertaketh the suit.*

WHEN Mordecai perceived all that was done, Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, and cried with a loud and a bitter cry;

2 And came even before the king's gate: for none *might* enter into the king's gate clothed with sackcloth.

3 And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, *there was* great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and †many lay in sackcloth and ashes.

4 ¶ So Esther's maids and her †chamberlains came and told *it* her. Then was the queen exceedingly grieved; and she sent raiment to clothe Mordecai, and to take away his sackcloth from him: but he received *it* not.

† Heb. *sackcloth and ashes were laid under many.*

† Heb. *eunuchs.*

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or other. As to its being improbable that Haman should give such long notice, we may remark that Haman only wished to be quit of Mordecai, and that the flight of the Jews would have served his purpose quite as well as their massacre.

lieutenants.] Literally, "satraps."

13. *Sent by posts.*] See note on ch. i. 22.

upon the thirteenth day.] The LXX. give the 14th day as that of the intended massacre. The Jews at present keep three days, the 13th, the 14th, and the 15th of Adar, as connected with "the Feast of Purim," but make the 13th a fast, commemorative of the fast of Esther (ch. iv. 16), and keep the feast itself on the 14th and 15th.

14. *The copy.*] Rather, "A copy."

15. *Shushan was perplexed.*] This remark has been attributed to "Jewish conceit"; but without reason. Susa was now the capital of Persia, and the main residence of the Persians of high rank. These, being attached to the religion of Zoroaster, would naturally sympathize with the Jews, and be disturbed at their threatened destruction. Nay, even apart from this bond of union, the decree was sufficiently strange and ominous to "perplex" thoughtful citizens.

CHAP. IV. 1. *Mordecai rent his clothes.*] To rend one's clothes in grief was as much a Persian as a Jewish practice. (See Herod. viii. 99; Æsch. 'Pers.' 540-1; 1039, &c.)

a loud and a bitter cry.] On the loud wailing of the Orientals in sorrow, see Herod. viii. 99; ix. 24; and compare Æsch. 'Pers.' 251-285; 570-585; 702-1045. The streets of Susa resounded often enough to "loud and bitter cries."

2. *None might enter into the king's gate clothed with sackcloth.*] This law is not elsewhere mentioned; but its principle—that nothing of evil omen is to be obtruded on the monarch—has been recognised throughout the East in all ages. (Comp. Gen. l. 4.)

4. *Esther's maids . . . told it her.*] Esther's nationality and her relationship to Mordecai

5 Then called Esther for Hatach, *one* of the king's chamberlains, †whom he had appointed to attend upon her, and gave him a commandment to Mordecai, to know what it *was*, and why it *was*.

† Heb. *whom he had set before her.*

6 So Hatach went forth to Mordecai unto the street of the city, which *was* before the king's gate.

7 And Mordecai told him of all that had happened unto him, and of the sum of the money that Haman had promised to pay to the king's treasuries for the Jews, to destroy them.

8 Also he gave him the copy of the writing of the decree that was given at Shushan to destroy them, to shew *it* unto Esther, and to declare *it* unto her, and to charge her that she should go in unto the king, to make supplication unto him, and to make request before him for her people.

9 And Hatach came and told Esther the words of Mordecai.

10 ¶ Again Esther spake unto Hatach, and gave him commandment unto Mordecai;

11 All the king's servants, and the people of the king's provinces, do know, that whosoever, whether man or woman, shall come unto the king into the inner court, who is not called, *there is* one law of his to put *him* to death, except such to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live: but I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days.

12 And they told to Mordecai Esther's words.

13 Then Mordecai commanded to answer Esther, Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Jews.

14 For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, *then* shall there †enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for *such* a time as this?

† Heb. *respiration.*

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were probably by this time known to her attendants, though still concealed from the king. (See ch. viii. 1.)

6. *The street of the city.*] Rather — the "square" or "open space." (See above, notes on Ezr. x. 9, and Neh. viii. 1.)

8. *The copy.*] "A copy," as in ch. iii. 14.

11. *There is one law of his to put him to death.*] Rather, "there is one law for him, to put him to death." That it was death to intrude on the privacy of the Persian king uninvited appears clearly from the single exception which Herodotus notes (iii. 84, 118). It was, however, in most cases allowable to request an audience; and it has been asked, Why did not Esther do so? No decided answer can be given to this inquiry; but it is possible that in the very retired position of women in Persia such a step on the part of a queen would have been regarded as more unseemly than that which Esther took.

the golden sceptre.] A modern critic asks, "Is it likely that a Persian king would always have a golden sceptre by him to stretch out towards intruders on his privacy?" It seems enough to reply that in all the numerous representations of Persian kings at Persepolis there is not one in which the monarch does not hold a long tapering staff (which is probably the sceptre of Esther) in his right hand.

I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days.] According to Herodotus, the wives of a Persian king, whether primary or secondary, shared his bed in rotation (iii. 69). As their number sometimes exceeded 300, the turn of a particular wife might not come for nearly a year.

14. *Then shall there enlargement . . arise to the Jews from another place.*] *I. e.* "from some other quarter." Mordecai probably concludes from the prophetical Scriptures that God will not allow His people to be destroyed before His purposes with respect to them are accomplished, and is therefore satisfied that deliverance will arise from one quarter or another.

thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed.] *I. e.* "a divine vengeance will overtake thee and thine, if thou neglectest thy plain duty." Though the *name* of God is not contained in the Book of Esther, there is in this verse distinct tacit allusion to God's promises, and to the direction of human events by Divine Providence.

15 ¶ Then Esther bade *them* return Mordecai *this answer*,

16 Go, gather together all the Jews that are †present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day: I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, which *is* not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish.

† Heb. *found.*

17 So Mordecai †went his way, and did according to all that Esther had commanded him.

† Heb. *passed.*

CHAPTER V.

1 *Esther, adventuring on the king's favour, obtaineth the grace of the golden sceptre, and inviteth the king and Haman to a banquet.* 6 *She, being encouraged by the king in her suit, inviteth them to another banquet the next day.* 9 *Haman, proud of his advancement, repineth at the contempt of Mordecai.* 14 *By the counsel of Zeresh he buildeth for him a pair of gallows.*

NOW it came to pass on the third day, that Esther put on *her* royal *apparel*, and stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's house: and the king sat upon his royal throne in the royal house, over against the gate of the house.

2 And it was so, when the king saw Esther the queen standing in the court, *that* she obtained favour in his sight: and the king held out to Esther the golden sceptre that *was* in his hand. So Esther drew near, and touched the top of the sceptre.

3 Then said the king unto her, What wilt thou, queen Esther? and what *is* thy request? it shall be even given thee to the half of the kingdom.

4 And Esther answered, If *it seem* good unto the king, let the king and Haman come this day unto the banquet that I have prepared for him.

5 Then the king said, Cause Haman to make haste, that he may do as Esther hath said. So the king and Haman came to the banquet that Esther had prepared.

6 ¶ And the king said unto Esther at the banquet of wine, What *is* thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: and what *is* thy request? even to the half of the kingdom it shall be performed.

7 Then answered Esther, and said, My petition and my request *is;*

8 If I have found favour in the sight of the king, and if it please the king to grant my petition, and †to perform my request, let the king and Haman come to the banquet that I

† Heb. *to do.*

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15. *Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer.*] Rather, "Esther commanded to answer Mordecai." The intermediary between Mordecai and his cousin was probably Hatach. (See verses 9 and 10.)

16. *Fast ye for me.*] Here again the religious element shews itself. Esther's fast could have no object but to obtain God's favour and protection in the dangerous course on which she was about to enter.

CHAP. V. 1. *On the third day.*] *I. e.* on the third day from the commencement of Esther's fast. (See ch. iv. 16.)

over against the gate.] This is the usual situation of the throne in the "throne-room" of an Oriental palace. The monarch, from his raised position, can see into the court through the doorway opposite to him, which is kept open.

3. *What wilt thou?*] Rather, "What ails thee?"

it shall be even given thee to the half of the kingdom.] According to Herodotus (ix. 109), Xerxes, on another occasion, when pleased with one of his wives, offered to grant her any request whatever, without limitation. With the present limitation compare that of Herod Antipas (Mark vi. 23).

4. *Let the king . . . come this day unto the banquet.*] Esther seems to have been afraid to make her real request of Xerxes too abruptly, and to have wished to impress him favourably before doing so. She concluded that the king would understand that she had a real petition in the background, and would recur to it, as in fact he did (verse 6, and ch. vii. 2).

6. *At the banquet of wine.*] After the meats were removed, it was customary in Persia to continue the banquet for a considerable time with fruits and wine (Herod. i. 133). During this part of the feast, the king renewed his offer.

shall prepare for them, and I will do to morrow as the king hath said.

9 ¶ Then went Haman forth that day joyful and with a glad heart: but when Haman saw Mordecai in the king's gate, that he stood not up, nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai.

10 Nevertheless Haman refrained himself: and when he came home, he sent and †called for his friends, and Zeresh his wife.

† Heb. *caused to come.*

11 And Haman told them of the glory of his riches, and the multitude of his children, and all *the things* wherein the king had promoted him, and how he had advanced him above the princes and servants of the king.

12 Haman said moreover, Yea, Esther the queen did let no man come in with the king unto the banquet that she had prepared but myself; and to morrow am I invited unto her also with the king.

13 Yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.

14 ¶ Then said Zeresh his wife and all his friends unto him, Let a †gallows be made of fifty cubits high, and to morrow speak thou unto the king that Mordecai may be hanged thereon: then go thou in merrily with the king unto the banquet. And the thing pleased Haman; and he caused the gallows to be made.

† Heb. *tree.*

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Ahasuerus, reading in the chronicles of the good service done by Mordecai, taketh care for his reward.* 4 *Haman, coming to sue that Mordecai might be hanged, unawares giveth counsel that he might do him honour.* 12 *Complaining of his misfortune, his friends tell him of his final destiny.*

ON that night †could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king.

† Heb. *the king's sleep fled away.*

2 And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of ‖Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains, the keepers of the †door, who

‖ Or, *Bigthan*, ch. 2. 21. † Heb. *threshold.*

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8. *I will do to morrow as the king hath said.*] Esther still cannot bring herself to make the request on which so much depends, and craves another day's respite. She will soften the king's heart by a second banquet, and then she will submit her petition to him. There is something extremely natural in this hesitation.

9. *He stood not up, nor moved for him.*] Mordecai's contumacy increased with time. At first he merely refused to prostrate himself before the minister (ch. iii. 2). Now he took no notice of his coming, but sate on in the same attitude while Haman passed through the gate. This was undoubtedly a serious breach of etiquette, and may well have angered Haman.

10. *Zeresh.*] This name is probably connected with the Zend *zara*, "gold." (Compare the Greek "Chrysis.")

11. *The multitude of his children.*] Herodotus tells us that, "next to prowess in arms, it was regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence in Persia to be the father of many sons" (i. 136). Haman had ten sons, according to ch. ix. 10.

14. *A gallows . . . of fifty cubits high.*] A gallows, in the ordinary sense, is scarcely intended, since hanging was not a Persian punishment. The intention, no doubt, was to crucify or impale Mordecai; and the pale or cross was to be 75 feet high, to make the punishment more conspicuous. On the use of impalement by the Persians, see note on ch. ii. 23.

speak thou unto the king that Mordecai may be hanged.] As Ahasuerus had already consented to a general massacre of the Jews within a few months, it seemed probable that he would readily allow the immediate execution of one of them. Requests for leave to put persons to death were often made to Persian kings by their near relatives (Herod. ix. 110; Plut. 'Artax.' § 14, 15, 17, 23, &c.), but only rarely by others.

CHAP. VI. 1. *The book of records.*] See note on ch. ii. 23.

they were read before the king.] There is reason to think that the Persian kings were, in most cases, unable to read. ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 185.) Hence, documents, which they wanted to consult, were read to them.

2. *It was found written.*] See above, ch. ii. 21-23.

sought to lay hand on the king Ahasuerus.

3 And the king said, What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this? Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, There is nothing done for him.

4 ¶ And the king said, Who *is* in the court? Now Haman was come into the outward court of the king's house, to speak unto the king to hang Mordecai on the gallows that he had prepared for him.

5 And the king's servants said unto him, Behold, Haman standeth in the court. And the king said, Let him come in.

6 So Haman came in. And the king said unto him, What shall be done unto the man †whom the king delighteth to honour? Now Haman thought in his heart, To whom would the king delight to do honour more than to myself?

† Heb. *in whose honour the king delighteth?*

7 And Haman answered the king, For the man †whom the king delighteth to honour,

† Heb. *in whose honour the king delighteth*

8 †Let the royal apparel be brought †which the king *useth* to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head:

† Heb. *Let them bring the royal apparel.*

† Heb. *wherewith the king clotheth* himself.

9 And let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man *withal* whom the king delighteth to honour, and †bring him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.

† Heb. *cause him to ride.*

10 Then the king said to Haman, Make haste, *and* take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Jew, that

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3. *What honour... hath been done to Mordecai for this?*] It was a settled principle of the Persian government that "Royal Benefactors" were to receive an adequate reward. The names of such persons were placed on a special roll (Herod. viii. 85), and great care was taken that they should be properly recompensed. (See Herod. iii. 140; v. 11; viii. 85; Thucyd. i. 138; Xen. 'Hel.' iii. 1, § 6; &c.) It is a mistake, however, to suppose (Davidson) that they were always rewarded *at once*. Themistocles was inscribed on the list in B. C. 480, but did not obtain a reward till B. C. 465. Other "benefactors" waited for months (Herod. v. 11) or perhaps years (ib. ix. 107) before they were recompensed. Sometimes a "benefactor" seems to have received no reward at all (ib. iii. 138).

4. *Haman was come into the outward court.*] Morning had arrived, and Haman had hastened to carry out the advice of his friends (ch. v. 14). He was waiting in the outer court, till it should be announced that the king was ready to grant audiences.

to hang Mordecai on the gallows.] See note on ch. v. 14.

8. *Let the royal apparel be brought, &c.*] The honours here proposed by Haman were ultimately enjoyed by Mordecai (verse 11). They have been thought "excessive," and certainly they are such as Persian monarchs rarely allowed to subjects. Each act would have been a capital offence, if done without permission. Still we find Persian monarchs allowing their subjects in these acts or in similar ones under certain circumstances. (See Herod. vii. 17; Plut. 'Artax.' § 5; &c.) There is in fact nothing contrary to Oriental notions in their being done *under sufferance*.

and the crown royal which is set upon his head.] The meaning of this clause is doubtful. Either it may be translated, "and **on whose head a royal crown is set**," the reference being to the horse, which conceivably might bear an ornament like a crown on its crest; or, "and **that a royal crown be** set upon his head," the reference being to the man, and the suggestion being, not to deprive the king of his own diadem, but to place on the head of the person about to be honoured a crown similar in general character to the royal one. (Compare ch. i. 11.) The grammatical construction is in favour of the former rendering; but we have no other evidence that Persian horses ever bore crowns on their heads.

9. *The street of the city.*] *I.e.* "the main street, or rather "square." (See note on Neh. viii. 1.)

10. *Mordecai the Jew, that sitteth at the king's gate.*] There is nothing strange in the king's knowing the nationality and position of Mordecai. His nationality would probably have been noted in the book of the

† Heb. *suffer not a whit to fall.*

sitteth at the king's gate: †let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken.

11 Then took Haman the apparel and the horse, and arrayed Mordecai, and brought him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaimed before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour.

12 ¶ And Mordecai came again to the king's gate. But Haman hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered.

13 And Haman told Zeresh his wife and all his friends every *thing* that had befallen him. Then said his wise men and Zeresh his wife unto him, If Mordecai *be* of the seed of the Jews, before whom thou hast begun to fall, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him.

14 And while they *were* yet talking with him, came the king's chamberlains, and hasted to bring Haman unto the banquet that Esther had prepared.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Esther, entertaining the king and Haman, maketh suit for her own life and her people's. 5 She accuseth Haman. 7 The king in his anger, understanding of the gallows which Haman had made for Mordecai, causeth him to be hanged thereon.

SO the king and Haman came †to banquet with Esther the queen.

† Heb. *to drink*

2 And the king said again unto Esther on the second day at the banquet of wine, What *is* thy petition, queen Esther? and it shall be granted thee: and what *is* thy request? and it shall be performed, *even* to the half of the kingdom.

3 Then Esther the queen answered and said, If I have found favour in thy sight, O king, and if it please the king, let my life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request:

4 For we are sold, I and my people, †to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish. But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my tongue, although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage.

† Heb. *that they should destroy, and kill, and cause to perish.*

5 ¶ Then the king Ahasuerus answered and said unto Esther the queen, Who is he, and where is he, †that durst presume in his heart to do so?

† Heb. *whose heart hath filled him.*

6 And Esther said, †The adversary and enemy *is* this wicked Haman. Then Haman was afraid ‖before the king and the queen.

† Heb. *the man adversary.*

‖ Or, *at the presence of.*

7 ¶ And the king arising from the banquet of wine in his wrath *went* into

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chronicles; and, when told that nothing had been done for him (verse 3), the king would naturally have asked his position.

12. *Mordecai came again to the king's gate.*] It is quite consonant with Oriental notions that Mordecai, after receiving the extraordinary honours assigned him, should return to the palace and resume his former humble employment, Ahasuerus regarding him as sufficiently rewarded, and not yet intending to do anything more for him.

having his head covered.] Through shame probably; not wishing any of his acquaintance to accost him.

CHAP. VII. 2. *The king said again.*] Compare ch. v. 6. Ahasuerus had understood that the real request was not yet made.

4. *We are sold.*] The allusion is to the 10,000 talents which Haman had undertaken to pay into the treasury (ch. iii. 9).

to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish.] Esther here quotes the exact words of the edict issued for the destruction of the Jews. (See ch. iii. 13.) Thus the king could not fail to understand her, and to learn for the first time that his favourite was a Jewess.

although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage.] *I. e.* "although the enemy (Haman) would not (even in that case) compensate (by his payment to the treasury) for the king's loss of so many subjects." So Gesenius. Others render, "for the enemy (Haman) is not worthy that the king should be vexed about him."

5. *Who is he?*] Ahasuerus could not really have doubted; but he affects to doubt, that he may express his anger at the act, apart from all personal considerations.

the palace garden: and Haman stood up to make request for his life to Esther the queen; for he saw that there was evil determined against him by the king.

8 Then the king returned out of the palace garden into the place of the banquet of wine; and Haman was fallen upon the bed whereon Esther *was*. Then said the king, Will he force the queen also †before me in the house? As the word went out of the king's mouth, they covered Haman's face.

† Heb. *with me.*

9 And Harbonah, one of the chamberlains, said before the king, Behold also, the †gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman had made for Mordecai, who had spoken good for the king, standeth in the house of Haman. Then the king said, Hang him thereon.

† Heb. *tree.*

10 So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai. Then was the king's wrath pacified.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 Mordecai is advanced. 3 Esther maketh suit to reverse Haman's letters. 7 Ahasuerus granteth to the Jews to defend themselves. 15 Mordecai's honour, and the Jews' joy.

ON that day did the king Ahasuerus give the house of Haman the Jews' enemy unto Esther the queen. And Mordecai came before the king; for Esther had told what he *was* unto her.

2 And the king took off his ring, which he had taken from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai. And Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman.

3 ¶ And Esther spake yet again

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7. *The palace garden.*] See note on ch. i. 5. Esther's apartment probably opened into it.

8. *Haman was fallen upon the bed.*] Rather, "the couch." Like the Greeks and Romans, the Persians reclined at their meals, on sofas or couches. (Herod. ix. 80, 82; Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 16; &c.) Haman, in the intensity of his supplication, had thrown himself upon the couch at Esther's feet.

Will he force the queen?] Of course the king did not believe his own words. But he meant to tax Haman with a further offence in not sufficiently respecting the person of the queen; and he thereby suggested to the attendants his instant execution.

they covered Haman's face.] The Macedonians and the Romans are known to have commonly muffled the heads of prisoners before executing them. (See Q. Curt. vi. 8; Liv. i. 26.) But it is not mentioned elsewhere than here as a Persian custom.

9. *Harbonah.*] Compare ch. i. 10.

one of the chamberlains, said before the king.] Rather, "one of the chamberlains that served before the king, said."

CHAP. VIII. 1. *Give the house of Haman.*] It has been observed above that confiscation of goods always accompanies public execution in Oriental countries. (See note on ch. iii. 11.) That such was the law in Persia, appears from numerous passages. (See Herod. iii. 129; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 1, § 3; 4, § 6, &c.)

Esther had told.] Having been forced to reveal her nation in order to save it (ch. vii. 4), and having seen her cousin advanced to high honour, on account of his own merits (ch. vi. 11), Esther had no longer any reason for concealing her relationship to Mordecai. Her revelation of it led naturally to his further advancement.

2. *The king took off his ring.*] A pleasure-seeking Persian king, like Xerxes, was glad to be relieved of the toil of governing, and willingly committed to one favourite after another the task of issuing and signing with the royal signet, the decrees by which the government was administered. That the official entrusted with these high powers might be a eunuch, appears from Diodorus (xvi. 50).

Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman.] The "house of Haman" would include, not only the building and the furniture, but the household—the vast train of attendants of all kinds that was attached to the residence of a Persian noble. Esther, having received all this as a present from the king, placed her cousin in charge of it.

3. *Esther spake yet again.*] Though Haman was dead, his work was not yet undone. The royal decree had gone forth, and, according to Persian notions, could not be directly recalled or reversed. (See below,

before the king, and fell down at his feet, †and besought him with tears to put away the mischief of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he had devised against the Jews.

† Heb. *and she wept, and besought him.*

4 Then the king held out the golden sceptre toward Esther. So Esther arose, and stood before the king,

5 And said, If it please the king, and if I have found favour in his sight, and the thing *seem* right before the king, and I *be* pleasing in his eyes, let it be written to reverse †the letters devised by Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, ‖which he wrote to destroy the Jews which *are* in all the king's provinces:

† Heb. *the device.*

‖ Or, *who wrote.*

6 For how can I †endure to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?

† Heb. *be able that I may see.*

7 ¶ Then the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and to Mordecai the Jew, Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman, and him they have hanged upon the gallows, because he laid his hand upon the Jews.

8 Write ye also for the Jews, as it liketh you, in the king's name, and seal *it* with the king's ring: for the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, [a]may no man reverse.

[a] See chap. i. 19.

9 Then were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month, that *is*, the month Sivan, on the three and twentieth *day* thereof; and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded unto the Jews, and to the lieutenants, and the deputies and rulers of the provinces which *are* from India unto Ethiopia, an hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language.

10 And he wrote in the king Ahasuerus' name, and sealed *it* with the king's ring, and sent letters by posts on horseback, *and* riders on mules, camels, *and* young dromedaries:

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verse 8, and compare Herod. ix. 109; Plut. 'Artax.' § 27; &c.) Mordecai did not dare, without express permission from the king, to take any steps even to stay execution. Nor, apparently, did he feel sufficiently secure of the royal favour to broach an unpalatable subject. Esther, therefore, was once more put forward, and made to take the initiative.

4. *The king held out the golden sceptre.*] We must understand that Esther had once more intruded on Ahasuerus unsummoned. (See ch. iv. 11.)

5. *The letters devised by Haman.*] Literally, "the letters, the device of Haman." In asking for the revocation of the decree, Esther is careful to represent it as Haman's work, not the king's—"the letters, the device of *Haman*, which *he* wrote." But the king is too clear-sighted to be led astray.

7. *Then the king Ahasuerus said.*] The answer of Ahasuerus is a refusal, but one as much softened as possible. He first dwells on the proofs which he had given of his friendly feeling towards the Jews (verse 7). He then suggests that something may be done to help them without revoking the decree (verse 8). Finally, he excuses himself by appealing to the well-known immutability of Persian law, at the same time reminding Esther and Mordecai, that, though devised by Haman, the decree which they want to have reversed was "written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's signet ring."

9. *Then were the king's scribes called.*] The suggestion of Ahasuerus quickened the inventive powers of Esther and Mordecai. The scribes were at once summoned, and a decree issued, not revoking the former one, but allowing the Jews to stand on their defence, and to kill all who attacked them. It has been pronounced incredible, that any king would thus have sanctioned civil war in all the great cities of his empire; but some, even of the more sceptical critics, allow that *Xerxes* might not improbably have done so. (De Wette, 'Einleitung,' § 198, a.)

the month Sivan.] The second month from the issue of the first edict (ch. iii. 12). Sivan corresponds nearly to our June.

the lieutenants.] Literally, "the satraps." (Compare ch. iii. 12 and ch. ix. 3.)

10. *Riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries.*] Most moderns translate "riders upon *coursers and mules, the offspring of mares*;"

11 Wherein the king granted the Jews which *were* in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that would assault them, *both* little ones and women, and *to take* the spoil of them for a prey,

12 Upon one day in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus, *namely*, upon the thirteenth *day* of the twelfth month, which *is* the month Adar.

13 The copy of the writing for a commandment to be given in every province *was* †published unto all people, and that the Jews should be ready against that day to avenge themselves on their enemies.

† Heb. *revealed.*

14 *So* the posts that rode upon mules *and* camels went out, being hastened and pressed on by the king's commandment. And the decree was given at Shushan the palace.

15 ¶ And Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of ‖blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple: and the city of Shushan rejoiced and was glad.

‖ Or, *violet.*

16 The Jews had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour.

17 And in every province, and in every city, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, the Jews had joy and gladness, a feast and a good day. And many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.

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but the words translated "mules" and "mares," are of very doubtful signification, since they scarcely occur elsewhere; and the former, which is probably old Persian, can scarcely have the meaning attached to it. *Akhashteranim*, if it represents the Persian adjective *khshatrana*, should mean "royal;" and *rammâchîm* is as likely to have meant "a high-bred horse" as "a mare." The real meaning of the clause must remain doubtful; but it may be suggested as probable, that the true translation is, "riders upon **coursers of the king's stud**, offspring of high-bred steeds." (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.)

13. *The copy.*] Rather, "A copy." (Compare ch. iii. 14.)

14. *The posts that rode upon mules and camels.*] Rather, "the posts that rode upon **coursers of the royal stud.**"

being hâstened.] The need of haste is not quite apparent. Between Sivan, the third month (June), when the posts went out, and Adar, the twelfth month (March), when the struggle was to take place, the interval would be one of above eight months; and two months would certainly have sufficed to carry the royal mandate to the remotest portions of the Empire. Still, seeing how much depended on the mandate, and how necessary it was that the provincial governors should well comprehend the real wishes of the court in the matter (compare ch. ix. 3), we cannot be surprised that all haste was made on the part of those who befriended the Jews, with the object of there being no misunderstanding.

15. *Royal apparel of blue and white.*] See notes on ch. i. 6 and 11.

a great crown of gold.] Not a crown like the king's (*kether*), but a mere golden band or coronet (*'atârah*).

a garment.] Or "an inner robe." The tunic or inner robe of the king was of purple, striped with white. (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 3, § 13; Plut. 'Alex.' § 51; Q. Curt. iii. 3.)

of fine linen and purple.] Rather, "of fine **white** linen and purple." See note on ch. i. 6

the city of Shushan rejoiced.] The "joy" of Susa at this time is thought as improbable as its previous "perplexity." (See note on ch. iii. 15.) But we may well believe that the Persians, who were now the chief inhabitants of Susa, had a real sympathy with the Jews, alike in their gladness and their distress.

17. *Became Jews.*] Joined the nation as proselytes, so casting in their lot with them.

the fear of the Jews fell upon them.] Mordecai's power might by itself have caused some fear; but probably the chief alarm felt was lest the Jews, when the day came for revenging themselves, should account the large class of indifferent persons among their enemies. Persons of this class avoided the danger by becoming Jews.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on verse 10.

The word רַפּוּ, which occurs only in this place, is connected by Gesenius and Fürst with the Arabic *remakeh*, "a mare;" but Bertheau has pointed out that the cognate Syriac word ܪܡܟܐ is applied equally to horses and mares; and if the meaning of the root *râmak* is (as Fürst says it is) "to be thin, or slight," then the word would naturally apply to *thorough-breds*, whether male or female.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The Jews (the rulers, for fear of Mordecai, helping them) slay their enemies, with the ten sons of Haman.* 12 *Ahasuerus, at the request of Esther, granteth another day of slaughter, and Haman's sons to be hanged.* 20 *The two days of Purim are made festival.*

NOW in the twelfth month, that *is*, the month Adar, on the thirteenth day of the same, when the king's commandment and his decree drew near to be put in execution, in the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have power over them, (though it was turned to the contrary, that the Jews had rule over them that hated them;)

2 The Jews gathered themselves together in their cities throughout all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay hand on such as sought their hurt: and no man could withstand them; for the fear of them fell upon all people.

3 And all the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, and the deputies, and †officers of the king, helped the Jews; because the fear of Mordecai fell upon them.

† Heb. *those which did the business that belonged to the king.*

4 For Mordecai *was* great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces: for this man Mordecai waxed greater and greater.

5 Thus the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and slaughter, and destruction, and did †what they would unto those that hated them.

† Heb. *according to their will.*

6 And in Shushan the palace the Jews slew and destroyed five hundred men.

7 And Parshandatha, and Dalphon, and Aspatha,

CHAP. IX. 1. *Drew near.*] Rather, "arrived" or "**reached the time**," (Compare ch. iii. 13; viii. 12).

2. *To lay hand on such as sought their hurt.*] The Jews apparently did not remain wholly on the defensive. Their enemies were no doubt well known to them, and were prepared for the struggle which it was seen must come. Sometimes the one side, sometimes the other, would commence the attack.

3. *All the rulers . . . . helped the Jews.*] This is very important. It has been stated that, according to the narrative of Esther, the Jews were allowed to kill "75,000 *Persians*;" and this (supposed) feature of the narrative has been pronounced "incredible." The present verse shows that the real Persians, who formed the standing army which kept the Empire in subjection, and were at the disposal of the various governors of provinces, took the Jews' side. Their enemies were almost entirely to be found among the idolatrous people of the subject nations, for whose lives neither the Persians generally, nor their monarchs, cared greatly.

6. *In Shushan the palace.*] By "Shushan the palace," or "the fort," (*Shushan ha-birâh*,) we are probably to understand the whole of the upper town, which occupied an area of above a hundred acres, and contained, no doubt, many residences besides the actual palace. It is not likely that the Jews would have ventured to shed blood within the palace precincts.

7. *Parshandatha, &c.*] The thoroughly Persian character of most of these names has been already noted. (See note on ch. iii. 1.) Excepting Adalia, they are all readily traceable to Old Persian roots. 'Parshandata' is "given to Persia," or "to the Persians;" 'Dalphon,' which in Persian must have been 'Darphon' or 'Darpon' is probably the Per-

8 And Poratha, and Adalia, and Aridatha,

9 And Parmashta, and Arisai, and Aridai, and Vajezatha,

10 The ten sons of Haman the son of Hammedatha, the enemy of the Jews, slew they; but on the spoil laid they not their hand.

11 On that day the number of those that were slain in Shushan the palace † was brought before the king.

† Heb. *came.*

12 ¶ And the king said unto Esther the queen, The Jews have slain and destroyed five hundred men in Shushan the palace, and the ten sons of Haman; what have they done in the rest of the king's provinces? now what *is* thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: or what *is* thy request further? and it shall be done.

13 Then said Esther, If it please the king, let it be granted to the Jews which *are* in Shushan to do to morrow also according unto this day's decree, and † let Haman's ten sons be hanged upon the gallows.

† Heb. *let men hang.*

14 And the king commanded it so to be done: and the decree was given at Shushan; and they hanged Haman's ten sons.

15 For the Jews that *were* in Shushan gathered themselves together on the fourteenth day also of the month Adar, and slew three hundred men at Shushan; but on the prey they laid not their hand.

16 But the other Jews that *were* in the king's provinces gathered themselves together, and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of their foes seventy and five thousand, but they laid not their hands on the prey,

17 On the thirteenth day of the month Adar; and on the fourteenth day † of the same rested they, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.

† Heb. *in it.*

18 But the Jews that *were* at Shushan assembled together on the thirteenth *day* thereof, and on the fourteenth thereof; and on the fifteenth *day* of the same they rested, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.

19 Therefore the Jews of the villages, that dwelt in the unwalled towns, made the fourteenth day of

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sian representative of the Sanskr. *darpin* "arrogant;" 'Aspatha' is from *açpa*, "horse," and would probably mean "horseman;" 'Poratha' is apparently from *paru*, "much, great," and *ratha*, "a chariot," and would mean "having many chariots;" 'Aridatha' is from the roots *ari* "very," and *da*, "to give," and would mean "liberal" (compare Phradates). 'Parmashta' is a little doubtful, but may be from *fra*, an intensive particle, and *mathista*, "greatest" (compare Latin *præmagnus*). 'Arisai' has the intensive *ari* prefixed to a root *saya*, which is perhaps "to conquer" or "to go;" and 'Aridai' has the same intensive prefixed to the root *da*, "to give." Finally, 'Vajezatha' comprises the two elements *vayu*, the "wind," and *zatha* (compare Zend *zyat*), "powerful;" and would mean "strong as the wind." (Compare Chitratachma, "strong as the leopard," Tritantæchmes, "strong as Tritan," *i.e.* Feridun.)

10. *On the spoil laid they not their hand.*] As they might have done legally by the edict. (See ch. viii. 11.)

14. *They hanged Haman's ten sons.*] To expose on crosses the bodies of criminals already slain was a practice not unknown to the Persians. (See Plut. 'Artax.' § 17.)

15. *For the Jews.*] Rather, "And the Jews."

in Shushan.] Probably in the lower town, which lay east of the upper one, and was of about the same size.

16. *Slew of their foes seventy and five thousand.*] The Septuagint gives the number here as fifteen thousand; and this amount seems more in proportion to the 800 slain in Susa than the larger number of the Hebrew text.

18. *On the fifteenth day . . . they rested.*] Both the 14th and 15th of Adar are now kept as "days of Purim" by the Jews universally (See note on ch. iii. 13). The 14th is made, however, the chief day.

19. *The Jews of the villages, that dwelt in the unwalled towns.*] Rather, "the Jews of the country districts, that dwelt in the country towns." The antithesis is between those Jews who dwelt in the metropolis, and those who lived in any other part of the

the month Adar *a day of* gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another.

20 ¶ And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that *were* in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, *both* nigh and far,

21 To stablish *this* among them, that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, yearly,

22 As the days wherein the Jews rested from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy, and from mourning into a good day: that they should make them days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor.

23 And the Jews undertook to do as they had begun, and as Mordecai had written unto them;

24 Because Haman the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, the enemy of all the Jews, had devised against the Jews to destroy them, and had cast Pur, that *is*, the lot, to †consume them, and to destroy them;

† Heb. *crush.*

25 But †when *Esther* came before the king, he commanded by letters that his wicked device, which he devised against the Jews, should return upon his own head, and that he and his sons should be hanged on the gallows.

† Heb. *when she came.*

26 Wherefore they called these days Purim after the name of ‖Pur. Therefore for all the words of this letter, and *of that* which they had seen concerning this matter, and which had come unto them.

‖ That is, *Lot.*

27 The Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not †fail, that they would keep these two days according to their writing, and according to their *appointed* time every year;

† Heb. *pass.*

28 And *that* these days *should be* remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and *that* these days of Purim should not †fail from among the Jews, nor the memorial of them †perish from their seed.

† Heb. *pass.*

† Heb. *be ended.*

29 Then Esther the queen, the daughter of Abihail, and Mordecai the Jew, wrote with †all authority, to confirm this second letter of Purim.

† Heb. *all strength.*

30 And he sent the letters unto all the Jews, to the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of

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territory; these last resided (chiefly) in the provincial towns.

a day . . . of sending portions one to another.] See note on Neh. viii. 10.

20. *Mordecai wrote these things.*] Mordecai wrote an abstract of the occurrences, and circulated it among the Jews. We cannot conclude from this statement that Mordecai wrote the Book of Esther as we have it, or indeed any portion of it.

23. *To do as they had begun, and as Mordecai, &c.*] *I.e.* "to continue the observance of the 14th day" (see verse 17), "and also to add to it, as Mordecai had requested, the observance of the 15th."

25. *When Esther came before the king.*] The word "Esther" does not occur in the original. We may either suppose it to have slipped out, or translate, "when the matter came before the king."

his wicked device.] *I.e.* "Haman's wicked device."

26. *Wherefore.*] Rather, "**therefore**"—because of the word "Pur."

for all the words of this letter.] On account of the facts narrated in Mordecai's letter. (See verse 20.)

27. *All such as joined themselves unto them.*] *I.e.* "all proselytes."

according to their writing.] *I.e.* according to the mode prescribed by Mordecai in writing.

29. *This second letter of Purim.*] Mordecai's first letter (verse 20) was to some extent tentative, a recommendation. The Jews generally having accepted the recommendation (verses 23, 27), he and Esther now wrote a second letter, which was mandatory. The expression "*this* second letter" seems to imply that originally a copy of the letter followed.

Ahasuerus, *with* words of peace and truth,

31 To confirm these days of Purim in their times *appointed*, according as Mordecai the Jew and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had decreed † for themselves and for their seed, the matters of the fastings and their cry.

† Heb. *for their souls.*

32 And the decree of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim; and it was written in the book.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Ahasuerus's greatness.* 3 *Mordecai's advancement.*

AND the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land, and *upon* the isles of the sea.

2 And all the acts of his power and of his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whereunto the king † advanced him, *are* they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia?

† Heb. *made him great.*

3 For Mordecai the Jew *was* next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed.

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31. *The matters of the fastings and their cry.* There is nothing correspondent to this clause in the Septuagint; and it may, perhaps, be doubted whether it is not a gloss which has crept in from the margin. If, however, we regard it as sound, we must suppose that the Jews of the provinces had added to the form of commemoration proposed by Mordecai certain observances with respect to fasting and wailing, and that Mordecai's second letter sanctioned these. The observances may, or may not, have been identical with those which the Jews now practise on tne 13th of Adar. (See note on ch. iii. 13.)

32. *In the book.*] The question arises, "What book?" Certainly not the book of Esther, for there is no instance in Scripture of a writer calling his own work simply "the book." Bertheau suggests, "a writing on the special subject of the Purim festival, which has been lost." But there is no evidence that any such writing ever existed. As "book" elsewhere in Esther (*sêpher*, in the singular) always means a particular book—"the Book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia"—(see ch. ii. 23; vi. 1; x. 2) it seems best to give it the same sense here.

CHAP. X. 1. *King Ahasuerus laid a tribute.*] Some fresh arrangement of the tribute is likely to have followed on the return of Xerxes from Greece. His exchequer would be exhausted, and steps would have to be taken in order to replenish it. The expression in the original does not necessarily imply the first imposition of a tribute.

upon the isles of the sea.] Cyprus, Aradus, the island Tyre, Platea, &c., remained in the hands of the Persians after the victories of the Greeks, and may be the "isles" here intended. Or Xerxes may have ignored the loss of the Ægean Islands, and have "laid" his tribute upon them, though he might not be able to exact it. (See Mr. Grote's 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. v. pp. 455-6, ed. of 1849.)

2. *Power and . . . might.*] In the later years of Xerxes his "power and might" were chiefly shewn in the erection of magnificent buildings, more especially at Persepolis. He abstained from military expeditions.

kings of Media and Persia.] Media takes precedence of Persia (contrarily to ch. i. 3, 14, 18, &c.), because the kingdom of Media had preceded that of Persia, and in the "Book of the Chronicles" its history came first.

3. *Mordecai . . . . was next unto King Ahasuerus.*] Cf. ch. viii. 2, 9, 15; ix. 3. 4. It has been objected that Artabanus, the captain of the guard and not Mordecai, was Xerxes' chief favourite in his twelfth and thirteenth years. But this view rests upon the false chronology of Ctesias, who gives Xerxes 13 years only, instead of the 21 of Ptolemy, Manetho, and the generality of the Greek writers. Artabanus was favourite towards the close of Xerxes' reign, *i. e.* in his 20th and 21st years.

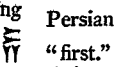
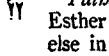
speaking peace to all his seed.] *I. e.* "to all those of his race or nation."

APPENDIX TO ESTHER.

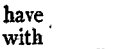
ON SOME PERSIAN WORDS IN ESTHER.

THE language of Esther is, as might have been expected, even more impregnated with Persian than that of Ezra. Several Persian words, as *akhashdarpan*, *genez* (*g'naz*), *iggereth* (*iggera*), and *pithgam* (*pithgama*), are common to both Books. In addition to these, Esther has, besides some words of doubtful origin, the following list of terms, almost certainly Persian:—*akhashtĕranim*, "royal;" *karpas*, "cotton;" *kĕther*, "crown;" *partĕmim*, "nobles;" *pathshĕgen*, "a copy, a transcript;" and *pûr*, "the lot." It was thought unnecessary to detain the ordinary reader with an etymological discussion of these terms in the foot notes; but some account of them will probably be desired by the more advanced student. They will, therefore, be here considered briefly.

אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים

Akhashtĕranim occurs twice in Esth. viii. (verses 10 and 14), and is translated in the A. V. by "camels," which is a meaning that no modern critic assigns to the word. Haug and Bertheau have pointed out that it is really an adjective, and means "royal," being formed from the old Persian  , *khshatram*, "crown," and the adjectival ending , *-âna*. *Khshatrâna* has not at present been found in the Inscriptions; but it is in accordance with known analogies, and would have been expressed in Hebrew by אחשתרן, pl. אחשתרנים, the initial *alef* being necessary for the pronunciation of the first consonant (compare אחשדרפן, and אחשורוש), and the other letters exactly representing the Persian word  .

כַּרְפַּס

Karpas, which occurs in Esth. i. 6, and nowhere else, is probably the Hebrew rendering of a Persian word cognate to the Sanskrit *karpâsa*, "cotton," which appears in Greek as *κάρπασος*, and in Latin as *carbasus* or *carbasa*. The Persian literation was probably  .

כֶּתֶר

Kĕther, "crown" (Esth. i. 11, ii. 17, vi. 8), appears to be the Hebrew representative of the Persian *khshatram*, the pronunciation having been softened by the omission of the sibilant, and the replacement of the rough guttural *kh* by the simple guttural *k*. Compare the Greek *κίταρις* or *κίδαρις*.

פַּרְתְּמִים

Partĕmim, which is found only in Esth. i. 3, and Dan. i. 3, is the plural of פרתם, which was the Hebrew mode of expressing the Persian , *fratama*, "first." *Fratama* corresponds to the Sanskrit *prathamâ*; the Zend, *fratĕma*; the Greek *πρῶτος*; the Latin *primus*; the Gothic *fruma*, &c. It is a superlative from a root *fra*, equivalent to the Greek *πρό*, "before." Daniel and Esther use the word of the "first" men in the kingdom. Compare the Latin use of *primores*.

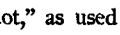
פִּתְשֶׁגֶן

Pathshĕgen, which occurs three times in Esther (iii. 14, iv. 8, viii. 13), but nowhere else in Scripture,[1] in the sense of "copy" or

[1] Ezra has a form *parshegen* (פַּרְשֶׁגֶן), which he uses in exactly the sense borne by *pathshegen* in Esther. (See Ezr. iv. 11, v. 6, vii. 11.) This is probably the representative of an old Persian word *frathahana*, or *frathagana*, a word similarly formed with *patithahana*, or *patithagana*, the only difference being that the preposition *fra* (= Gr. *πρό*) takes the place of the preposition *pati* (= Gk. *πρός*).

"transcript," and which has no possible Semitic derivation, seems to represent a Persian word *patithabana*, or *patithaganu*, derived apparently from the preposition *patiya*, "to," and *thab*, "to speak," which is well known in old Persian. From *thab* has come in modern Persian the form *sukhn*, "speech," which is curiously like the *shegen* of פתשגן. In Zend *thab* is represented by two roots, *çaç*, and *çaĝh*; and the German *sagen*, *singen*, and the English *say* and *sing* are probably cognate.

פור

Pûr, "the lot," as used in Esther, is evidently a Persian word, for it is twice (ch. iii. 7, ix. 24) accompanied by its Hebrew equivalent *gôrâl* (גּוֹרָל). The word has not been found in old Persian, but modern Persian has a term *pâreh*, with the meaning of "part, portion," which is undoubtedly cognate, though scarcely the direct representative of *pûr*. The Latin *pars* and *portio* (perhaps the Greek μέρος, μοῖρα), and the English *part*, *portion*, are connected. פור was probably written  , or perhaps , in old Persian.

END OF VOLUME III.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

00067807

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018